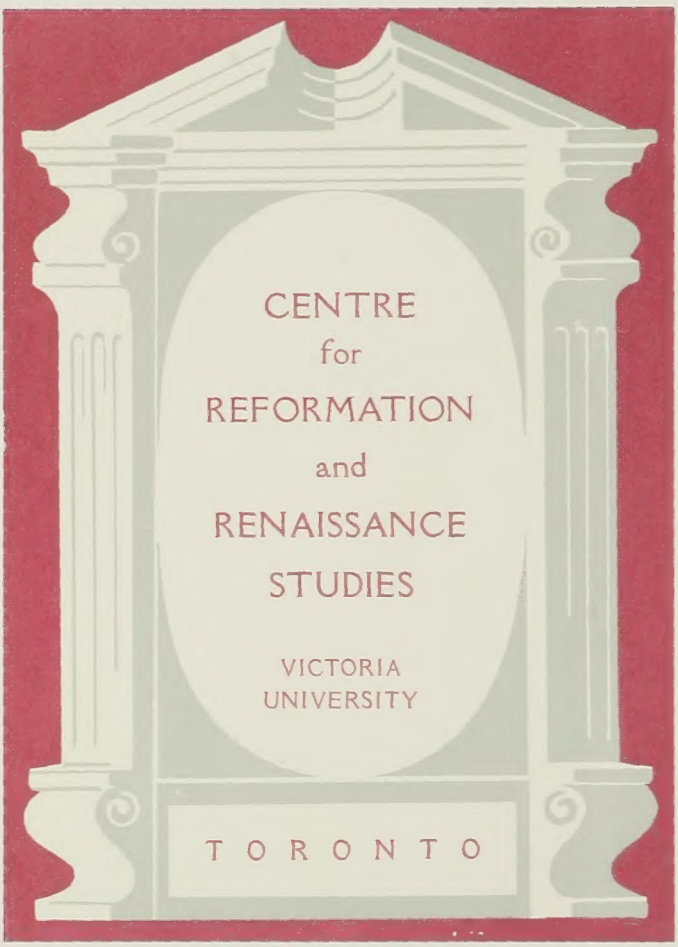

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THE

HARLEIAN MISCELLANY.

VOL. XI.

THE

HARLEIAN MISCELLANY;

OR, A

COLLECTION

OF

SCARCE, CURIOUS, AND ENTERTAINING

PAMPHLETS AND TRACTS,

AS WELL IN MANUSCRIPT AS IN PRINT,

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THE

HARLEIAN MISCELLANY.

AN INQUIRY

INTO

THE CAUSES OF OUR NAVAL MISCARRIAGES:

With some Thoughts on the Interest of this Nation, as to a Naval War, and of the only true way of manning the fleet. Dedicated to the Parliament of Great Britain.

[From the second edition in Quarto, containing thirty-seven pages, printed at London, 1707.]

May it please your Honours:

IF Crœsus's dumb son could speak, when he saw the knife at his father's throat, I hope I may be justified, when I plead in behalf of my country, our common mother, whose reputation, wealth, and security are now so highly concerned.

How it comes to pass, I need not say; but it is a melancholy reflexion to consider, that from the beginning of the war with France in King William's reign, to this day, a naval war seems to have been neglected, and accounted only a thing by the bye; and a war by land, carried on in foreign countries, has been regarded as our principal business, though nature and reason plainly dictate the contrary.

Nature has assigned us an island, and kind Providence furnished us with materials to build ships, and with men of able bodies and stout hearts to man them; nor has the divine goodness been wanting to supply us with navigable rivers, and safe harbours; by which we may be enabled to defend ourselves, and annoy our enemies.

By all this it is plain, we have had it in our power, by a right management of our fleet, to reduce our common enemy of France, and to have had the whole trade of the Spanish West-Indies, as the reward of the blood and treasure we have expended in defence of our own, and the liberties of Christendom. It has been in our power, not only to seize the French colonies in North and South America, but to establish our trade in the Spanish West-Indies, beyond whatever our ancestors could do. We have been engaged in defence of the

monarchy of Spain, from the usurpations of France; and this intitled us to fix a place of arms in any part of their dominions, as would best suit such a design. It is therefore strange, that when our attempt upon Cales miscarried (the reason of which is still a mystery) we did not immediately sail up the Streights, and take possession of Port Mahone in Minorca, and make it a harbour for our fleet, a magazine for our naval stores, for careening and refitting our men of war, as we did in the reign of King Charles the Second, during our war against Algiers.

This neglect deserves so much the more inquiry, that it is common for those, who design an invasion, to secure a place of arms and retreat in the country they invade, without which an invasion seldom proves successful; for, if there be no such place, the invaders by a cross accident may be left to the mercy of the invaded, or obliged to return home in winter, and lose all the advantages gained, during the summer.

Had we possessed Port-Mahone, and kept a fleet there superior to the French, it would naturally have had the following consequences.

1. We might have prevented their sending forces to Italy by sea, which would soon have put an end to the war in that country; and, having no way to recruit their troops there, they must have surrendered prisoners of war.
2. We should have ruined the trade of Marseilles with the Italians, Spaniards, and Turks; and not only have secured, but considerably advanced our own trade in the Mediterranean.
3. The Isle of Majorca would have declared immediately for the Emperor, as they have since; and the inhabitants, who are accounted the best seamen, for privateers, of any in the Streights, would have been of considerable use to us, having a natural aversion to the French and Castilians.
4. When Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia had seen us masters of the Mediterranean, in winter as well as summer, they would have cast off the French yoke, on our sending a squadron to visit their coasts, whereby King Charles might easily have taken possession by land; and, consequently, the charge and hazard of this voyage, which we were put to, had been prevented.
5. We should have had a considerable trade with the Spaniards, even before they had been reduced, by means of neutral ships fetching our goods from Port Mahone, and bringing Spanish goods thither for us to carry home.
6. When the Rovers of Barbary had once found us masters of those seas, they must have given over their piracies, and applied to a fair way of trading; by which we should have enlarged our trade to Barbary, to our great advantage.
7. By being masters of Port-Mahone, we should naturally become guarantees of all treaties betwixt the Turks and any Christian nation: for the Turks, seeing us sovereigns in those seas, would never find it their interest to break treaties. The French first acquired their reputation at the Ottoman Porte, by pretending to be sovereigns of the Mediterranean: but, since the Turks have been partly undeceived,

by seeing us masters of that sea in the summer season, the French have sunk, at least, one half, at the Ottoman court; which clearly proves they must have sunk intirely, had we kept a fleet all the year in the Streights.

8. We should have saved the lives and ships lost in the great storm, had we wintered in Port Mahone; and, likewise, prevented the vast charge of making good those ships, and repairing the damage others have sustained, by coming home late in tempestuous seasons; to say nothing of our great loss of seamen, occasioned by want of good provisions, and particularly of clothes, on returning home from a hot country in the winter season. How it may fare with Sir Cloudesly Shovel*, God only knows; but a great many hearts ake for him, considering how indifferently he was provided when he came from before Thoulon, and that it is now a season of long nights, subject to stormy and foggy weather; whereas, had Port-Mahone been in our hands, we might have been supplied with all necessary stores, both from Africa and Europe.

9. To mention no more, had we been masters of Port-Mahone, we might have maintained our fleet in the Streights with little or no expence to ourselves, by obliging the pope, princes, and states of Italy to contribute towards their maintenance. This would have been but reasonable, considering we prevented their falling under the French yoke, which all of them in their turns have found unsupportable. In this case, it had been just, that the court of Rome, who have fomented all the wars, which now destroy Christendom, should have borne the greatest share. And, had the pope pretended his apostolical treasure was low, it is known he can raise money to carry on a war against us, whom he calls hereticks, and for that end can suppress monasteries; which therefore would be more reasonable he should do now, to help to maintain those who preserve his dominions from being swallowed up by the power of France. But, had he proved stubborn, we could soon have made him comply, by blocking up the mouth of the Tiber, and bombarding Ancona and Civita Vecchia: for, as † Algernon Sidney says, Rome was more afraid of Blake, and his fleet, than they had been of the great King of Sweden, when ready to invade Italy with a hundred-thousand men. About which time, the Duke of Florence, by Blake's means, was glad to pay six-hundred thousand scudi's for our friendship.

Another omission, in the beginning of the war, was our not having ten or twelve men of war constantly cruising in the latitude of Martinico, and Guardalupa, which would have cut off their communication of supplies from France, and soon have obliged those islands to surrender to us.

We might likewise with five or six men of war, two or three bomb-vessels, and two or three thousand men, not only have recovered Placentia, which is our own, by right, and have seized the great fleet of ships, commonly there to catch fish in the summer; but like-

* He was lost on the banks of Scilly, near the Land's-End, on his return to England.
† Discourses of Government, second edit. p. 199.

wise by the assistance of New England, and New York, have subdued Canada, the advantage of which is inexpressible; for, by this means all North America, the fishery and fur trade, must have intirely come into our hands; and this would have occasioned a vast consumption of our own manufactures and product, especially of our coarsest woollen cloth, which takes up the greatest part of our wool. On the whole, this must soon have occasioned business for two or three hundred sail of ships more than ever we had to that part of the world, the profit and advantage of which would much exceed that of our East-India trade, and be a peculiar advantage to the western parts of this nation.

Another omission, at the beginning of this war, was our neglecting to send a strong squadron to the Bahama Islands, to intercept the Spanish galleons, and prevent the landing the plate at Vigo; which would have been twenty times more advantageous, than our accidental rencounter at that place.

The happy situation of Jamaica, and our noble settlement upon it, enables us to make ourselves sovereigns of those seas; which would soon put an end to our enemy's trade with New-Spain, and make all that profitable trade our own.

The last omission, I shall take notice of is, was our not sending two or three men of war, with some merchant ships, into the South Seas, at the beginning of the war; by which we had made ourselves masters of those seas, and put the Spaniards there on a willing necessity of trading with us, and consequently have brought several millions of gold and silver into this nation, which have been carried into France.

Whatever might have been said against our making war with Spain at first, when they had done us no harm, and of the provocation they had received by the treaty of partition, which was a direct breach of the grand alliance in 1689, and declared by the commons of England to be in its nature unjust: or whatever the Spaniards might then plead, from natural right, to chuse what prince they please upon the failure of a royal family; it is plain now, that our assisting the house of Austria to maintain King Charles in the possession of those dominions, to which he has been legally called by the lords of the soil, is just and equitable, on that consideration, as well as by vertue of the said grand alliance.

It is upon your most august assembly, that the eyes not only of Great-Britain, but of all Europe, are fixed, as from whom they must expect their fate; for it is in your power, by God's blessing, in conjunction with her Majesty, to recover this nation, and the whole confederacy, from their weak and languishing state, and to restore them to perfect health and vigour, by a strong offensive naval war.

The radicated distempers, under which our strength is consumed, proceed chiefly from these two causes:

1. That, in some late reigns, our parliaments were influenced by places and pensions. By this means, in Charles the Second's reign, they sat still, and suffered that luxurious monarch to assist France, in enslaving the rest of Europe; and in a later reign were taken off from

that natural affection and duty they owed to their country, and wholly drowned in covetousness; so that, instead of contriving how to better the nation by the happy revolution, their chief care was to get money for themselves, and to bring in others to share in the bribery, that they might form a party strong enough to prevent the 'root of all evils' being punished as a crime. Thus our naval affairs lay neglected, and nothing was done concerning them, but taking away six pence per month from the poor seamen who had too little before. However, it had this effect, that it occasioned the erecting a new office, which gave rise to several new places, to gratify those who would blindly pursue the measures of the court. What great debts, the managers then run the nation into, are too sensibly felt to be denied; and the scandalous peace, they suffered to be made, ought not to be mentioned, were it known only to ourselves. From all which it is plain, that it is impossible for us to thrive when our parliaments are influenced by places and pensions; for, in that case, be the ministry and the power of the parliament in the hands of what party soever, it is all one. It was a blessing more peculiar to Queen Elizabeth's reign, than to any other we can find almost in our history: that her ministry and court pursued the interest of their country, as knowing their own was thereby best secured.

The second cause of our distempers was the cramping of the executive power, and not allowing it the inherent right of all government to employ whom they think fit to serve them. Thus the administration is ingrossed by a party, and the subjects as well as the prince deprived of their natural right. This has been the effect of excluding men from civil employments by religious tests, and making the conscience accountable to man, which has no sovereign but God; and is such a hardship upon the dissenters in this nation, as some popish countries are not guilty of, where protestants enjoy this right. It is well known, that, in the arbitrary government of France, the protestants of that nation were capable of the greatest posts, till the edict of Nants was revoked. And, according to the treaty of Westphalia, in those popish parts of the * Empire, where the protestants had the liberty of their religion, they were made capable of publick employments; and what the papists abroad, and the high-flyers at home, have got by pursuing the contrary measures, is of so little value, that they have no need to boast of it.

Besides the example of most other nations, which is against us, it is a prostitution of the most sacred ordinance of religion to a worldly end, for which Christ never appointed it. His command was, 'To do it in remembrance of him,' and we no where find he has require it to be done, in order to get money or a place. I think, upon casting up our accounts, it will not appear our affairs have prospered better, than they did before the enacting that test; and I wish the profanation of so solemn an ordinance be not one of the procuring causes of our great losses, by an infatuation which seems to be judicial.

* Vid. the Elector of Palatine's Declaration in favour of his protestant subjects, lately published by A. Baldwin; and the King of Sweden's late proceedings, in relation to Silesia.

The design of the following sheets is to propose an easy, safe, and speedy method for redressing such disorders in our naval management, and to prevent the like for time to come. And, since they have all been approved by experience, it is hoped they will be the more taken notice of. Nothing but integrity, courage, and diligence, with the blessing of God, can recover our naval glory, and make it the terror of other nations, and the security of our own, as formerly. Then we should quickly be able to reduce France to reason, which can never be effected without destroying its naval force; and, how that can be done by a land war only, I am no more able to comprehend, than how the sea officers in a late reign, voting for a standing army, were like to maintain the dominion of the sea. And, that God may direct your august assembly in the prosecution of that noble design, shall ever be my desire, as it is that of all the honest people of Great-Britain.

24th October, 1707.

The way to retrieve the glory of the English arms by sea, as it is done by land, &c.

Sir,

SINCE her * Majesty's happy accession to the throne, the reputation of the English arms, by land, is advanced to so high a pitch in the world, by the conduct of her wise and brave generals, who have revived the old English way of fighting; that there seems to be nothing wanting to compleat our military glory, and to make it equal to that of the Greeks and Romans, but a rectification of those things, which have hitherto obstructed our being equally glorious in our naval atchievements, for which our situation, genius, and materials give us the advantage over all the people of the world.

Therefore, Sir, in order to retrieve our honour that way as effectually as we have done the honour of our arms by land, I presume, to sollicit your advice, whom I know to be a person of consummate experience in those matters, and of unquestionable zeal and affection for your queen and country. The occasion of my giving you the trouble is this: some worthy gentlemen of our house have under consideration, how to man our fleet with less trouble and inconvenience than has been done, since the year 1660. As to which our most sensible members are at some loss, considering that the methods taken for this end, since that period, have most of them proved ineffectual, and particularly that the *barbarous* method of *pressing* has been as far from answering the end, as it is *arbitrary*, *illegal*, and *inconsistent* with the *liberty* of the subject, upon which, we in England have always valued ourselves. Besides, it is no inconsiderable objection to this method, that it exposes us, of revolution-principles, to the reproach of those who are enemies to our constitution. An instance of which be pleased to take, as follows:

Being the other day at the water-side, I saw a *press-gang* hauling and dragging a man, in a most barbarous manner, in order to send him on

* Queen Anne.

board a press-ketch. When I came up, I found him to be a citizen of substance, and interposed in his behalf (for which, the inhuman crew threatened to hew me in pieces with their cutlaces, and had certainly done it, but that a gentleman of my acquaintance stepped in, and told them, I was a parliament-man. Being thus happily rescued, my friend and I retired a little from the crowd; and while we were discoursing upon the subject, and bewailing that free-born Englishmen should be thus treated like slaves, a *non-juring* parson, and one of his high-flying disciples, who knew us, accosted us thus, with all the bitterness that their resentments against our present establishment could suggest: 'Ha! Gentlemen, this is one of the fruits of your revolution, wherein your managers outdo the barbarity of Oliver, and the other usurpers; and we must tell you, gentlemen, that you revolutioners are but mere bunglers at rebellion in comparison of them, for they ordered their matters so, that they were feared and dreaded abroad, and became popular at home; and, had they not fallen out among themselves after Oliver's death, we had never been blessed with the happy restoration; but the conduct of your party is such, that of its own nature it must bring about another of the like sort.' I was about to reply, that the *revolution* was *not* to blame, for the instance, they upbraided us with, since it was directly contrary to the principles of it: but they satisfied themselves with having thus vented their malice, and immediately marched off.

But to return to my subject, I am heartily sorry that, notwithstanding those acts of violence, and that arbitrary method of manning our fleet, it is seldom or never manned so well, and so seasonably as it ought to be; and, when any one enquires, why our naval preparations neither answer the *end* they are designed for, nor the *charge* of the nation about them, the common answer is, that they cannot get men, and it is every year worse and worse, in this respect. Therefore, Sir, I am of opinion that there is some other method to be taken for redressing that grievance, which has not been hit upon since the restoration; for it is evident, we do not want men in the kingdom, that are fit, and would be willing to serve their country as chearfully by sea, as our soldiers do by land. Were the affairs of the fleet as well managed as those of our army, we might have our navy in as good season at sea, as we have had our armies in the field, by which we have prevented the French, and had the advantage of them in this reign, as they had the advantage of us, for the most part, in the last.

I must then beg of you to help us with your advice in a matter of so great a concern, not only to England, but to the whole confederacy: and in order to this I take the liberty to put you in mind of some discourses, we have had together about the method of breeding and managing seamen in the parliament-times, when you had the command of a ship. I remember, particularly you told me, that, in 1632, you was bound apprentice to a captain that used the Turky trade; that when your time was out, and you had gone two or three voyages as a commander for yourself, you had a captain's commission to serve the parliament by land, as had several others, among whom were Bourn and Dean, who were afterwards admirals; and that you was at last made

captain of a man of war, and served your country in that station, till a year or two after Oliver's death, when, matters falling into disorder, you threw up your commission, and returned again to the merchants service. I have heard many things, from you, relating to the management of our fleet in those days, which I am confident might be serviceable now, if you would be at the pains to recollect and set them down in writing.

I do further remember your frequent complaints, how the altering of those measures in King Charles the second's reign, when our parliaments as well as courts, being engaged in an interest opposite to that of their country, by bribes, pensions, and places, contributed to raise France to that formidable height, she since arrived to: By this means it was, that we were brought to join with that ambitious prince in a war against the Dutch, and were made deaf to the earnest sollicitations of the Spaniards, Germans, and Hollanders to engage with them in a war against France, though the Spaniards made us very advantageous proffers; particularly, that they would for ever prohibit all French manufactures and product from coming into their dominions in Europe or America, and offered us the beneficial trade of supplying them, with what of our product they wanted in both. The refusal of this made the Duke of Bergamonere, the Spanish ambassador, reflect upon our then court in the severest terms, while he spoke with the greatest honour of our nation, who contributed largely towards a war with France, but were frustrated of their design, and cheated of their money, by the managers of that time. But this was not all, the French became so insolent as to rob us of our Newfoundland fishery, to insult our ships in our own seas, on pretence of want of passes, and carried some scores of them into France, though they had such passports as our court did then ignominiously submit to.

In this manner was France suffered to aggrandise her naval power, without any remarkable controul from us till the late happy revolution, since which, we have felt the dismal effects of it, and have seen that monarch in a condition to outbrave us and the Dutch both at sea. But now, sir, we have reason to hope that the mischievous practices of that luxurious reign are the just abhorrence of this, though we have not yet been so happy as to fall upon proper methods compleatly to retrieve the glory of our naval arms: And since we are now in alliance with the house of Austria, and have advantageous articles for making ourselves capable of enlarging our trade in the Spanish West-Indies, I hope you will freely impart your mind on the subject desired, since nothing can be more acceptable to court and country; an advantage we could not promise ourselves in some of the late reigns, when you and I were forced to whisper our complaints about the decay of our shipping and trade, and our inglorious loss of the dominion of the seas.

Nor can you have forgot, that even since the revolution, you and I have frequently bewailed the nation's disappointment in having those things redressed; because some, who were then in the management, designed their own interest more than that of the country, which occasioned a bungling war, which concluded (to speak in the softest terms that matter will allow of) in a defective peace.

We are now, sir, blessed with a reign, when our House of Commons is not managed with a prospect of pensions and places, split and divided to procure votes for carrying on the designs of factious and covetous ministers: And, therefore, it is to be hoped, that a naval war, which, as it suits our genius best, is also most for our advantage, will be fully encouraged in order to a speedy reduction of France, and to the recovery and enlargement of our West-India plantations and trade. I beg your answer, sir, with all possible speed. Feb. 12, 1705.

Sir,

I HAVE received yours, and though I have no opinion of my own capacity, I will answer it the best I can, rather than be wanting in any thing that may cultivate our friendship, or serve my country. I very well remember our former discourses, you speak of about our naval affairs, and am very sensible, that our want of seamen is one of the great causes, why our naval preparations come so far short of answering the design and expence of the nation; and, in order to redress this grievance, I will recapitulate such of the methods we took to prevent that mischief in the parliament times *, as I think may suit the present occassion.

1. Particular care was taken to punish and suppress those abominable habits of cursing and swearing, drunkenness and uncleanness, so common among our seamen, that they can scarcely speak, without such horrid imprecations, and blasphemous oaths, as no Christian can hear without horror; and wherever they come, they bring such a contagion of vice along with them, as makes all people, of any morality, to detest them: So that none, who have any regard to the present or future state of their sons and other relations, care for having them on board the fleet, but rather dissuade them from it, which is none of the least causes why we are in such want of seamen. For you may believe me, sir, that though these crimes, I speak of, seem to have lost much of that odiousness, which attends them, by their frequency in the great city, it is not so with the generality of people in the country; they abhor such profligate fellows, and neither care that they should keep company, or match with their children or servants; for, besides the hatefulness of their crimes, when once they are so debauched, they are generally good for nothing after, but bring such women as they marry to want, and make them and their children as dissolute as themselves, which contributes to fill the nation with the worst sort of beggars. Had this commendable practice been continued, we should not have had such a late scandalous instance of an admiral prosecuted, when he ought to have been pursuing the service of her majesty, and his country, in so critical a juncture, for basely assaulting a justice of the peace, who had the courage and honesty to put the law against swearing in execution upon him.

2. In order to give our seamen a true taste of religion, we chose the soberest and most religious men we could get for commanders, provided they were otherwise well qualified, as I told you before, and instanced in Bourn, Dean, and others. We generally chose such as had been

* *Viz.* The parliament that began in 1640.

bred to navigation and trade, who, knowing the sweets of it, were not for prolonging a war for the sake of their commands, but endeavoured all they could to bring it to a speedy conclusion; because they knew a long war to be destructive to commerce, which is the great support of our country; and, when the war was over, they did not think it below them to return to trade again, as I instanced in myself: and, by that means, our sea-commanders, in time of peace, had no need of pensions, or half-pay, &c. except they were disabled; and by consequence were no burden to themselves, or the government. Besides, you know, that a man, who would make any thing of trade, must be frugal and sober; and being accustomed to that way of living, they not only set their crew a good example, but obliged them to follow it. But this is scarcely to be expected from poor and decayed gentlemen, pages, valets, and others of that sort, who, in the late reigns, purchased commands by interest, or the money of their friends; not but that I think it the interest of England, to breed as many of the younger sons of the nobility and gentry for naval commands as are sober, and inclinable to it, and otherwise qualified. And, since it is lawful to be taught even by an enemy, I think the French King's practice, in that matter, very commendable, and the care he takes, to have young gentlemen of his best families instructed in naval affairs, very well worth our imitation.

3. We took special care to have chaplains a-board our men of war, who were pious and diligent, whose conversation, as well as doctrine, impressed the seamen with thoughts, that there was more in religion than a mere form; and who took care to see them read their bibles and practical pieces, especially those that were most adapted to a seafaring life, which the goverment took care to have them provided with. And, that it might not be thought the design was to make them only precisians, they were likewise provided with books of navigation, and the histories of the brave atchievements of our own countrymen, and others, by sea and land; and with accounts of remarkable deliverances from dangers at sea, which were diverting, as well as instructive, and kept them from mispending their time in debauches, and other criminal exercises, which are too common amongst our seamen of late. This created an honest emulation among them to exceed one another in improvements of that sort, and shamed the illiterate into a necessity of learning to read and write, that they might be capable of conversing with their fellows, and of preferment, when it offered.

4. When offenders were punished, the officers ordered it in such a manner, that the poor wretches might be convinced, that the punishments were inflicted for their good, and not to gratify the revenge or passion of any commander. And, to keep the officers to their duty in this matter, the government demanded an exact account of the behaviour of their commanders in those respects; and such as took no care of their own behaviour, or of that of their ship's-company, were turned out, and made uncapable of employment: So that a few examples of this nature quickly reformed the fleet.

5. There was particular care taken to have our provisions good, and in plenty: We had few complaints in those days of stinking meat, or bad drink, on board our fleet. Those concerned in the victualling, &c.

were not allowed to raise themselves estates, by pinching the seamen's bellies, or buying the worst sort of provisions, and making the government pay for the best. Nor did we hear then of any superior officers going shares with inferiors to connive at them, in defrauding the government, and cheating the seamen, &c. of their provisions, or pay. We were also very careful to keep them sweet and clean; and such as were sick, or wounded, had every thing necessary provided for them, and were carefully looked after. This created such a love and esteem in the seamen to their officers, that they were willing, on all occasions, to sacrifice their lives, rather than suffer their commanders, or country, to fall under any disgrace, by non-performance on their part. I cannot omit, on this occasion, to tell you what I have frequently heard our great and good admiral, Blake, say amidst his ships-company, 'That the meanest of them were free-born Englishmen, as well as himself, and that officers and mariners were all fellow-servants to the government of their country.' This prudent and tender behaviour towards the seamen, made them look upon themselves as indispensably obliged to respect their officers as their parents; and when any of them fell under due chastisement, there was nothing like mutiny, or discontent, at it among their fellows: So that the obstinate suffered without pity; and, for others, they were more ashamed of their crime, than of their punishment.

6. There was due care taken of their pay, which was the life of the cause; for as soon as any ship came to be laid up, or refit, the books were made up, and money ready at the port to pay off the men as soon as the ship was moored (for the stores were then taken out by hired men that belonged to the yards) the seamen's short allowance was paid at the same time to a farthing; whereas now they have a double trouble to get their short allowance money at the victualling-office, which was formerly paid them at the same time with their other wages. Nor had they any difficulty in receiving their tun and gun-money (the same now with prize-money) and, if they had been upon any extraordinary service, there was a crown or ten shillings a man given them to drink the government's health; and their plunder was honestly shared among them, without any embezzlement by the officers. I cannot express the satisfaction I have had to see with what chearful and lively countenances our men would come to the pay-table; and, as they swept the money into their hats, they would pray for the prosperity of the government, and for the health of their noble captains, and other officers; so that they parted with mutual love and respect: And when their commanders told them, that they hoped they would be ready to serve the government again, upon the first notice given them, they would promise it with great chearfulness, and be as good as their word.

I must likewise tell you, that our men, being thus accustomed to good discipline, and a regular way of living, they did not spend their money, as our seamen frequently do now, before they receive it, but carried home considerable sums to their families, or other friends. And the first thing they did, was to put good clothes on their backs; and coming home better clad than their companions they left a-shore, and having more money in their pockets, after being a year at sea, than their

fellow-labourers and servants could scrape together in seven years, it raised an emulation amongst young men of the like condition, to serve the government on board the fleet, since they knew not how to dispose of themselves to so much advantage elsewhere.

7. The government took special care to pay off the quarters of the sick and wounded every week in the ports where they were; this made them be carefully looked after, and the people were fond of having them in their houses, because they knew their money was good, and ready whenever they wanted it: And their doctors and surgeons, knowing this, would not suffer them to be in any house, but where they were carefully attended. This saved abundance of their lives, and speedily effected their cure; and the government, knowing the importance of this, and that it not only saved their men but their money, whatever straits they were under, they never suffered money to be wanting for these weekly payments. But, to say the truth of them, those at the helm then managed affairs so, that they scarce wanted money for any thing, though they had not two thirds in proportion to what we now pay to the charge of the navy.

These, sir, were the methods we then took, and to which, under God, we owed most of our success by sea: For it is incredible to think what virtue, joined with British gallantry, is capable of performing.

We are not then to wonder, since those methods fell into disuse, that our success has fallen so much short of what it then was; but I persuade myself, that if your house * would seriously take these things into consideration, and lay them before her Majesty, she is a princess of that piety and wisdom, that she would soon be induced to take proper measures for retrieving that commendable, but antiquated practice.

This, I hope, will deserve more than ordinary application from yourself, and other good patriots, especially when you consider, that the great decay of our naval glory has been chiefly occasioned by the neglect of those measures since the restoration, of which I shall take leave to give you a brief and melancholy view.

1. You know that, in the parliament-times, men were advanced for their merit, and that furnished us with commanders, who raised themselves by their courage and conduct. I shall instance only in three, of the county of Dorset, viz. Cuttins, Steyner, and Martin, who, originally, used the Newfoundland fishery, but were all advanced for their good service, and are very well known to such as have read the naval accounts of those times. Martin, you know, was made captain of a fourth rate, in which alone, at Solbay, he fought four Dutch men of war, and made them run; and, at Portland fight, being captain, or, as we now say, commadore, of ten men of war, he came in from Portsmouth just after the fleets were engaged, and did such wonders, that the government resolved to have given him a flag, as the just reward of his gallantry; but his death prevented it. In those days, valour was equally rewarded in a merchantman, as in a ship of the state; nor was seniority the readiest step to preferment, then, without a proportion of merit. But, soon after the restoration, that method was altered, and men were made

* Of Commons.

captains for their standing, as dunces are made doctors in the universities. And, instead of the good morals and harmless conversation of our seamen in the parliament-times, there was nothing but cursing, swearing, damning, sinking, and obscene nasty discourse to be heard on board our fleet; so that it looked more like the suburbs of hell, than a christian navy. On this occasion, I cannot but take notice of an early instance we had of the dissolute practices and profaneness of that reign; which was thus: Some of our seamen, who brought over King Charles the Second in the Naseby, told me, that the first time they ever heard Common-prayer and God damn ye was on board that ship, as she came home with his majesty. Not that I would reflect upon the established form; for, be it common, or extemporary prayer, it is certainly more than heathenish to hear people say, 'Lord, have mercy upon us,' and cry, 'God damn us,' with one and the same breath. One great cause of the increase of this profaneness was the raising of men, to be officers and commanders, from letter-men, as they call them; a practice introduced by King Charles the Second, on pretence of recommending, by his letters, the sons of the nobility and gentry to be bred up for command on board the fleet; which at last were obtained for coachmen, footmen, and the relations and friends, and sometimes stallions and bastards of lewd women, who had interest at court; or other mean and dissolute persons procured such letters for money; which quickly filled our fleet with the worst of men for officers, and their contagious example soon infected the seamen, and made our fleet a sink of all wickedness. By this means, the old and true method of breeding sea-commanders was neglected; and those upstarts, valuing themselves upon their letters of recommendation, and the interest of vicious courtiers and debauched ladies, became insupportably proud, carried it towards their inferior officers with contempt (which deprived them of all authority) and treated their seamen like dogs; so that there was neither virtue, good understanding, or courage, to be seen in any of our ships of war, except where the commanders were men of sobriety and merit, which, God knows, was much the least number: Whereas, in the parliament-times, as I told you before, our commanders were not only civil to their seamen, but, sometimes, familiar with them; which procured them their love, and abated nothing of their due respect. We had, then, no double lieutenants to the nation's charge, but one on board a ship, and he was the captain's companion; the warrant-officers were the lieutenant's companions, but especially the master, who had, then, the sole power of sailing and working the ship, without depending, as now, on the lieutentant's orders. Our masters, their mates, boatswains, gunners, and carpenters had, then, as much command over the seamen, and were better obeyed, than the lieutenants are now; and, indeed, they deserved it. For most of our warrant-officers, then, were fit to command, and very often did it with great reputation, when their superior officers were killed, or disabled in fight. I will give you an instance of this, in the parliament-times: When twenty-two Dutch ships engaged five of ours off of Leghorn, most of our captains and lieutenants were killed and disabled in that unequal conflict; yet the fight was so well managed by the warrant-officers, that, after a long and bloody

contest, the Dutch could take but one of our ships, and that too, after the men were most of them killed or wounded.

I shall give you another instance of Sir John Leake's father, who, being gunner, of the Princess, in the first Dutch war, under King Charles the Second, had the fortune, in two several engagements, to command her, after her superior officers were killed or disabled, and brought her off safe, both times: The first was in an engagement with the Dutch, and the other was in the Baltick, with three Danish men of war. He expected to be made captain of her, as he well deserved, but was disappointed, another person being made captain, before he came home. Mr. Leake was afterwards gunner of the Prince, in the next Dutch war, when, Sir Edward Spragge being admiral, she carried the flag, and was so disabled, that Sir Edward was obliged to leave her. She had near four hundred of her men killed and disabled; her rigging was cut in pieces, and most of her upper tire of guns dismounted. As she lay by thus like a wreck for some time, a great Dutch man of war came down upon her, with two fire-ships, either to burn, or carry her off; and the captain-lieutenant, thinking it impossible to defend her, ordered the men to save their lives, and the colours to be struck. Gunner Leake, hearing this, forbad it, ordered the captain-lieutenant off the quarter-deck, took the command upon himself, and gave the Dutch so warm a reception, that he obliged them to shear off, and brought the ship safe into harbour: For which good service he was deservedly advanced to be master-gunner of England; an office he discharged with great reputation till the day of his death, which was in King William's reign. To convince you fully of the mischievous practice of depriving the master, and other warrant-officers, on board our men of war, of their former authority, and particularly that of taking from the master the power of navigating the ship, and conferring it on the lieutenants; if you please to inquire into the number of ships lost and damaged at sea, for want of due care, within these hundred years last, you will find our loss of men of war, since the lieutenants assumed the power of navigating to themselves, to be three times greater, than when it was intrusted with the masters, who were then the ablest seamen in the nation, and made navigation their constant business; whereas too many of our lieutenants spend most of their time in a riotous manner on shore, and cannot forbear their customary excesses, when they go on board.

A second defect, in the management of our naval affairs, was the neglect of raising the seamen's wages to twenty-one and twenty-nine shillings per month, as it ought to have been, in proportion to the advance of the wages of labourers and servants on shore. In King Charles the First's time, we raised their wages, according to that proportion, from nine and fourteen shillings, which was the establishment in King Henry the Eighth's time, to fourteen and eighteen shillings per month; which King Charles was obliged to do, to prevent the deserting of his seamen, when we had war with France; and the parliament, when the Dutch fell upon twenty-one of our men of war, off of Dover, with forty-two of theirs, who were soundly beaten, did, for the encouragement of our seamen, advance their pay to eighteen and twenty-four shillings per month. So that, according to this proportion above-mentioned, of ser-

vants and labourers wages, King Charles the Second ought to have raised the seamen's pay to twenty-one and twenty-nine shillings per month; but, instead of that, sixpence per month has been deducted from them to build an hospital *; which is like taking from the poor to build alms-houses.

Sir, You and our other good patriots ought to consider these things, and take care not to have our seamen imposed upon by French projects, such as that for registering seamen, which can never have any effect so long as the encouraging part of it is not put in practice, especially since those things, wherein the French naval management is worthy our imitating, are altogether neglected; such as, his taking care to have his seamen paid at the end of every voyage, or, at least, at the end of every year; and his particular care to hinder their spending their money while they are in harbour, before they are paid off, or when they come in to refit: Concerning which, his † orders are, That, if any publick-house trust them above the value of a great, the people not only lose what they so trust, but are also fined, and made uncapable of keeping a publick-house ever after. This is so much the more reasonable, that he takes care they shall want for nothing on board, and therefore he will have them spend their money at home, with their friends and relations.

A third abuse, introduced into our navy since the restoration, is, That some of their officers have assumed a sovereign power, by making such laws concerning the seamen, as are contrary to Magna Charta, and other good laws made to preserve the rights of Englishmen; such as, forcing them to the service without a law for it, and making them lose their pay, under pretence of queries and runs, without due course of law, or by the verdict of a jury. We are not to wonder, that such practices were connived at, in reigns when parliaments were influenced by places and pensions; but, if any such thing be continued, in a reign like this, when the Queen values herself upon nothing so much, as being a common mother to all her subjects, it must proceed from our own neglect to lay such grievances before her in a regular way, so as to have them redressed and prevented. In order to this, I humbly think, it were proper that your house should make an inquiry, how many thousands of our poor seamen have lost their pay, by the illegal methods abovementioned, without any hopes of recovery; for, as long as that wicked practice passes unpunished, it is enough, alone, to prevent our fleet's being well manned, though you give all the money of the nation towards it.

There is another abuse, relating to their pay, which ought to be carefully avoided; and that is, the paying them when they go to sea, and not when they come home. The prejudice that this does to the nation in general, and to the seamen's families, relations, and creditors in particular, is not easy to be expressed. The prejudice it does the nation is demonstrable thus: That it carries great sums out of the kingdom, which the seamen spend abroad, and, by consequence, never return to circulate here again: I make no doubt but, upon inquiry, it would appear, that many hundred-thousand pounds have, by this means, been

* For Seamen, at Greenwich. † The King of France's.

carried out of the kingdom. The damage it does their families is every whit as evident; for they starve at home, while the seamen squander away their money abroad; and so their wives and children become a burden to their respective parishes, and many of them think themselves excused, by their straits, to take lewd and other unlawful courses for a livelihood. And, for such of them as are honest enough to give any part of what they receive, at the port where they are paid, to their wives, other friends, or creditors, it puts their wives, &c. to an intolerable charge to go for it; and the poor sailors themselves are forced to pay double rates, in those ports, for what clothes and other things they want, because they had not money to buy them elsewhere at the best hand. The damage it does their creditors is as plain as the other; for, when the seamen spend their money abroad, they have nothing left to pay their debts at home; and thus their landladies, who trusted them for victuals and drink, and shopkeepers, who trusted them for clothes and other necessaries, are likewise defrauded of their money. I will give you one plain instance of this: Our seamen were never known to have more money among them on board, than when they sailed from Portsmouth upon the descent; yet they would not pay their landladies or creditors one farthing; but, laying hold on that clause of the act of parliament for manning the fleet, That no seaman should be detained in custody for any debt under twenty pounds, they told their creditors, with horrid oaths, that the parliament had given them their money, and they would not pay them a groat: But their landladies, to be even with them, would not, after this, give them credit for one farthing, till the seamen first gave them a bond for twenty-two pounds; and thus that act was eluded. By this you may see, sir, that all the preposterous methods, which have been taken, for manning our fleet, these forty years past, have signified nothing; that the difficulties in manning it still grow upon us, and that nothing will prevent it, but our following the old and laudable methods above-mentioned.

Another abuse, relating to their pay, is, the robbing many seamen of it, by queries and runs formerly mentioned; by this means, and the tricks of calls and recalls, many of those poor fellows have been kept out of their pay, for ten or twelve years; and thus their creditors, who advanced money on their tickets, to keep their wives and children from starving, have been cheated of their money, by putting a run upon the seamen, after those tickets were given out, when they have been turned over to another ship.

Another horrid practice, that has crept into the management of the fleet, is, the difficulty of getting the pay of seamen, who die in the service; for the pay of such is generally put off to the last, and many times never paid at all; by which the families, relations, or creditors of the deceased seamen have sustained great loss. You may easily imagine, this is a great hinderance to the manning our fleet, and creates a great aversion in the seamen themselves, as well as in their wives, and other relations, to the service of the government; for we may readily conceive, that it is a sensible argument, when wives, children, and other relations tell a seaman, that he had better stay at home, and work at day-labour, for the maintenance of himself and family, than go into the fleet; where,

in case of his death, to the danger of which he is so often exposed, they not only lose him for ever, but have no hopes of recovering his money, by which they are brought to sorrow and want at once: Whereas, were this, and the other inhuman customs above-mentioned, prevented, the seamen, and their relations, would be more willing to serve the government, than to serve merchants; for, though the latter give more money, yet, the same being paid abroad, at the respective ports of delivery, it is generally spent there, and very little of it brought home for the use of their families.

It has likewise been the practice of late to keep seamen on board our men of war for several years together, by turning them from one ship to another. This has been a great discouragement to the poor men; for, besides the injury it does to their health, it deprives them of the comfort of enjoying their families and relations; and by this, and the other hardships above-mentioned, many of them have deserted the service, and turned Pyrates, or have gone into the service of foreign countries.

The whipping and pickling of seamen, a barbarous practice, which has been much used of late, has likewise been a great hinderance to the manning of our fleet, and tends so much to debase the spirits of our seamen, and is so inconsistent with that good nature, which has always been observed to be peculiar to our nation, that one would wonder how such a practice came to be introduced, or so long suffered, without being declared contrary to English liberty, and the authors and inflicters of it made infamous by the publick justice of the country.

These, sir, are a few of the many ill customs that have been brought into the management of our navy since the restoration, and have occasioned a decay of our seamen, and by consequence of our naval glory; and, among the other consequences of it, this is none of the least, that it discourages young seamen from marrying; and you know very well, that the hinderance of propagation is a loss to the nation's capital stock. So that, except those abuses be redressed, and the war brought to a speedy conclusion, the numbers of our people must needs diminish; and we shall not only want seamen, but land-soldiers, and other useful hands that might have been employed in manufactories, husbandry, planting, and other ways for the defence of our country, and increase of our commonwealth.

The growing complaints of our great want of seamen upon every occasion to set out our fleet, and the difficulty to recruit our land-forces, is an undeniable proof of what I assert, and therefore deserves the most serious thoughts, and utmost application of your house, to prevent the ill treatment and decay of so useful a part of our people, as our seamen must always be to us who live in an island.

To this end it is my humble opinion, that your house should order an inquiry to be made into those things, and particularly into the abuses relating to their pay; and that this should not be wholly intrusted to a committee, but be made the business of the whole house; and that those grievances may be fully and freely debated there, for avoiding such practices as have been too frequent in managing committees, so as to

have complaints of publick grievances, rather stifled than duly inquired into and redressed.

For my part, I should think it proper, that the commissioners of the navy be ordered to bring in an exact account of all the money remaining due to the seamen since 1688, with the names of those seamen, the ships they belonged to, and the time of their service, and where one man has been in several ships; that the money due to him in every such ship be set down against his name, with the reasons why he has not been paid. This would help you to unravel the mystery of iniquity, and put you upon a certain method of preventing such practices in time to come: for to whom should those poor men make application for help, but to the commons of England, to whom they are so useful? There they might expect a fair hearing, and impartial justice, without being brow-beaten, hectored, and tricked out of their rights, which they so often complain is their hard lot elsewhere.

This would quickly retrieve the loss of our trade and honour, and humble France effectually; which I am afraid we shall scarce be able to do, notwithstanding our glorious successes by land, until we have utterly destroyed, or at least broke, their naval power; which, in all probability, had been long e're now, and the war brought to a happy conclusion, but for our naval mismanagements above-mentioned, and others of the like nature.

I should think, Sir, that nothing can better deserve the inquiry of the commons of England, than how it comes to pass, that we and Holland, the two greatest maritime powers of the world, have been so long in confederacy, yet so many of our American settlements have been ruined by the French; and the rest of our valuable plantations there are exposed to continual danger, by that same enemy, whom for several years we have run down by land, and to whom we are so much superior at sea? It is really a surprise to every thinking man, that we have not been able hitherto to prevent the French King's being master of the treasures of the West Indies, and to stop his bringing home their plate continually to his own country; while we ourselves are in such want of bullion, that we are forced to melt down vast quantities of our current money.

Had any man pretended to foretel twenty years ago, that England and Holland should be in war with France and Spain, and not be able in a course of fifteen or sixteen years war to prevent such losses as both of us have had by sea, and in our plantations, by the naval power of France, nor to make ourselves so much masters at sea, as to hinder their continual supplies of money from the West Indies, while we ourselves are in such want of it: I say, any man, that should have pretended to foretel this, would have been looked upon as a false prophet, and brain-sick enthusiast, void of all reason; nor would he have been less ridiculed and despised, who should have ventured to say, That two such wise and warlike nations could have failed of effectual measures, to prevent such a bloody, lasting, and expensive war by land, when it was in their power to have brought it to a short conclusion, by a vigorous war at sea: for had we once seized the French King's purse in the West Indies, which one would think we might easily have done by our own native strength

there, seconded by a strong squadron of men of war, and a competent number of brisk cruisers upon his trade, he must soon have dropped his sword; for in that case Spain, instead of being an advantage to him, must have proved such a burden as would have broke his back. I am the more confirmed in this opinion, because I have very good information, that had we but a few years ago sent a competent squadron, well manned, to the West Indies, we might have easily been masters of Canada, the French plantations there being in so great want, till they were supplied by a convoy of about sixty sail, that they could not have avoided submitting to us; and by that means we should have effectually secured our own plantations in Northern America; whereas now, from memorials and other papers that I have seen by men who are concerned to understand the state of that country, it appears that we are still in danger of greater losses in those parts, than any we have yet sustained.

There is one thing more I cannot but take notice of, as the result of our want of seamen, occasioned by the mismanagements abovementioned; and that is, that many times our losses, by storms at sea, proceed from want of convoys in due time: and thus it happens that our Virginia and Barbadoes fleets, which, in time of peace, used to come regularly home in July, August, or September, now, for want of convoys in due time, do often make it September or October before they set out from thence, and are by consequence exposed to the tempests of the season: many times our merchant fleets outward-bound, also, lose their seasons and markets for want of convoys; which is not only a great loss to our merchants and tradesmen, but also to the government, who lose in proportion of their customs, what the merchants lose in trade.

Though merchants and other private adventurers may be under difficulties, and insuperable discouragements, in representing those things to such persons as they think capable to give them ease and redress; the commons of England can never be under such circumstances, as to make it inconvenient or unsafe for them to make due inquiries into the causes of such misfortunes, and to advise to such methods as may prevent the like in time to come.

Whatever views others may have in prolonging a war, it is the interest of the people of England, whose representatives you are, to bring it to a speedy and honourable conclusion. And I think it is plain, that the reducing of the Spanish West Indies to the obedience of King Charles* would be the speediest, as well as the most effectual way of doing it. This would give us, at the same time, an opportunity of enlarging our trade in those parts, and of getting some convenient ports to secure it, which, by the articles of the treaty †, we are allowed to retain, if we take them out of the hands of the French; and this is the least the Spaniards ought to grant us, in consideration of the blood and treasure we have spent on their account. Nor is there any reason why we should not rather be intrusted to conveigh and bring home their plate, to be made use of for our mutual wealth and defence, than that it should be suffered to come under the French King's management, to be

* The late Emperor, who laid claim to the crown of Spain; see Rights of Austria to Spain, in Vol. X.

† With the said King Charles the Fifth.

made use of against us both. I know it is objected by some, that this would give umbrage to the Spaniards, and increase the aversion of that country against the House of Austria. But this can have no weight with any man of thought, for to suffer the treasures of the West Indies to continue in the French King's power, is the most effectual disservice that can be done, not only to the house of Austria, but to all Europe; nor is there any more reason that the Spaniards of King Charles's party should conceive umbrage at having their West Indies under the management and protection of us and the Dutch, during the war, than those of the Duke of Anjou's * party do at the French King's having the management and protection of it at present; or, if both of them be jealous at it, there is no cause to be given why we should regard the one, more than he does the other.

The case being thus, Sir, I hope that you and our other patriots will take it into consideration; and since we have already contributed so much towards the security of the United Provinces, by procuring them a good frontier, and have likewise done so much for the empire; it would seem but reasonable that we should think of doing something that may be of advantage to ourselves, with relation to our trade, lest it take another channel, and so we, who have done most of any of the allies, should also come to suffer more than any of them by this long and expensive war.

This is the more reasonable, because our allies the Dutch are very careful of their trade, and maintain an advantageous commerce with the French, notwithstanding the war; and likewise with the Spanish West-Indies by way of Curassaw; so that they have brought home double the plate from thence since the war, that they did in time of peace, whereas we have brought home far less. And, on this occasion, I cannot but think the Spaniards of King Charles's party might easily be induced to grant us and the Dutch the same conditions of trade to the Spanish dominions, exclusive of all others, that the Marquis de Bergamanero offered us in King Charles the Second's reign, as has been mentioned already.

I am not of capacity to judge, whether it be absolutely necessary, in order to carry on the war in Spain and the West-Indies, that we should diminish the number of our forces in the Netherlands: but, according to my poor way of reasoning, I should think, if the Emperor would redress the grievances of the Hungarians, and persuade the other Popish princes of the empire to redress the grievances of the German protestants; our allies in Germany and the Netherlands might find the French employment enough on that side, and leave us and the Dutch with part of our fleet and forces to manage the war in Spain, and the West-Indies. And, since both of them require a naval force, we should have the money for their provisions and pay circulate among ourselves; whereas vast sums of our money are now spent by our army beyond sea, to the inriching of our allies, while we ourselves are impoverished.

We should also, by this means, recover the plantations we have lost, secure those that are in danger, deprive the French of theirs, and re-

* Now Philip King of Spain.

trieve our New-found-land fishery, which would be a constant nursery for seamen, and recover our trade to the Streights, &c. that depended upon it.

This, Sir, in my humble opinion, would be a speedy and effectual way to retrieve our naval glory and trade, and to humble France, so as to put it out of their power to impose the St. Germains family *, upon us, and enslave Europe, which is the chief design of the war.

But I am afraid we shall be far from obtaining it by a land war *only*, while the French King is master of the Spanish West-Indies, of such a naval force, of so good a trade, of such large dominions, secured by strong frontier garisons, and of such an absolute power over his subjects.

I shall conclude with this observation, that, since we are in an island, it ought to be our principal care to be always in a condition to *man our fleet well*, and *betimes*, as it ought to be that of governments on the continent to be always in a condition to man and provide well their frontier towns; because the neglect of the one may be as fatal to us, as the neglect of the other to them: and, since our situation is so happy as to make us need no standing army, in time of peace, it would seem to be our interest to enlarge and advance our trade, so as we may always have a competent number of seamen in readiness to man our fleet, whenever occasion requires it.

This is what I have to suggest about retrieving our naval glory; and, if it may be of any use to the publick, it is wholly due to you who imposed this task upon me; only, I beg your pardon, that I could not send it time enough for you to make use of last year, but, I hope, it may do as well this. I am,

January 4, 1706.

Sir,

Your humble Servant.

POSTSCRIPT.

Sir,

I HAVE been longer than I intended, but hope you will excuse me, because you know when once I am engaged in this subject, I cannot tell how to leave it. But to make the thing as easy as possible to yourself, and others to whom you may impart this, I shall make a brief recapitulation of the whole, that you may have the substance of what I have said at one view:

1. Take care to reform the morals of your officers and seamen, according to the methods above-mentioned, lest otherwise heaven as well as the common enemy be engaged against you; and, though there was

* Those that claim the crown of Great-Britain, by hereditary right, from King James the Second who resided at St. Germains.

nothing in this, you see there are political reasons, why our officers and seamen ought to be sober and regular in their conversation.

2. Be sure that the punishments on board the fleet be such as may convince the seamen, of the odiousness of their crimes, and not such as may debase their spirits, or make them think that the officers seek to gratify their own brutish revenge, contemn their fellow-creatures and subjects, usurp a legislative power, or invade Magna Charta, and the birth-right of Englishmen.

3. Take care, their provisions be good and plentiful; that there be no connivance at frauds to the prejudice of the seamen; and let them be kept sweet and clean, carefully looked after, when sick, and in all other respects used kindly.

4. Let them be duly paid, when they come home, that they may have some comfortable enjoyment of themselves, with their wives, relations, and friends; and that the money, we pay them, may circulate among ourselves. Let their short allowance, and prize-money, be duly paid, at the same time with their wages, and their plunder be duly shared among them.

5. Let the quarters of the sick and wounded be duly paid, and let their doctors and surgeons on board, or a-shore, be skilful and careful, and furnished with good medicines.

6. Take care that men be advanced, according to their merit; and let not seniority, without other qualifications, or letters of recommendtion, and money or interest, be the ordinary steps to advancement. And, to this end, let a list of all those, who behave themselves well on any occasion, be carefully kept, and at the end of every expedition laid before the prince and parliament.

7. Let seamen's wages be raised according to the present proportion of the wages of servants and labourers, as was the old commendable practice: for it is a disgrace to the government, that private persons should pay and reward better than they.

8. Let there be money always at the pay-office to satisfy the executors of those who die in the service, or those who have lawful powers to receive the pay of such as have been turned over into other ships, before the ships, they belonged to, were paid: and let an end for ever be put to that mischievous practice of calls and recalls, in attending upon which, many have spent the greatest part of their pay, before they received it.

9. In a word, let all those abuses introduced into the management of our fleet, since the restoration, be inquired into and redressed; and let commissions be given to such as have been bred to navigation, and have a good repute among the mariners: for such officers will be able to raise most of their men by their own reputation.

These methods will save many thousands of pounds to the nation, that are spent by press-gangs, press-ketches, and in provisions and wages to keep men on board ships, that are laid up, during the winter, to prevent their running away.

Had these things been put in practice at the beginning of this war, there had been no complaint for want of seamen; the decay that has

since happened in our trade and manufactories (the natural consequences of war) would have brought more into the service, than we should have needed; and when the war had been over, and trade restored, those tradesmen would have returned from the fleet to their former employments, which would have prevented our being overstocked with seamen, for the rest must have been employed by merchantmen.

Before I conclude, I must put you in mind, of what you and I discoursed before the present war was proclaimed, when you asked my thoughts about the great naval expedition we had then in hand.

You may remember, I told you, that, if it was designed for Spain, my opinion was, that we should, in the first place, seize the Isle of Minorca, and, by consequence, possess ourselves of the noble port of Mahon *, erect a magazine of naval stores there, and send thither our hulks to careen as we did in King Charles the Second's time, when we had a war with the Algerines, and as we did during the last war at Cales.

By having a good fleet, or at least a strong squadron, there all the year, we should have been masters of the Mediterranean, and have prevented the French from sending recruits to Italy and Spain: and as the plain result of this the Duke of Savoy had not been reduced to such straights, nor the confederacy obliged to so much expence and danger in sending him relief; nor had Barcelona, and all the advantages which King Charles gained in Spain, been in so much danger of being lost by the opportunity which the French had to attack Barcelona by sea and land, in retaking of which they were visibly disappointed by the immediate hand of heaven. Nor should the French, after such a blow as they received there, have been in a condition to march their troops round, to regain Castile, dispossess our allies of Madrid, retake Carthagena on the Spanish coast, and Alcantera on the frontiers of Portugal, to the evident hazard of driving King Charles again out of all those Spanish dominions, the reducing of which has cost England so much blood and money.

Nor should we have been under any necessity of courting the expensive, and hitherto almost useless, alliance of the Portuguese; but, having such a good harbour and place of arms as Port-Mahon, we should quickly have been masters of Majorca, Sardinia, and Sicily, have reduced Naples to the obedience of King Charles, and obliged the Italian potentates, the pope not excepted, either to come into the alliance, or to pay contributions: Which would have prevented his visible partiality in favour of the house of Bourbon, that has kept the war so long on foot, and has so much endangered the liberty of Europe, and the protestant religion, and given the French King so fair a chance to destroy our own liberty and religion, by imposing, with the assistance of our male-contents at home, that St. Germains pretender upon us, and making him real as well as titular King of Great-Britain and Ireland.

I shall only add, that had we, according to the maxims of all wise invaders, first secured ourselves of a port and place of arms upon the

* This was done afterwards.

skirts of their dominions, as we might easily have done by seizing Port-Mahon, we should have prevented the fatal mismanagement of the war, in Italy and Spain, where sometimes the French, and sometimes the allies, have had the advantage of one another, by a sudden run, as happens in a game at football; and had we kept that port after the war was over, which could not well have been denied us, we might have made it a magazine and station for ships, to command the Mediterranean, and protect our Streights trade, and should thereby have been in condition, by a naval power (without incurring any danger from standing armies) to hold the balance of Europe in our hands; which, as it is our natural province, is England's greatest security and glory.

From all this, Sir, I hope, that you and the rest of our good patriots will take care to propose due methods for retrieving our naval glory, and to see that the war be so carried on, as it may be brought to a speedy and honourable conclusion; which, in my humble opinion, can never be done, except by our naval force we deprive the French King of the continual supplies of money he has from the West-Indies, or carry the war into his own country. And, I think, Sir, it is but reasonable, that having done so much already for the house of Austria, and our other allies the Dutch, we should now begin to think of doing something for ourselves, that others may not run away with the greatest part of the profit, while we have borne the *greatest proportion* of the charge of the war.

Adieu.

THE CHARACTER OF A SNEAKER.

London, printed in the Year 1705. Quarto, containing five pages, and the Picture of a Janus in the title-page.

A SNEAKER is *something* so very like *nothing*, that it requires a *metaphysical* brain to define him. He is a mere *reptile*, that should have had the *serpent* for his father, by his *creeping upon his belly*, and *Eve* for his mother, by his *readiness to comply with temptations*. He was born with a tongue, but his eye-sight took away the use of it; for he no sooner saw the golden apple of preferment, but he laid hold of it, and was silent.

He might be a chameleon for his different appearances, but he knows not how to live upon air. He is a mere weathercock, though not a high-church-man, and always faces about, and turns his backside upon every wind but what blows from the court. He is for sending over for the pretended prince of Wales, and breeding him up in the doctrines of the church of England one session of parliament, and for letting in John

Calvin into St. Stephen's chapel another; he is for saying King William made a felonious treaty in the last reign, but is for a more dangerous agreement in this, since the partition only affected us in our concerns abroad, but a comprehension would ruin us at home. In short, he is good for nothing, for *H non est littera*, is a standing rule in *prosodia*.

He was poet-laureat to Monsieur Poussin, and lodged in the same house with him, when he sneaked out from his company the last time they met together, at the Blue-posts; but now his St. Maw's Muse has given the French troops a Cornish hug, and flung them all upon their backs, as may be seen in his excellent metre, inscribed to the Duke of Marlborough, as it is inserted in that valuable paper, called, The Diverting Post.

He has been a member of parliament for one of our universities, yet shrinks back from the defence of the doctrines of that church which is acknowledged by his electors for the only true one. He is a man of great reach and abilities, in distinguishing metals; and, if he did but know the difference of the mizen-mast from the main, as well as that of a louis d'ore from a guinea, he might make an admirable commander of the navy.

He is a gentleman that has slept away the remembrance of what recommended him to be knight of the shire for ——, and dreamt himself into a place in the exchequer; which has dazzled his eyes so, and confounded his understanding, that he sits down, as if at his journey's end, with a pension of fifteen-hundred pounds per annum, and thinks he has done enough for his country, who sent him up to town to do their business, not his own, in making provision for himself.

He is one that was to play the Devil with the Observator, for writing against the church, before his tryal, but had not a word to say for it after; some-body had lived so merrily, as to forget the day of the month on which he was found guilty. His hand is always *open*, though his mouth is shut. His heart is as good as any man's in England, for the church established; but charity begins at home, and let the national religion sink or swim, as long as one is taken care of.

He is against tacking the occasional conformist's bill to the land-tax, not for the sake of his country, but himself. He is tacked to an office, which he is loth to be disjoined from; and, for that cause, hinders the other's conjunction. He is cap in hand to his electors, before they return him for their member; but, when once got upon their shoulders *, he will ride † them to some purpose. It matters not what instructions they give him; great men are allowed to have treacherous memories, and he will not part with that title to greatness.

He is an Aristotelian, tho' he loves the mammon of unrighteousness too much to be a philosopher; and his actions are sufficient arguments to shew, that the corruption of one thing is the generation of another ‡, *i. e.* He makes appear, that the defection of a good man to a bad party

* At country elections, it is customary to carry the members chosen in triumph on men's shoulders about the town.

† Hector and sponge upon those he represents.

‡ This is the Aristotelian principle in naturals; but the sneaker adapts it to politicks.

is the accession of an ill one; and, if he did not know himself to have made a wrong and unjustifiable choice, he would never be ashamed of declaring his mind in favour of it; which shews modesty has not forsaken him, though honesty seems to have bidden him adieu.

Though he is not qualified to be one of his grace of Canterbury's chaplains, because he is not a churchman good enough, he may serve for one of his water-men, for to look one way, and row another, is their business. He was put into a post, under pretence of being a churchman, but imagines, the ready way to keep in it, is not to be against the dissenters; for some-body has said, They are too great a body to be disobliged; and he knows he stands but upon slippery ground, while he gives not implicit obedience to some-body's orders.

He is one that has been deputed by the people to make new laws, and hinks it of no consequence what becomes of the old. He is of a modern cut; and the very reason, that should be of force with him to stand up for the church, slackens his resolutions to defend her. She has been a church from the beginning, and King Solomon's mistress * is too antiquated, and out of date, for a courtier's embraces.

He is a pretended stickler for the queen's authority, just so long as he receives the queen's money, while, to shew how undeserving he is of her royal favour, he confederates himself for the downfall of the queen's religion. He is an Englishman with a Scotch heart, an Irish pair of heels, and a Spanish countenance. His policy consists in a demure look, his courage in withdrawing himself when there is an occasion; his constancy is variation; and his honesty is what you think fit to call it, for I know not where to find it.

He is for a single ministry †, that he may play the Tom-double under it, and had rather the management of affairs should be in one great lord's or court lady's hands, than in several; because the fewer the superintendants, the more may be the miscarriages of those that are subordinate to them, without being discerned. Not that he is of this temper for any other account, since, notwithstanding his pretended affections for her Majesty's person and government, he leans more towards a commonwealth than a monarchy, and had rather the executive power was to be intrusted with a committee of safety ‡, and he to be the Obadiah of the party, than to be lodged where it is.

He was for resuming of grants the last reign, for fear there would be none left to be given away in this, and always for having commissioners to state the publick accompts, till, by getting into a post himself, he was rendered obnoxious to their censures. He is against flinging out of the house all members of parliament possessed of offices erected since the year 84, because a sneaker ‖ was in employ before that time of the day; and under-hand makes an interest against the Occasional bill, because he is a sort of an occasionalist himself.

He goes to church, because the queen does, and is ready to give his vote for as many millions as shall be desired; because he knows how to make the double account, his quota comes to, out of them. He is a

* The church of God. † A prime minister.
‡ The government was so stiled, when the parliament rebelled against King Charles the First.
‖ Viz. The particular person hereby intended.

state hermophradite, an ambidexter: Jacob T——n with his two left-legs makes not such an aukward figure as he does. He is like the satyr in the fable, that blows hot and cold with the same breath, and never does any thing praise-worthy, but when he blushes for shame of his playing at hide and seek, with his old principles, at the sight of an old ———

Dr. D'——nt is a saint to him, and played the man; for he no sooner changed sides, but his peace abroad and war at home told the world so. But he plays the child's part; and, because he shuts his own eyes, thinks no creature in the world sees him. The one cares not who knows what he is, and the other would be taken for what he is not. Of the two sinners the first is the more commendable, for that Devil can less do mischief, that appears in his own shape, than the form of an angel of light.

He never looks upon her Majesty's arms, but Semper Eadem * gives him the gripes, for he knows he had not been what he is, had he continued what he was. He is *Regis ad Exemplum* † only in his cloaths, not in his principles, and pays a greater deference to her Majesty's way of dress than her worship. He is a figure of nought or cypher, that is of use only when you come to tell noses; and rather weakens then strengthens a party, but when the yea's and no's set the clerks in parliament at work, and make them fall to numeration.

He is the very reverse of one of the members of the rump parliament, even while he sides with them that justify their proceedings. They set aside the house of lords as useless; he is for pulling down the authority of the house of commons, even while he has the honour to sit in it, and making a surrendry of their right in one point, that he may be taken for a man of peaceable dispositions in all others. Moderation is his pretence, but getting of money immoderately is his practice, and *Unde habeat quærat nemo sed oportet habere* ‡, is a lecture that takes up his whole consideration.

He forwards the dispatch of the publick business, that he may be the sooner a fingering the publick funds; and, having railed himself into an office, is under dreadful apprehensions of being railed out of it again. To conclude, he is neither fish, flesh, nor good red-herring; he is the *punctum saliens* of all parties, yet never serviceable to any. He is always in motion, yet might as well sit still for the good he does in being so; and, if any city, town, or county, wants such a representative for the ensuing parliament, he will give him as lusty promises as the best shall, and is ready to be returned to the clerk of the crown, when his electors shall think fit; if not, let them look out for one that will come up to his word, and their expectations, for I shall not pretend to direct them, when they have such an ample field to choose in. For I am an enemy to black lists, and am for leaving the people of England to the freedom of elections.

* *i. e.* Always the same; the Queen's motto. † Conformable to his sovereign's example.
‡ No body enquires where he may get it; but it must be had.

LOYALTY,

Attended with

GREAT NEWS FROM DRAKE'S AND RALEIGH'S GHOSTS.

Presenting the true means whereby Britain may be recovered from her maladies, and obtain a lasting happiness, honour, and renown. In an heroick poem.

Vicimus, o magnis tandem exauditu Piorum
Vota Deus, nunc alma salus, nunc secula curat
Omnipotens.———

London, printed for the Author, in 1705. Quarto, containing sixteen pages.

TO THE QUEEN.

May it please your Majesty,

THE sense of my unworthiness would have discouraged me from this bold address, had not your Majesty assured the world of your most gracious condescension to forgive greater trespasses.

Most gracious Sovereign,

My plain Muse has herein been favoured to represent the mature conceptions of some of your Majesty's loyal subjects, who are deservedly esteemed amongst the most wise and understanding persons, and such who have merited from the crown equal with most; which, if his late Majesty had lived a few days longer, would have been apparent to all.

I humbly crave pardon for this presumption, and beg the honour of your Majesty's gracious acceptance hereof, praying (with all loyal and dutiful subjects) for your Majesty's long and prosperous reign, to the glory of God, and the protestant religion, which is, and shall be the constant and most hearty petition of,

Your Majesty's

Most loyal,

And most humble servant,

JOHN SADLER.

HAD not the sov'reign of the globe took care,
Ev'n on the precipice of black despair,
To send us a deliverer of our isle,
Who chang'd the gloomy scene and made us smile:
(Illustr'ous Nassau *, that bright rising sun)
Britannia had been ruined and undone †.

A new meridian light he did erect;
And by diffusive rays of heat protect;
Chacing away the frightful shades of night,
When arm'd Destruction stood in all our sight.

Look! look!—what splendid form does now surprise,
Moving with com'ly gate before our eyes?
Each step it softly does to us advance;
Looks not with pale, but shining countenance;
So graceful, that the near approaching sight,
Instead of terror, does command delight,
And to a sweet composure does invite.

Drake's Ghost.

Forth from that sweet place where bless'd shades do dwell,
To my dear Albion ‡ I am sent to tell:——
Kind heav'n for her has blessings treasur'd up,
The hieroglyphick is —— this golden cup;
This cup of consolation in my hand,
Britannia! Now be wise and understand.

When the proud daring powers of Spain combin'd ||,
And in a frightful grand armado join'd;
Which they Invincible did proudly call;
Old Belzebub could not forbear, and all
Th' infernal fiends, who then began to grin,
To see his subjects toiling in their gin,
And compass'd in ——

When Plutus muster'd up his furious legions
Through all his sulph'rous, dark, and smoky regions,
Drawn forth in line of battle, to invade
Thy land: And when his grenadiers, with spade,
Thought with one mighty thrust to shovel down
This isle into the sea, with nod and frown;
Propitious heaven all their measures brake,
And by a word of full command bespake,
Bespake me § for the instrument, and gave
A mandate that I should Britannia save.

* William Prince of Orange. † By a popish King and council. ‡ England.
|| In 1588. § Admiral Drake.

The famous Queen Elisabeth then reign'd,
Whose admiral I was; and (when obtain'd
This joint commission) heav'n did then inspire,
And taught me to prepare new works of fire *;
Wing'd with a thund'ring vengeance, and such roa
Such desolation as ne'er known before.

Most of their floating Cyclope isles then flew
Up, through the wounded air, in open view;
While some sunk down in Neptune's watry grave,
With shrieks to th' Virgin Mary †, them to save.

The eccho weary'd was with frightful sound,
More dreadful than rous'd Cerb'rus barkings, round
The Gulph of Scylla and Charybdis (where
Tremendous horror and amazement stare
On one another with erected hair.)
The Spanish monarchy was then o'erthrown;
And looking round for help, but finding none,
Sunk down and gave an universal groan.
Her isles in Western Indies then did shake,
And all her territories in the name of Drake ‡.

Go, tell, —— Drake's ghost a prophecy has brought,
Worthy of glorious Anne's most pond'rous thought:
The British vessel shall through billows flee,
Far from the prospect of the Vulture's eye;
And, from the new world which I first survey'd,
In gold and silver mines they soon shall trade.

In this grand juncture of your state affairs
Britain, with open eyes, and heart, and ears,
That happiness shall seek, and seeking find,
Which heals her maladies of ev'ry kind.
The rest —— my brother's following ghost reveals,
Hark England! for it now most plainly deals.
Dear Albion! once again —— Adieu;
Think on thy Drake and Raleigh too;
Thy friends, thy faithful friends most true,
It descends, &c.

Behold! —— dear Raleigh's ghost approaching stands
Before us now, and awful love commands:
See! —— with what graceful motion it draws near!
Allures our sight, instead of raising fear.

* This alludes to the first invention of Fire-ships, as you will read on page 162, vol. I.
† The usual exclamation of papists in time of trouble or danger.
‡ See Drake's voyages round the world.

Raleigh's Ghost.

Forth from th' Elysian shade's sweet rest, I rise,
Assuring England we do sympathise
In her afflictions; and will now detect
Who are her greatest foes, she does the least suspect.

Vipers who in her bowels lately bred;
And, eating through, thrust forth each pois'nous head;
From whence Great-Britain such convulsions felt,
In whose swoln womb this ven'mous brood has dwelt.

These are new monsters, who old Rome out-do;
And all the late Ignatian * order too.
Such, who compact with all the pow'rs of hell,
Therein eternally, eternally to dwell;
May they but bring a total desolation
On their own hated mother (English) nation.

From hence, such paroxysms; such torturing pain,
Such jealousies and discontents do reign,
By whose inchantments England's smote so blind,
Her blissful paradise she cannot find,
The place which heav'n to her has late assign'd.

Shake off those charms; from lethargy arise,
And take the counsel of the truly wife;
I'll be thy conduct, who am Raleigh's ghost,
And bring thy navy safe to Darien's coast:†
Bless'd Havilah ‡, whose dust is ore, and shines
Rich, and resplendent from her golden mines;
The grand Emporium of the world for trade,
Which for heav'n's dearest favourites was made.

I (Gundamore's ‖ terror now) am sent to you,
From the consulting shades, forthwith to shew
The bright transparent mirror of their heart,
And from them now I faithfully impart
This news to my dear native land; the isle
On which heav'n's countenance begins to smile.

By their commands I now am sent to tell———
England all other nations shall excell
In ev'ry blessing, will she timely take
Our counsels, and herself most happy make.

* Jesuits; Ignatius Loyala being their Founder.

† Darien is that Isthmus, or neck of land, on which Carthagena, Portobello, &c. are situate in the West-Indies.

‡ A common name for any country rich in gold and silver mines; an epithet taken from Genesis ii. ver. 11.

‖ Gundamore was the Spanish ambassador at the court of England, who procured Raleigh's death.

Darien's thy right by gift; arise, possess
The same; and to thy lasting happiness
Fix now the famous æra; then disband
Thy armies; for heav'n's strong protecting hand
Will be thy bulwark, and thy strong defence
From Frenchified-Spanish insolence.

By this means will the Evangelick light*
Chace from those monuments of love their night
Of Pagan darkness, who now draw their breath
In dismal vale, among the shades of death.
Where Jim and Ojim † constantly do haunt,
Who, by this gospel-beam, will strait —— avaunt.
O what a blessing, then, would England be,
To cause the deaf to hear, the blind to see!

O let this counsel with impression sink
In thy most serious thoughts; in time bethink;
If for conversion-work thou hast respect,
Heav'n all thy steps will order and direct;
Then, for religion's sake, thy golden trade
Shall thrive, and truly prosperous be made.
Th' angelick guard a trophy then will raise
To dear Britannia's loud immortal praise.
And Lewis ‡, to thy rich imperial crown,
Shall bow; court all thy favours, fear thy frown:
While Europe stands amaz'd at thy renown,
And all earth's monarchs, who shall know thy fame,
Will then rise up their blessings to proclaim,
When they shall hear Britannia's awful name.

Now let the dreadful doom of James the First‖,
(Who all his popish successors sore curst)
Light on those black infernal minds, who join
This enterprise to break; or shall repine
Against this deed, which heav'n's broad seal does sign.

Brand with perpetual stigma all, all those
Who thy felicity in this oppose,
And treat 'em as thou would'st thy greatest foes;
And they no less deserve all good men's hate,
Who of strange mountain bug-bears do relate,
Nigh Darien; (like those wicked spies of old,
Who of tall Anakims round Canaan told)
Confronting Providence with brow most bold.

Shake off thy charms, and from deep sleep arise;
And take the timely counsel of the wise:

* The gospel preached by protestants. † Two Pagan deities. ‡ The King of France.
‖ Who was poisoned by the Duke of Buckingham. See p. 417. Vol. IV.

Thick scales from thy blind eyes will then drop off,
And thy deaf ears unstopp'd; whilst all who scoff,
Insulting o'er thy maladies, will find
That heav'n's slow mills will them to powder grind.

Shake off thy strong intoxicating charm,
And thyself with fix'd resolution arm;
I'll be thy conduct (Britain's Martyr's Ghost)
And bring thy navy safe to Darien's coast.

I'll haste; and, at your sovereign's call, prepare
A figure, which all England's foes will fear.
Nor can the shades (tho' happy) take full rest,
'Till Britain's of her Paradise possess'd,
Where she, with peace, trade, honour will be bless'd.
[Raleigh's Ghost vanishes, &c.

Kind heav'n assist us, rightly to improve
This noble magazine of treasur'd love.
O cleanse our drowsy souls from filthy dregs,
Screw up our craz'd Theorbo's dusty pegs,
And let each sounding heart-string tuned be
To a most sweet melodious harmony.
And to a fervent soul-transforming praise,
Since heav'n resolves, by such endearing ways,
Britannia's griefs to heal, and her to glory raise.

Most welcome news these happy shades do bring,
Who, by divine instruction, know the thing,
That timely will prevent the nation's woe;
Who is Britannia's friend, and who her foe.
Not like the doubtful oracles of old,
But, with love's freedom, modest, plain, yet bold,
They tell, wherein our happiness consists;
Removing from our eyes the strange inchanting mists.

O, honour'd England! sure thy fame will spread,
And, in thy adversaries *, strike a dread,
Since two such men † rise from the dead to heal
With sympathy, as if both did feel
Our griefs; and all the happy shades likewise
Consulted, how to make us great and wise.

May all those parasites an entrance find
In Strombolo's and Ætna's mouths ‡, who blind
Our nation's eyes, by their Satanick arts,
To hide true understanding from our hearts.

* France and Spain. † As Drake and Raleigh. ‡ Strombolo and Ætna are two burning mountains.

Now let's no longer rub our fest'ring sore,
Lanc'd by great Raleigh to the very core;
But wait in patience 'till we understand
What glorious Anne will say, and what command.

The vapours, which did late infect our air,
Depart; and our late clouds do disappear;
We'll haste to court, in hopes to gain the royal ear.
And may we, when we next together meet,
With news celestial, one another greet.

Mean while, to strengthen our assurance, we
Illustrious Anne will view; whom all do see
Encompass'd round in heaven's dear embrace,
Shining with glory from its smiling face,
Which crowns her both with majesty and grace.
And, tho' great Nassau's absence made it night,
Soon after rose this more resplendent light.

Of equal honour to the British throne,
While William or Eliza, she is known;
Who does with new advancing lustre shine,
And lives the terror of the humbl'd Sein.

We've seen her arms, Great Britain's cross display,
While bafflʼd France does own, our Anna's ray
Did, by the brightness of her dawning reign,
Just entr'ing on the globe, and late began,
What e'er their tedious monarch wrought, exceed,
And taint his grandeur by one single deed,
And pull the fading laurels from his head.

Nor will, 'till she the mighty work has done,
Sheath up, and the contested balance won,
And finish what the great Nassau begun.

The treach'rous See of Rome, and haughty France,
She now has put in a confounding trance,
Which, in all joyful hearts, does now inspire
New consolations from a heav'n-born fire;
And into ev'ry loyal breast instills
What with new love and admiration fills.

To France and Rome she is the sterling mirror
Of heart-distracting grief, and thundering terror.

Let Vigo speak, if any strength be left
In these, who of their senses were bereaft,
And breathless, hid themselves in mountains cleft.

Let France tell, who Anne's banner view'd with dread,
When Marlborough her victorious army led
Up to the shaken empire, to defend
From Lewis's strong invasion; and did send
All his slain host to their infernal place,
And did his captiv'd generals pride abase.

Marlborough, so great and brave, he gave 'em light
From his loud cannons flames (in dusk of night)
For decent burial of those warriors all,
Who durst aspire to grasp th' imperial ball,
The diadem and scepter (to enslave
All Europe) thus, he sent those hectors to the grave.

Let their sad ghosts arise to tell th' alarms,
Which smote France deaf and dumb thro' Britain's arms,
In spight of Maintenon's * delusive charms.

Since Rome and France proclaim it certain death
To speak of this great conquest but one breath,
Let those shades rise, tho' they but once appear
Not now to tell the news which all men hear,
But to torment, and strike 'em dead with fear.

We'll give 'em leave *Te Deums* now to sing,
Since welcome post such glorious news does bring.
If Lewis means at next campaign to thrive,
Le Chese † his prayers backwards now must strive,
(Tho' in much shame and ridicule) to mumble,
While moon-blind fops with aching gizzards grumble.

Victorious Anne, in a triumphant state,
Her publick Hallelujah's twice has sounded,
And, when a third time she shall consecrate
Immanuel's ‡ praise, may she then be surrounded
With th' universal harmony of all,
In shout, for France and Rome's tremendous fall.

And may she reign in peace and honour, 'till
Time all the sacred prophecies fulfil
A signet in God's heart; a plague to hell:
And (with his Royal Highness ||) ever dwell,
Ever, in Beatifick-Vision-Place;
In the eternal (dear and full) embrace
Of great Jehovah, to behold his face.

Amen, Amen.

* Lewis the Fourteenth's Mistress. † Lewis the Fourteenth's Confessor. ‡ Jesus Christ.
|| Prince George of Denmark, Queen Ann's Consort.

PROVIDENCE DISPLAYED;

OR,

A VERY SURPRISING ACCOUNT

OF ONE

MR. ALEXANDER SELKIRK,

MASTER OF A MERCHANT-MAN

CALLED,

THE CINQUE-PORTS;

Who dreaming that the ship would soon after be lost, he desired to be left on a desolate island in the South-Seas, where he lived four years and four months, without seeing the face of man, the ship being afterwards cast away as he dreamed. As also, How he came afterwards to be miraculously preserved and redeemed from that fatal place, by two Bristol privateers, called, The Duke and Duchess; that took the rich Aquapulco Ship, worth one-hundred ton of gold, and brought it to England. To which is added, An account of his birth and education. His description of the island where he was cast; how he subsisted; the several strange things he saw, and how he used to spend his time. With some pious ejaculations that he used, composed during his melancholy residence there. Written by his own hand, and attested by most of the eminent merchants upon the Royal-Exchange.

Quarto, containing twelve pages.

IN the voyage of the Duke and Duchess privateers belonging to Bristol, who took the rich Aquapulco ship, they came to an island called Juan Fernandez; where sending their pinnace on shore, she returned, after some time, bringing with her a man cloathed in goat skins, who seemed as wild as the goats themselves.

Being brought on board the Duke, he said, he had been on the island four years and four months, having been left there by Captain Stradling, in a ship called the Cinque-Ports, about the year 1705, of which ship he was master; and Captain Dampier, who was then with him, and now on board the Duke, told Captain Rogers, he was the best man then on board the Cinque-Ports, who immediately agreed with him to

be a mate on board the Duke. His name was Alexander Selkirk, a Scotchman, and the manner of his being found there, was by his making a fire the night before, when he saw the two privateers aforesaid, judging them to be English, by which, judging it to be an habitable island, they had sent their boat to see; and so he came miraculously to be redeemed from that solitary and tedious confinement, who otherwise, in all probability, must have miserably ended his life there.

He said, That, during his stay there, he had seen several ships pass by, but only two of them came in to anchor, which he judged to be Spaniards, and retired from them, upon which they fired at him; had they been French, he said he would have submitted himself, but chose rather to hazard dying on the island, than to fall into the hands of the Spaniards in those parts, because he believed they would either murder him, or make him a slave in their mines.

The Spaniards landed so near him, before he knew where they were, that he had much ado to escape; for they not only shot at him, but pursued him into the woods, where he climbed up to the top of a tree, at the foot of which they made water, and killed several goats just by, but went off without discovering him.

He told them, that he was born at Largo, in the county of Fife, in Scotland, and was bred a sailor from his youth.

The reason of his being left on this melancholy island, was a difference betwixt him and his captain, which, together with the ship's being leaky, made him willing rather to stay there than go along with him at first, and, when he was at last willing to go, the captain would not receive him.

He had been, he said, on the island, to wood and water, when two of the ship's company were left upon it for six months till the ship returned, being chaced thence by two French South-sea ships.

He had with him his cloaths and bedding, with a firelock, some powder, bullets, and tobacco, a hatchet, a knife, a kettle, a bible, some practical pieces, and his mathematical instruments and books. He diverted and provided for himself as well as he could; but, for the first eight months, he had much ado to bear up against melancholy, and the terror of being left alone in such a desolate place.

He built two huts with piemento trees, covered them with long grass, and lined them with the skins of goats, which he killed with his gun as he wanted, so long as his powder lasted, which was but a pound; and, that being near spent, he got fire by rubbing two sticks of piemento wood together upon his knee. In the lesser hut, at some distance from the other, he dressed his victuals, and in the larger he slept, and employed himself in reading, singing psalms, and praying; so that he said he was a better christian while in this solitude, or than, he was afraid, he should ever be again.

At first he never eat any thing till hunger constrained him, partly for grief, and partly for want of bread and salt; nor did he go to bed till he could watch no longer; the piemento wood, which burnt very clear, served him both for firing and candle, and refreshed him with its fragrant smell.

He might have had fish enough, but could not eat them for want of salt, because they occasioned a looseness, except craw-fish, which are there as large as our lobsters, and very good: These he sometimes boiled, and at other times broiled, as he did his goats flesh, of which he made very good broth, for they are not so rank as ours; he kept an account of five hundred that he killed, while there, and caught as many more, which he marked on the ear and let go.

When his powder failed, he took them by speed of foot, for his way of living, and continual exercise of walking and running, cleared him of all gross humours, so that he ran with wonderful swiftness through the woods, and up the rocks and hills, as we perceived, when we employed him to catch goats for us. We had a bull-dog, which we sent with several of our nimblest runners, to help him in catching goats; but he distanced and tired both the dog and the men, catched the goats, and brought them to us on his back.

He told us, that his agility in pursuing a goat had once like to have cost him his life; he pursued it with so much eagerness, that he catched hold of it on the brink of a precipice, of which he was not aware, the bushes having hid it from him; so that he fell with the goat down the precipice a great height, and was so stunned and bruised with the fall, that he narrowly escaped with his life, and, when he came to his senses, found the goat dead under him. He lay there about twenty-four hours, and was scarce able to crawl to his hut, which was about a mile distant, or to stir abroad again in ten days.

He came at last to relish his meat well enough without salt or bread, and, in the season, had plenty of good turneps, which had been sowed there by Captain Dampier's men, and have now overspread some acres of ground. He had enough of good cabbage from the cabbage-trees, and seasoned his meat with the fruit of the piemento trees, which is the same as the Jamaica pepper, and smells deliciously. He found there also a black pepper, called Malagita, which was very good to expel wind, and against griping of the guts.

He soon wore out all his shoes and cloaths by running thro' the woods; and, at last, being forced to shift without them, his feet became so hard, that he ran every where without annoyance; and it was some time before he could wear shoes, after we found him; for, not being used to any so long, his feet swelled, when he came first to wear them again.

After he had conquered his melancholy, he diverted himself sometimes by cutting his name on the trees, and the time of his being left and continuance there. He was at first pestered with cats and rats, that had bred in great numbers from some of each species which had got ashore from the ships that put in there to wood and water. The rats gnawed his feet and cloaths, while asleep, which obliged him to cherish the cats with his goats flesh; by which many of them became so tame, that they would lie about him in hundreds, and soon delivered him from the rats. He likewise tamed some kids, and, to divert himself, would now and then sing and dance with his cats; so that by the care of Providence, and vigour of his youth, being now but about thirty years old,

he came at last to conquer all the inconveniencies of his solitude, and to be very easy.

When his cloaths wore out, he made himself a coat and cap of goats-skins, which he stitched together with little thongs of the same, that he cut with his knife. He had no other needle but a nail, and, when his knife was wore to the back, he made others as well as he could, of some iron hoops that were left a-shore, which he beat thin and ground upon stones. Having some linnen cloth by him, he sewed himself shirts with a nail, and stitched them with the worsted of his old stockings, which he pulled out on purpose. He had his last shirt on when we found him in the island.

At his first coming on board us, he had so much forgot his language for want of use, that we could scarce understand him, for he seemed to speak his words by halves. We offered him a dram, but he would not touch it, having drank nothing but water since his being there, and it was some time before he could relish our victuals.

He could give us an account of no other product of the island than what we have mentioned, except small black plums, which are very good, but hard to come at, the trees which bear them growing on high mountains and rocks. Piemento trees are plenty here, and we saw one sixty feet high, and about two yards thick; and cotton trees higher, and near four fathom round in the stock.

The climate is so good, that the trees and grass are verdant all the year. The winter lasts no longer than June or July, and is not then severe, there being only a small frost and a little hail, but sometimes great rains. The heat of the summer is equally moderate, and there is not much thunder or tempestuous weather of any sort. He saw no venomous or savage creature on the island, nor any other sort of beast but goats, &c. as above-mentioned; the first of which had been put a-shore here on purpose for a breed by Juan Fernando a Spaniard, who settled there with some families for a time, till the continent of Chili began to submit to the Spaniards; which, being more profitable, tempted them to quit this island, which is capable of maintaining a good number of people, and of being made so strong that they could not be easily dislodged.

Ringrose, in his account of Captain Sharp's voyage and other buccaneers, mentions one, who had escaped a-shore here, out of a ship which was cast away with all the rest of his company, and says, he lived five years alone, before he had the opportunity of another ship to carry him off. Captain Dampier talks of a Moskito Indian, that belonged to Captain Watlin; who, being hunting in the woods, when the Captain left the island, lived there three years alone, and shifted much in the same manner as Mr. Selkirk did, till Captain Dampier came hither, in 1684, and carried him off. The first, that went a-shore, was one of his countrymen, and they saluted one another, first by prostrating themselves by turns on the ground, and then by embracing.

But, whatever there is in these stories, this of Mr Selkirk I know to be true; and his behaviour afterwards gives me reason to believe the account he gave me, how he spent his time, and bore up under such an

affliction, in which nothing but the Divine Providence could have supported any man. By this one may see, that solitude, and retirement from the world, is not such an unsufferable state of life, as most men imagine, especially when people are fairly thrown into it unavoidably, as this man was; who, in all probability, must otherwise have perished in the seas, the ship, which left him, being cast away not long after, and few of the company escaped.

We may perceive, by this story, the truth of the maxim, That 'necessity is the mother of invention;' since he found means to supply his wants in a very natural manner, so as to maintain his life; though not so conveniently, yet as effectually, as we are able to do with the help of all our arts and society. It may likewise instruct us, how much a plain and temperate way of living conduces to the health of the body, and the vigour of the mind; both which we are apt to destroy by excess and plenty, especially of strong liquor, and the variety, as well as the nature, of our meat and drink; for this man, when he came to our ordinary method of diet and life, though he was sober enough, lost much of his strength and agility.

An account of the Island of Juan Fernandez.

THE Island of Juan Fernandez is nearest of a triangular form, about twelve leagues round, and has a small island, near a mile long, lying near it, with several rocks close under it; near which there are very good fish of several sorts. It abounds with cabbage-trees, which grow for three miles together, and are extraordinary good; also turneps, which grow wild here. The soil is a loose black earth, and there are often great drifts of snow and ice in July; but, in the spring, which is in September, October, and November, it is very pleasant.

Mr. Selkirk says, That, in November, the seals come a-shore to whelp and ingender, when the shore is so full of them, that it is impossible to pass through them; and they are so surly, that they will not move out of the way, but, like an angry dog, run at a man, though he have a good stick to beat them; so that at this, and their whelping-seasons, it is dangerous to come near them, but, at other times, they will make way for a man; and, if they did not, it would be impossible to get from the water-side; they lined the shore very thick, for above half a mile of ground, all round the bay. When we came in, they kept a continual noise day and night, some bleating like lambs, some howling like dogs or wolves, others making hideous noises of various sorts; so that we heard them a-board, though a mile from the shore: Their fur is the finest that ever I saw of the kind, and exceeds that of our otters.

Another strange creature here is the sea-lion; the governor tells me, he has seen of them above twenty feet long, and more in compass, which could not weigh less than two tons weight. I saw several of these vast creatures, but none of the abovementioned size; several of them were

upwards of sixteen feet long, and more in bulk, so that they could not weigh less than a ton weight. The shape of their body differs little from the sea-dogs, or seals, but they have another sort of skin, a head much bigger in proportion, and very large mouths, monstrous big eyes, and a face like that of a lion, with very large whiskers, the hair of which is stiff enough to make tooth-pickers. These creatures come a-shore to ingender, the latter end of June, and stay till the end of September; during which time they lie on the land, and are never observed to go to the water, but lie in the same place above a musquet-shot from the water-side, and have no manner of sustenance all that time, that he could observe.

I took notice of some, that lay a week without once offering to move out of the place, whilst I was there, till they were disturbed by us; but we saw few, in comparison of what, he informed us, he did, and that the shore was all crouded full of them, a musquet-shot into the land. I admire how these monsters come to yield such a quantity of oil; their hair is short and coarse, and their skin thicker, than the thickest ox-hide I ever saw. We found no land-bird on the island, but a sort of black-bird with a red breast, not unlike our English black-bird, and the humming-bird of various colours, and no bigger than a large humble-bee. Here is a small tide, which flows uncertain, and the spring-tide flows about seven feet.

This is the account given by himself to the captain of the ship, as will be attested by several merchants and captains upon the Exchange, who have conversed with him: In which relation, the Divine Providence of God may be visibly seen, first, in throwing him upon the desolate island, and, next, in supporting him under such an affliction, whilst the ship, which he left, soon after perished in the sea, and few of the company escaped: All which singular acts of providence, that conspired in his preservation, he wholly and piously ascribes to the infinite goodness and mercy of God; to whom all honour and glory be given, now and evermore.

THE ROYAL GAMESTERS;

OR,

THE OLD CARDS NEW SHUFFLED,

FOR A

CONQUERING GAME.

The following piece needs no comment, much less any apology for its republication; seeing that the old times, in which it was first penned, are become new, and the same game is begun again among the powers and states of Europe, by the ambitious and treacherous views and attempts of France and Spain.

Germany. ERE we to play this match prepare,
Let's know first, who together are.
Holland. Let England deal the cards about,
The four knaves play, the rest stand out.
Prussia. France is a gamester, and must fall,
Else odds will beat the devil and all.
France. What I have won, I'll venture still,
I'll give you nothing but the deal.
England. Play fair then, and it is agreed,
The two black knaves, against the red.
The kings shall hold another set,
And the four queens shall sit and bet.
The knaves of France and Spain are black,
'Tis Germany must hold the pack.
Germany. Give me the cards, the deal is mine;
Diamonds are trumps, who bets this time?
Holland. I'll hold ten thousand livres by,
'Gainst France and Spain, the reason why;
Because the odds is ten to one,
They'll certainly be both undone.
Savoy. I'll take you up, with you I'll lay,
That France and Spain will hold you play.
Denmark. I'll nothing bet on either side;
Portugal. Nor I, until I see them try'd.
Bavaria. I know on which side I would bet,
But will not tell my mind as yet;

Sweden. Nor I, but still will neuter stand,
And do them service under-hand.
Poland. One single game with Swedes I'll try,
I'll make the smooth-fac'd youth comply.
Venice. Go on and prosper all, say I.

The First Game, 1702.

Germany held good cards, and play'd 'em well,
Got some by tricks, and honours, the first deal.
The second deal, France held the cards, and then,
The game seem'd two to one, for France and Spain,
But, in a little time, they turn'd again:
For fortune now old Lewis' side forsakes,
England won all, and Holland drew the stakes.

The Second Game, 1703.

The second game, Bavaria took their parts,
And the first deal turn'd up the king of hearts;
Got the court cards and trumps into his power,
And put the slip upon the emperor.
And well it was for France he serv'd him so,
For Lewis else had quickly been brought low;
Germany fretted thus to see it go.
England still play'd its part, and won some tricks,
And fairly brought the game up eight to six.
But Germany had no good cards to play,
And by ill fortune gave the game away.
Savoy did now from France and Spain divide,
And ventur'd all on the contrary side.
Loses some stakes, but England lends him more,
And Portugal does for that same side declare.

The Third Game, 1704.

But vex'd to see the business done by halves,
Holland and England took the cards themselves.
Germany laid his last stake down at play,
While all the stress upon the dealers lay,
France cut the cards, and Holland led the way.
The first deal from the cards Bavaria lost,
And fear'd that now his great designs were cross'd.
Holland dealt next; France the first trick did get,
But England by the honours won the set.
Bavaria, ruin'd, threw the cards away,
And had not left another cross to play.

The Fourth Game, 1705.

France to the last stake brought, and Spain the same,
But Germany revok'd and spoil'd the game:
Which made the other gamesters swear,
He did not play upon the square.
England chang'd sides, and took the Dutch again,
While Portugal play'd single hand with Spain.
But after many deals, and mighty cost,
Between them both, there was but little lost.
Now England deals about, for the last stake,
And had a hand that made Monsieur quake:
But, when the set to a conclusion came,
Holland lost dealing, and quite baulk'd the game.

The Conquering Game, 1706.

England deals next, and France is fain,
To lend a losing stake to Spain.
Savoy bets all; France threatens hard,
To take from him his leading card;
But England all the rest restore,
And tell him, they will lend him more.
Now on all sides the stakes are down,
And Spain plays briskly for the crown:
And Portugal some bets doth lay,
Which England does, and Holland pay.
The first deal, Spain three tricks doth lose,
Which doth old Lewis much confuse.
France shuffles next, more stakes does bet,
And threatens hard to win the set,
E're Germany his cards can sort,
While Venice laughs, and likes the sport.
England says nothing all the while,
But plays such cards makes Holland smile.
France wins a stake or two at first,
And Swedes wou'd back him, if they durst:
But Poland holds him to't as yet,
And hopes to gain his late lost bet.
France with his best court-cards begins,
While Spain lose faster than he wins.
The set grows warm; brisk play is shewn,
And Savoy lays his last stake down.
But Germany, with trumps supply'd,
Soon turns the game o'th' t'other side.
France with his ace of hearts doth join,
But England plays the King and Queen.
Old Lewis vex'd, yet looking grave,
With speed throws down another knave,
And questions not the game to save.

While Portugal, with anger then,
Plays down another single ten:
At which the gamesters seem'd to smile,
And stood amaz'd a little while:
But, when he some excuse did make,
They pass'd it by, as a mistake.
Venice at last for Holland bets,
And holds ten-thousand pounds o'th set.
France offers now to part the stakes,
And Spain the self same proffer makes:
But England will to neither stand,
For all the honour's in their hands.
France plays a trump about to try,
In whose hand, all the rest did lie:
Which he soon finds unto his cost,
When Spain, perceiving all was lost,
Throws down his cards, and gives the set for gone,
Bavaria takes it up, and plays it on.
But England trumps about, and so the game is won.
France seizes on those stakes he'd made from Spain,
But Germany recovers all again.
Thus ends the game which Europe has in view,
Which by the stars may happen to be true.

REASONS

HUMBLY OFFERED TO BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT,

FOR PASSING A BILL

For preventing Delays and Expences, in Suits in Law and Equity.

London, printed, and are to be sold by John Morphew, near Stationers-hall, 1707. Quarto, containing twenty-two pages.

THE unavoidable expence, as well as unnecessary delay, in the prosecution of suits in the courts of law and equity, especially in the latter, are become so exorbitantly great and burthensome to the subject, that they may justly be ranged among our first-rate grievances. It must be granted by every man of common observation, that the methods of proceeding in our courts, designed for speedy justice, are fully ripe for a regulation, when a passive submission to injuries, unless of a very high nature, is much more for the advantage of the injured person, than

an application to our courts for redress. A man's prudence may very rationally be called in question, who brings an action at law for a slender debt; but he must be perfectly senseless, who seeks for redress for a debt of fifty or sixty pounds in a court of equity, since, as the practice now stands, his adversary may make him spend twice his debt before he can recover it. The case therefore being thus, there is no room to doubt, but that a bill, that will effectually redress some of these grievances, will meet with all imaginable encouragement.

I. As to a clause to enact, That any plaintiff, at his election, may deliver a declaration to any defendant, or his wife cohabiting with him, or to the servant of any corporation capable of being sued, and take judgment for want of an appearance and a plea.

The way, now used, is to sue out a writ directed to the sheriff of the county where the defendant lives, which, with the attorney's fee that sues the same out, comes to eight or nine shillings; on which the sheriff makes out his warrant to his bailiff, which in some counties costs one shilling, in some two shillings, and in others less: On this the bailiff may insist on a bond of forty pounds penalty with sureties from the defendant to appear, though the action be but for words, trespass, or assault, or in debt, or case, under ten pounds; but it is most usual to take a warrant from such defendant, directed to some attorney to appear for him, and, on the bailiff's obtaining such bond or warrant, the lowest sum, that is paid for his pains by the plaintiff's attorney, is five shillings, and sometimes more; besides which, the bailiff demands two shillings and four pence of the defendant at the time he arrests him, as the sheriff's fee, and always takes much more for waiting and civility-money: so that the least that is spent by both sides, on the first beginning of the smallest action, is twenty shillings: But, if the writ be for more than ten pounds, the bailiff demands of the plaintiff's attorney always ten shillings at least, on bringing him a bail-bond, and often extorts twenty shillings or more from the defendant, whilst in his custody, besides his sheriff's fee, and that he calls * civility-money, and is extorted from the prisoner, to prevent his being carried directly to the county gaol, and for being admitted to continue in the bailiff's house, commonly called the spunging-house, till he can send to his friends to bail him, and there the bailiff's followers drink plentifully on his score; and, if any scruple be made of paying all the unreasonable demands that are made for the reckoning, then the best bail, that can be found out, is rejected, and perhaps the person is hurried into gaol, where he is loaded with new fees for commitment, discharge, &c. before he can obtain his liberty, so that it very often costs a person arrested for a small debt of thirty or forty pounds, who lies in a spunging-house but one night, three pounds and upwards; besides which, if he be able, he must at last pay the plaintiff his charges of the writ and the arrest. However, to make the lowest computation possible, it costs both sides, where an arrest is

* *Note*, The plaintiff, or his attorney, is very often forced to be as the bailiff's follower, otherwise the defendant would either not be arrested, or else privately discharged, on payment of civility-money.

made for ten pounds or upwards, and a bail-bond taken, thirty-five shillings. By this expensive way, to all sides, a plaintiff obtains either special bail, or a common appearance at the return of the writ; and, where a defendant is minded to delay, he often suffers the bail-bond to be sued, to the great delay of the plaintiff, and keeping him out of his just debt. And, in some counties, though a man appears publickly, yet, if he be protected by the sheriff, or by the bailiff of the liberty or hundred, where he lives, a plaintiff shall lose a year's time, or more, before he can get even a common appearance, and without that, as the law now stands, no man can proceed to declare. But, if what is now proposed, has the desired success, most causes will be shorter by a term, and persons, who are necessitated to bring actions, will sooner recover their just rights; and, when judgment is obtained, a defendant will be in a better condition to pay, than when he has been pillaged by the bailiffs, and their followers: and, in short, upon a modest computation, it will save the subjects of England thirty-thousand pounds per annum, and upwards, the greatest part whereof is, at present, distributed amongst the bailiffs and their followers; the rest of it comes in very small sums to the cursitors, who make out original writs; to the philizers of the common-pleas, who make out all writs of capias; to the attornies of the queen's bench, who make out all bills of Middlesex and latitats; to * the custos brevium, belonging to the common-pleas, who has four-pence for filing every original writ; to the under sheriffs, who make out the warrants, and indeed to all attornies that love to make causes long and chargeable to their clients.

And farther, this clause will advance publick credit, by framing a better method of suing corporations, than any yet known, and providing a way to sue persons, in trade and credit, without sending bailiffs after them; and will also prevent many clandestine outlawries.

And, if the people of England will be sooner helped to their rights, and so great a sum saved in their purses, as is above-mentioned; it is hoped, there will be no regard had to any particular body, or number of men (especially of this sort) who inrich themselves by doing that, which there is no occasion for.

Note, This is agreeable to the † method, now used in the bringing of an ejectment, which turns a man out of possession, and is of as tender a consideration, as any thing can be; and any plaintiff may now obtain judgment as quick as he can, by this clause, by being at the charge of suing a special writ, which contains the declaration.

II. As to a clause, for giving bail in all cases, where a writ of error

* The cursitor, philizer, and custos brevium have but two shillings and two-pence for every original and capias, but the bailiff gets twenty or thirty shillings, and very often a great deal more, by making the arrest. And, if a writ be sued out, and a copy thereof annexed to each declaration delivered, and the writ itself annexed to the affidavit of service; then, all the objections of the cursitors, philizers, or custos brevium, &c. will be fully answered, and the attorney will also have his fee for sueing the same out: The postage will be likewise increased by sending the declaration down with the writ, and returning them both back with the affidavit; the stamp-duty will be advanced also by the affidavits, rules to plead, &c.

† The method, here proposed, is also agreeable to the common law, whereby a summons was the first process, the capias being given by acts of parliament.

is brought to reverse a judgment before verdict, as it is now used on writs of error after verdict.

This clause will prevent persons from keeping their creditors at bail, with a writ of error for twelve months, during which time, they get in their effects, and, when the writ of error is nigh spent, they run away with them.

And the very same reason holds, for giving bail, on bringing writs of error to reverse a judgment, when damages are found on a writ of inquiry, as after trial.

III. As to the regulating sheriffs fees on elegits and extents, &c.

As the law now stands, if a sheriff takes an inquisition on an elegit, and delivers a moiety to the plaintiff, by virtue of such writ, or makes a return that he has delivered possession, pursuant to any writ of liberate; he usually takes twelve pence per pound, for the first hundred pound, and six-pence per pound afterwards, for all the money due by the statute or judgment; and this he takes under colour of an act of parliament, made in 29 Elis. cap. v, which certainly intended, that the sheriff should deliver actual possession; but he really does no more than take an inquisition, or return his writ; for the plaintiff, notwithstanding such fictitious delivery by the sheriff, must bring his ejectment, and recover a verdict at law; and if, on the trial, any prior settlement, or other incumbrance, is trumped up (as too often happens) the plaintiff is nonsuited, and has only the mortification to find himself so much more money out of purse, perhaps, two or three hundred pounds for sheriff's fees in particular, without knowing how to remedy himself; or, if he recovers, he must pay the sheriff over again, for his delivering him the actual possession, on a writ of *Habere facias possessionem:* and therefore, it is hoped, that it will not be thought reasonable, that a sheriff should take such large fees, only for taking an inquisition, or returning a writ.

IV. As to a remedy for all persons, in the recovery of their debts by judgments.

As the law now stands, if an elegit be returned and filed, or entered on record, though the plaintiff never recovers six-pence by it; yet such returning and filing, or entering on record, is a bar upon such plaintiff, that he cannot take out any other elegit, or execution against the body or goods of the defendant, though he be able to pay the debt, which is, surely, such a grievance, as is fit to be remedied.

V. As to a clause to prevent the subjects paying double for the ingrossing records of *Nisi prius*.

The proper officer did anciently engross all records of *Nisi prius*, but, as business increased, he did not increase his number of clerks, and, those he had not being able to dispatch all the business, the attornies, to prevent multiplicity of attendances, and giving expedition money,

did, and, for many years last past, have engrossed all their records themselves for which they charge four pence per sheet, to their clients, and pay the proper officer all his fees also; so that, at present, the client pays double, and therefore, by this clause, it is intended, the subject should be eased, and the attorney, who does all the business, should have four-pence per sheet, for doing something, and that the officer should be content with four-pence per sheet more, for doing nothing.

VI. As to a clause, touching the filing of affidavits, and to prevent the unnecessary expence thereof.

At law, it is now customary to read affidavits, before filed, if sworn in town; but otherwise, if sworn in the country, though there appears no material difference; for he that forswears himself, either before a judge in town, or commissioner in the country, is equally guilty of perjury: and if they are filed, as soon as used, that will hereafter prevent all opportunities of altering, as much as the method now used, since the attorney, in both cases, must have the custody of the affidavit, from swearing till filing it; and since at law there is no fee due, on filing an affidavit, after read in court (for which this clause allows a fee) the officer will gain by filing, though he loses by copies: and it seems as unreasonable, as it is useless, to make a person take and pay for a copy of an affidavit, which he had once in his hands, and, consequently, a power of copying it himself, and yet, as the course and practice of the courts of law and equity now stand, the party, who would use any affidavit, must leave his original with the officer, and pay him large fees for a copy; so that in matters, where many long affidavits are required, * it often costs a man ten or fifteen pounds, for copies of his own affidavits, on one single motion, whereby the charge of a motion very often exceeds the whole expence of a trial at law; which unnecessary charge this clause will effectually prevent.

VII. As to a clause, for taking away all copies of interrogatories, and for the filing reports and certificates, without being obliged to take copies thereof.

It seems very ridiculous, that any one should be obliged to take and pay for copies of what he before had, or has no occasion for at all, and yet this is the case here; for every one must take copies of interrogatories (which are of themselves of no use) if he will have copies of the depositions for which he has occasion: Nay, every person is now obliged to take copies of the interrogatories exhibited by himself (and often twice over, both from the examiners and six-clerks office) although he had the original before, if he will have a copy of depositions taken thereon. The same reasons hold against being obliged to take and pay for copies of reports and certificates, for the filing whereof, there is a fee of four-pence due; and yet the officer makes every person, who files a report o certificate to pay for a copy, which is just as reasonable as if every

* The affidavit-office in chancery, which is said to be formerly sold for two hundred and fifty pounds, is now computed to bring in a thousand pounds per annum.

person, who files a bill or answer in chancery, should be obliged to take and pay for a copy thereof. Note, the fees of this office are very extravagant.

VIII. As to a clause for taking away all recitals in decrees and orders in courts of equity.

The deputy registers in chancery draw up and pass all orders, and take three shillings for each side, containing about an hundred and seventy words: and, if the order be by consent, six shillings per side; and, in all orders on hearing, they recite the bills and answers and, in other orders, the allegations of the council *pro* and *con*. And, as instructions for them to act by, they require one of the council's briefs, which necessarily contains the whole state of the case, by which they furnish themselves with matter of lengthening the orders (of which their own interest prompts them to make use) by which means the recitals and allegations are spun out to a tedious length, and oftentimes the whole brief inserted, so that orders on hearing many times come to ten or fifteen pounds, and other orders to twenty or thirty shillings; whenas charge of the ordering part of the former seldom exceeds thirty shillings, and, of the latter, scarce ever more than three shillings: And, as the length of the orders increases the charge, so it does the delay, which gives birth to the new perquisite of expedition-money; and a suitor must either attend two or three months for an order on hearing, and proportionably for another order, or be in the case of a criminal, who pays for dispatching a business, he had rather should be left undone; and yet all these recitals and allegations are perfectly useless and insignificant to the party; for neither side is concluded thereby, and the * bills and answers recited are on record in the proper office, and each party has a copy of them too; and yet by these recitals he must be told what he knew before, and pay dear too for being thus teazed. And the allegations are, for the same reasons, as useless as the recitals; and yet it is become a rule now, with the deputy registers, That one side shall not alter the allegations of the other, though false, but must alledge the contrary, by way of answer thereto; which still serves to lengthen them; whence it happens, that the orders often carry in them contradictory, and sometimes very idle and impertinent allegations, for which the order itself has been afterwards discharged. And the court is so sensible of these matters, that they seldom permit any thing more than the ordering part to be read, and there are no such recitals or allegations in orders on appeals in parliament, nor in rules at law.

The objections to this clause, therefore, if any, will arise from interest, not from reason; and, it is true, it will take away some of the perquisites enjoyed by the register, or his deputy.

In answer to which, it is to be observed, that the deputy registers

* For the bills and answers, the party pays eight pence a sheet for copies from the six-clerks office; three shillings a side for the recitals thereof from the Registers-office; and about two shillings a side for the like recitals from the Six Clerks-office, in case the decree be inrolled, and a writ of execution thereof made; so that the suitor pays three times for the same thing.

cannot pretend the common plea of purchasing their places; and the register himself has his place by gift from the crown, and receives a yearly sum from his deputies, who have lately so exorbitantly abused this method of recitals and allegations, that, though it is apparent that business has decreased, yet their profits have advanced: and this abuse of the practice is a full answer to the reason that may be drawn from the ancient use of the recitals in orders, since they were formerly very short and concise, and, though useless, yet, being short, did but little hurt; but their exorbitancy now seems to require such a remedy, as may take away all future temptations to the like excess.

If it be objected, that the recitals of bills and answers shew the reason of the decree:

That is a vain pretence; for most of the suggestions of the bill are fictitious, and the answer frequently falsified by depositions (which are the real foundation of the decree, but are never recited therein) so that the recitals of a fictitious bill, and untrue answer, rather give the decree an aspect of injustice, than shew the true reason of it, and oftentimes draw the parties into re-hearings and appeals, upon a mistaken notion of the hardship of their case, so seemingly just as the present recitals represent it.

So that it is hoped the interest of the deputy registers (most of whom have already well filled their pockets, by emptying those of the suitors) will not prevail against the publick good; and the deputy registers will still have profit enough to encourage their diligence, and to pay the register what they formerly did; and none, therefore, it is hoped, will oppose this clause.

And, though the excess of the other courts of equity are not so great, yet the reason of the clause will hold the same in all.

IX. As to the clause for making subpœna's to answer returnable *immediate* of course.

The subpœna to appear to the bill, which is the first process, is at present made returnable in term, unless affidavit be made, that the defendant resides within ten miles of London; whereupon the court, upon petition, grants a subpœna returnable *immediate* of course, and, on a second petition, all other process returnable *immediate;* which subpœna being only for an appearance (for entering whereof the defendant has four days allowed after service of the subpœna) it is unnecessary to apply to the court to make the subpœna, or any other process, returnable *immediate*, those two orders of court (against which the defendant has now no liberty to make a defence, nor is it needful) putting the subject to twenty-seven or twenty-eight shillings unnecessary charges.

X. As to a clause touching subpœna's to rejoin, and that service thereof on the clerk in court be good service of the defendant.

It is what the court always orders of course; but the obtaining it costs the subjects fifteen or twenty shillings, which may as well be saved.

XI. As to a clause to make a sequestration, the second process.

The present practice is, that, after the defendant is served with a subpœna, and will not appear or answer, First, an attachment issues against him; and, on return of that (which is often a quarter of a year before it can be obtained) a second attachment, called a proclamation, issues much the same with the first: on both which the sheriff will return *Non est inventus*, without giving the defendant any notice of such writs; and, on return of the proclamation, a commission of rebellion issues directed to commisioners to take the defendant; and, upon their return of *Non est inventus*, the serjeant at arms is sent in quest of him, who puts the plaintiff to a great charge, whether he finds the defendant or not, for his usual daily fee is thirteen shillings and four-pence (besides six-pence per mile, or more, for travelling charges while abroad) and he is also paid, whether he takes the defendant or not, three pounds, six shillings, and eight-pence for returning his warrant, and insists on three pounds, six shillings, and eight-pence for every defendant named in such warrant (which warrant, and the order of court, cost above forty shillings besides, if but one defendant; but, if against more, then fifteen shillings is demanded for every other defendant's name therein) and then a sequestration issues, and cannot be obtained sooner; so that the charge, for getting only an appearance, is often near as great as a decree; and then, for an answer, the same circle is to be run again, and so, *toties quoties*, for every better answer; and the same all over again, to oblige the performance of any order; whereby one party is totally ruined before he gets half way to the hearing, or can have even a sequestration.

I. Objection. That to make a sequestration, the second process, is too quick a proceeding.

Answer. It is what both houses of parliament have subjected themselves to: and why should those, who are engaged in no national affairs, have more time or favour allowed than they? And the way of proceeding against members is, upon due notice and reasonable time given, to shew cause before the sequestration issues, so as the defendant may avoid it, if he pleases. And it not only avoids the circuity and delays abovementioned, but the mischiefs of a process being clandestinely returned by the sheriffs and commissioners; and the excessive charge of being taken by a serjeant at arms (which ruins any person of mean condition) his fees, if he takes the defendant, being frequently fifty, sixty, or an hundred pounds: and, sometimes, the defendant never hears of any process of contempt till the serjeant takes him, all the process being returned privately; and the court has still power, on the defendant's application, to indulge him with what time shall appear necessary, in case his delays are not wilful.

II. Objection. That the defendants are, for the most part, arrested upon the attachment or proclamation, which are but a small charge to either plaintiff or defendant in respect of a sequestration.

Answer. If a defendant happens to be taken without a serjeant at arms, if in London, he enters his appearance with the register, and then often runs away; or, if in the country, the sheriff takes a forty pounds bail-

bond for his appearance at the return of the writ (when, perhaps, the matter in question is many thousand pounds value) and the plaintiff must sue this bond at law; and, when the forty pounds penalty is recovered, the plaintiff must take out another attachment for his answer, and so again, *toties quoties;* whereas the interest of the matter in question will pay that penalty, and costs of trial, ten times over; and yet the sheriff is obliged to accept of forty pounds bail, and is, thereupon, discharged from bringing in his prisoner; and the court will not grant a messenger to bring the defendant into the court, unless the attachment be made in London or Middlesex, or where the amerciaments of sheriffs are granted to a subject, as few are; all which inconveniences will be remedied by a sequestration, if the defendant hath any estate, real or personal, to sequester; and, if he has not, the prosecutor may take the usual process against his body, notwithstanding this clause.

XII. As to a clause for taking the bill in equity, *pro confesso*, for not appearing and answering in six months after the sequestration issues.

The present practice is, that, although the defendant is duly served with a subpœna to appear, yet, if he does not enter his appearance, the court cannot decree the bill to be taken *pro confesso*, whereby it is in the defendant's power to elude justice, and baffle the plaintiff at pleasure, and is often of dangerous consequence; as where there are co-partners, co-executors, or trustees, and great sums received or wasted by them, one of them is kept out of the way and will not appear, therefore the plaintiff cannot go to hearing, nor have any decree against the rest; so the whole demand is often spent, or lost by insolvency, or by death, and representatives know nothing of the management, or pretend the person, who would not appear, if dead, had all the estate, in demand, in his hands. This clause also establishes a better method against corporations than any yet known.

XIII. As to the delivery of a copy of the bill to prisoners.

It is upon the same reason as delivery of declarations at law, whereon, at the expiration of a rule, the plaintiff signs judgment, and is so established by act of parliament lately made: but the present practice in equity is, that the prisoner must be brought up to town by *Habeas Corpus*, and into court; and, if he will not answer, he is brought up thrice before the court by so many several writs of *Habeas Corpus*, viz. The first *Habeas Corpus*, an *Alias*, *et plures Habeas Corpus*, at fifteen or twenty pounds expence to the plaintiff; and, if he will not answer on the third writ, the court decrees the bill *pro confesso*. But, if he puts in either answer, plea, or demurrer, on the third writ, although never so insufficient or trifling, the plaintiff is then to begin again *de novo*, as if no such delay or expence had been, and so run the gauntlope through the whole course of delays in arguing the plea or demurrer, and in master's reports and arguings and re-arguings of exceptions to insuf-

ficient answers and reports as aforesaid, before he can join issue for hearing.

XIV. That every person to be sworn an attorney, or admitted a sollicitor, should serve five years; and none but such be allowed to practise.

It is certainly most reasonable and necessary that they should be well instructed and qualified who are to be attornies and sollicitors, whose office and business requires so much skill and judgment, that, upon their good or bad conduct, the whole fortunes of men very often depend; and this will also prevent the frauds, as well as the great mischiefs, which are occasioned by those who practise in other persons names, and have had no other instruction than what the experience of their own misfortunes has furnished them with, who, being become bankrupts in trade, do then frequently set up for skilful practitioners in the law, and the notorious mischiefs, that are daily occasioned by them in practice, are become so intolerable, that they may justly be reckoned among the greatest grievances of the nation.

XV. That no attornies or sollicitors should have more than two clerks at one time.

This will prevent the too great increase of the number of attornies and sollicitors, which, without doubt, very often occasions great delays and expences; for, when the professors grow very numerous, business must necessarily be divided into a great many hands, so that a great many persons will have but a small share of business, and very often not so much as will maintain them; and they, having nothing else to depend on for subsistence, must necessarily be exposed to the temptation of doing little and poor actions, and the creating and promoting of business, in order to get their livelihood by it, or, at least, they will be tempted, under such circumstances, to keep business in their hands as long as they can; the consequence whereof is not only a delay, but a great charge to the subject, which, it is hoped, this clause will, in some measure, redress.

These lines, being designed to shew the reason of some of the delays and expences in suits in law and equity, have therefore been confined to the particulars before-mentioned: and, though it is too true, that there are many other dilatory, useless, and expensive proceedings, which have almost repealed *Magna Charta*, as to the clause thereof, which says, *Nulli vendemus, nulli negabimus aut differemus Justitiam vel Rectum:* Yet it is hoped the example of a bill now proposed, if made a law, would influence the courts themselves to regulate several more of the abuses, or give foundation, to a further regulation by the legislature: but, till the parliament has begun, till some good law is made to redress the present extravagant charges in suits, little or nothing is to be expected from the inferior courts, which have hitherto done nothing, or very little, for a reformation, notwithstanding the many attempts in

parliament on this subject, and the many instances of families, ruined by those expences and delays. The reason of all is this, that the officers, who get by these proceedings, buy their places; and, no doubt, but that the bill now depending will be opposed by them, and, if by this buying, the unnecessary charges, in the methods of proceedings, are become so much the property of the officers, as not to be abrogated or altered, without their consent, then, indeed, all attempts of this nature are vain; but the courts having in some instances altered the manner of proceeding, and several acts of parliament having done the like, and many of these purchases being contrary to an express act of parliament; it is humbly hoped, that it will be well remarked, who they are that oppose this bill, and that no opposition, arising from principles of profit, and not of reason, of private, not publick good, will prevail, so as to continue the nation under these delays, and unnecessary expences of suits, which even render right and property precarious, and make wise men compound, rather than contend for them.

Besides, these officers ought, in common civility, quietly to part with the profits arising by these dilatory and useless proceedings, since they have gained many fees and perquisites created by several acts of parliament, and rules of their respective courts. Thus the chancery gained by the laws, concerning bankrupts, and the courts of law, by the *Habeas Corpus*, and Escape Acts; by writs of error into the exchequer-chamber; by common recoveries, by entering and dog-getting judgments, and by the new method of proceedings on ejectments, and in many other instances.

The late act, for the amendment of the law, expresly takes away the *Dedimus* bill from courts of equity, as being useless, though belonging to such who had purchased their places; and that act also, in consequence, took away above one half of the fees of the clerks of the papers of the Queen's Bench, in requiring an oath to the truth of all dilatory pleas; and yet neither the clerks of the Exchequer, for the loss of their *Dedimus* bill, nor the clerks of the papers, for the loss of their fees, had any recompence, and the recompence to the clerks in Chancery was out of ancient fees of the six-clerks, who insisted on a right by purchase; so that the reason of this, as well as many other acts of parliament, made for preventing vexatious and dilatory proceedings, will hold the same in the clauses above.

The delays and unnecessary expences, in suits, having been universally agreed to be so exorbitant, as to want redress: and, as the case now stands, the practisers being accused for the officers faults, this occasioned the offering of these reasons for the bill now depending, whereby it will appear, no other interest has been consulted, than that of the publick; for, as the philizers and cursitors lose their writs, so the attorney loses much more than both, viz. his fee of three shillings and four pence, for suing out each writ. This act likewise subjects all sollicitors in Chancery, to be admitted as such, which no law or custom now in being obliges them to, and compels all persons who practise as attornies, to be entered and sworn; which will bring in several thousands to be sworn, and each attorney or sollicitor being to pay four pounds to

the stamp duty: that will abundantly recompense the publick, for any small loss that may happen to that part of the revenue, by the making of such a law, as is now desired.

A TRIP TO DUNKIRK:

OR,

A HUE-AND-CRY AFTER THE PRETENDED PRINCE OF WALES.

Being a Panegyrick on the DESCENT.

Said to be written by Dr. Swift.

Printed, and sold by the Booksellers of London and Westminster. MDCCVIII.

WHY, hark ye me, Sirs,—if this rumour holds true,
W'are like here, Egad, to have somewhat to do:
The French, as they say (he'll believe it that sees it)
Are coming, gadsookers, to pay us a visit;
With such a vast fleet—(L—d have mercy upon's,
And keep us from popery, swords, and great guns)
That, as I'm alive, -- tho' I n'er was afraid yet,
It almost had frighten'd me—first when I heard it.
Nay, more than all this, it is certainly said
There's a little Welch monarch to come at their head;
And he (shame the Devil, and let us speak the truth)
You know, in your hearts, is a very smart youth,
And doubtless will prove, when he's pleas'd to bestir him,
As valiant as e'er was his father before him,
Who, bent on some great expedition in view,
Now glitters in arms with an equipage too,
Which, positively, you may swear is all new.
For, as I have heard (if some people speak right)
He ne'er march'd before,—unless 'twere to sh—te;
But now at the head of ten thousand brave fellows,
(That is, as accounts thence are pleas'd for to tell us)
He's going on some strange advantage or other,
(Perhaps 'tis to seek out his father or mother)
In Ireland, or Scotland, or some land or another;

I can't tell you where, but to some place no doubt,
Which you'll hear time enough, if he e'er does set out,
With an army of French, popish bridles and knives,
To cut all our throats, and to ride all our wives.
Then stand to your arms, all good people, I'd wish ye,
You loyal train'd bands, and the valiant militia,
Brush up your buff doublets, and Scotch basket-hilt,
(By which, to your honour, no blood was e'er spilt
The nation will now your assistance want sore,
Which, as I remember, they ne'er had before,
Nor will ——
I hope in kind heav'n, e'er want any more.
Altho', for your zeal, it is not to be question'd,
You've always been ready, when aught has occasion'd:
At ev'ry rejoicing you've made a fine show,
(And that is one part of a soldier we know)
Been drunk, and done all that became you to do.
And as for your valour we cannot deny it,
'Tis known you can fright—tho' you'd rather be quiet.
Nor has the French threats, or their menaces scar'd us,
Because we knew well we'd such a hero to guard us.
Then, since the're so hot on't, 'gad e'en let 'em come,
I'll warrant they'll be maul'd—tho' I don't say by whom.
We've rods here in piss that will firk off their tails,
For all their brave alls—and their monarch of Wales.
Adsheart the young hero had best take a care,
That he ben't in conclusion drawn into a snare:
For, as it is said, his old godsire intends
Or at least wou'd be glad, as the matter now stands)
To get shut of him handsomely off of his hands;
And therefore e'en tells him in words very plain,
That he hopes (which is true) ne'er to see him again.
So, e'en sink or swim, fleet, forces, and all,
He'll venture this cast, tho' it cost him a fall.
  To Ireland some think this Welch hero is bound,
Tho' pox that's a jest, one may venture five pound:
For there's an old debt still on Lewis's score,
He was bit in assisting his father before,
And therefore he'll hardly come there any more.
  No, Scotland's the place, they say, he's design'd to,
Where 'tis thought——
H'as a great many friends—which, perhaps, he'll scarce find so;
But let him take care what may follow hereafter,
If he trusts to the Scots, he may chance catch a Tartar:
And, if he shou'd fall in our clutches you know,
He'd be damnably mump'd, I can tell him but so;
Were I in his case, I'd not trust my own brother:
They sold us one K—, shou'd they sell us another;
For our Jacks here at home—as brave fellows as may be,
They prick up their ears at the news on't already;

And, out of their zeal, they expect him at least
To be here, French and all, when the wind's next at East:
But some are more cautious, and question it much,
And doubt th' invasion's design'd on the Dutch;
For the noise of his landing they swear 'tis a bite all,
They'll trust to't no more—till they see him at White-Hall.
But this is but talk all, and so let it rest,
Some are still of opinion 'twill all prove a jest:
This hero at Dunkirk will make his campaign,
And so gallop back to St. Germains again.

THE MIGHTY MIRACLE;

OR,

THE WONDER OF WONDERS AT WINDMILL-HILL.

Being the invitation of John Lacy, Esq. and the rest of the inspired prophets, to all spectators, to come on Tuesday next, the 25th day of this instant May, where, to their exceeding astonishment, they may (without any prejudice to their eye-sight) behold Dr. Emms arise out of his first grave, and dress himself in his usual habit to all their view, and with a loud voice relate matters of moment, preaching a miraculous sermon, giving a strange account of past and future events; the like never seen or heard in England before, exceeding any wonder or show that ever was seen on Windmill-hill at any holiday-time. Licensed according to order.

London, Printed for J. Robinson in Fleet-street, 1708. Folio, containing one page.

THE town having been busied with apprehensions of wars in the north, and the affairs of state, having almost suffered our late Doctor Emms to be buried in oblivion, as well as in his grave near Windmill-hill; and so, by consequence, he may rise alone, or, as we term it vulgarly, in hugger-mugger, without any to witness the wonder: But let me acquaint you, that, as such miracles are not common, it is fit they should be proclaimed aloud by fame's trumpet; neither have all men the gift of raising the dead, nor hath it been known for many ages. Esquire Lacy has published a relation of the dealing of God with his unworthy servant, since the time of his believing and professing himself inspired, which befel him, the first of July, 1707: His agitations

coming upon him without the working of his imagination, upon what he saw in others, and proceeding from a supernatural cause, separate and distinct from himself, whereby his arm, leg, and head have been shaken, his limb twiched, the respiration of his breath has, for sundry days, beat various tunes of a drum, and his voice has been so strong, clear, and harmonious, that his natural one could never furnish: He has been carried on his knees several times round a room, swifter than he could have gone on his feet. Sir Richard Buckley has been cured of an hospital of diseases, by a promise thereof made through his mouth, under the operation of the spirit; and by the same means a man purblind has been cured, and a woman of a fever, Mr. Preston of a carbuncle, and another of a deep consumption. Therefore Esquire Lacy, with the rest of the inspired prophets, gives notice, for the satisfaction of the unbelieving, that, according to their former prophecy (who cannot err) that, on the twenty-fifth of May, they repair to Bunhill Fields, and there in that burying-place, commonly called Tindal's Ground, about the twelfth hour of the day, behold the wonderful doctor fairly rise; and in two minutes time the earth over his coffin will crack, and spread from the coffin, and he will instantly bounce out, and slip off his shroud (which must be washed, and, with the boards of his coffin, be kept as relicks, and doubtless perform cures by their wonderful operation) and there, in a trice, he dresses himself in his other apparel (which doubtless hath been kept for that intent ever since he was interred), and then there he will relate astonishing matters, to the amazement of all that see or hear him.

Likewise, for the more convenient accommodation of all spectators, there will be very commodious scaffolds erected throughout the ground, and also without the walls in the adjacent fields, called Bunhill Fields, exceeding high, during this great performance. The like may never be seen in England hereafter: And, that you may acquaint your children, and grandchildren, if you have any, that you have seen this mighty miracle, you are advised not to neglect this opportunity, since it is plainly evident, that, of all the shows or wonders that are usually seen on hoilday-time, this must bear the bell; and there it is ordered to be published in all news, that the country may come in; the like never performed before. It is also believed that gingerbread, oranges, and all such goods exposed to publick sale in wheelbarrows, will doubtless get trade there, at this vast concourse; therefore, for the benefit of poor people, I give them timely notice, since it is a bad wind that blows none no profit. But, besides this admirable wonder of this strange and particular manner of his resurrection, he is to preach a sermon, and, lest it should not be printed, you are invited to be ear-witnesses thereof, as well as eye-witnesses to see his lips go, in the pronounciation thereof; all which will be matter of great moment, filling you all with exceeding amazement and great astonishment; his voice will be loud and audible, that all may hear him, and his doctrine full of knowledge; undoubtedly you will return home taught with profound understanding. Which miracle, if you chance to see or hear, you will not forget, and so by consequence, for the future, be endowed with sound judgment, and most excellent wisdom, most eloquent expressions, and what not:

Then neglect not this great and most beneficial opportunity, but for that time set all your affairs aside: And take this advice from Mr. Lacy, and the inspired prophets, together with Mrs. Mary of Turnmill-street, a she prophetess, and the young woman who sells penny-pyes, who, in hopes of obtaining all your company, remains yours; not questioning but to give you all content with this rare show.

ESQUIRE LACY'S REASONS

WHY DOCTOR EMMS WAS NOT RAISED FROM THE DEAD,

ON THE

TWENTY-FIFTH DAY OF MAY,

According to the French Prophets Prediction.

London, printed for J. L. in Barbican, 1708. Folio, containing one page.

WE are not unsensible of the harsh censures and uncharitable reflexions that are cast upon us and our brethren, the prophets, in not raising from the dead our late spiritual brother Dr. Emms, on the precise time we foretold; therefore, to prevent, as much as in us lies, all further clamour and unnatural violence that may be occasioned thereby, we have thought fit to give our reasons for this omission, in the following order:

First, and principally, we were threatened with a popular rage and violence, which the laws of God and nature allows all mankind to avoid, having been practised by good and holy men in all ages of the world, even our Saviour himself, John x. 39, &c. who further confirms this truth, Matt. x. 33, by advising his disciples, when they were persecuted in one city, to flee into another. And, if it was lawful for the apostles and Christ himself to avoid the fury of their wicked and unbelieving adversaries, we hope no man can reasonably blame us from deferring the accomplishment of the said intended miracle. Jonah prophesied the destruction of Nineveh in forty days, but it was deferred near forty years, on their repentance.

Secondly, The secret decrees of the prophetical spirit are treasured up in the fountain of wisdom, and consequently past man's finding out, especially by a rebellious and gainsaying people.

Thirdly, Raising the dead, restoring the blind and lame to their sight and limbs, are great miracles, and only performed by faith, prayer, and

fasting; but, where a rude, enraged and revengeful multitude is gathered together in defiance of heaven itself, all acts of devotion are obstructed, and even suspended till a more seasonable time.

Fourthly, Though prophetick periods do not always take place, according to the punctual warnings of the agitated spirit in the child of adoption, yet, like a great conqueror, who sometimes meets with difficulties and miscarriages in his march, in due time break through all obstruction, for the more glorious accomplishment of the promises.

Fifthly, and lastly, Had we been peaceably suffered to appear on the day and hour we predicted, it would then have been decided who were the cheats and impostors (names we have been notoriously loaded with) but when open rage, mob, fury, and even death itself not only threatened, but looked us in the face; such a time, we are sure, was inconsistent for the undertaking of any thing that related to a publick satisfaction; for, had the miracle really been wrought in such a confused medley of ungovernable rabble, instead of being acknowledged as such, we had run the hazard of being torn in pieces, and perhaps occasioned a fatal and general disorder among the people; for whose sake, more than for fear of our own lives, we prudently delayed attempting the said weighty undertaking till a more favourable opportunity; though we could freely have sacrificed our lives for the sake of spiritual truth, if such a dispensation had been either necessary or convenient; but (considering the madness of the age, the malice of the mob, and the rage of many male-contents against the present government, who, in all probability, would have took the advantage of such a confusion, in order to have promoted their long-wished for treasons and wicked designs) we preferred the publick peace and safety of the government before our own interest and reputation, which, however so much shaken in this particular, shall never discourage us from being loyal and obedient to our superiors, notwithstanding our being rendered obnoxious to them by spiteful and malicious agents, who are always fishing in troubled waters, to bring about their own notorious and pernicious purposes, though, to the scandal of themselves, and ruin of their Christian brethren, whom they hate for no other reason than being honester than themselves.

To conclude: Let men of carnal principles have what sentiments they please of us, we are resolved to act as the spirit of peace and love within us shall dictate and guide us, and as the supernatural agitations of Divine Inspiration shall enlighten our understanding.

AN ACCOUNT

OF THE LATE

SCOTCH INVASION;

As it was opened by my Lord Haversham in the House of Lords, on Friday, the Twenty-fifth of Februrary, 1708-9. With some observations that were made in the House of Commons, and true copies of authentick papers. In a letter from a gentleman in South-Britain to his friend in North-Britain.

ISAIAH xix. v. 13.

The Princes of Zoan are become fools, the Princes of Noph are deceived; they have also reduced Egypt, even they that were the stay of the tribes thereof.

Printed in the year 1709. Quarto, containing forty-six pages.

I WAS not, Sir, till now, able to give you the account you desired, Whether the intended invasion would have any further notice taken of it, than what I sent you an account of, with the address of the House of Lords, for the papers to be laid before them? But can now tell you, with good assurance, that one of the chief reasons, why those lords, who first moved that matter, let it sleep so long, was out of the just apprehension they had, that should they awaken that enquiry sooner, it might prove a disturbance to the necessary preparations of the next campaign, by hindering subscriptions, or weakening the credit of the bank. And it was for this reason, as I have been told, that the Lord, who opened this matter, would not take notice of a very remarkable particular, which he had good vouchers in his hand to prove; but to let the world see, though those lords had been so long silent, they had not forgot that matter, they took the first opportunity that offered, after the subscriptions were finished, and the bank books made up, to put the house in mind of it, and, if possible, to get this invasion looked into. They thought themselves obliged to do so, in duty to her majesty, that she might see in how much greater danger she then was, than they had reason to believe she thought herself; and in duty to the nation too, that the publick might be convinced how little care the ministry took of them in such a dangerous conjuncture of affairs; and lastly, in justice to themselves, to demonstrate it beyond exception, that they were not only willing but desirous too, to have this matter searched to the bottom, and those concerned in it, have the just reward of their crimes; and accordingly my Lord Haversham did again put the house in mind of

what seemed to have been so long forgot, and spoke, as I am told, to this effect:

My Lords,

THE temper of this house, with relation to your enquiry into the late intended invasion, since your address to her Majesty to have the papers laid before you, and since they have been upon your table, is so very visible, I need not take notice of it, but ought rather to ask forgiveness for myself, that I should dare so much as to mention that matter once more to your lordships; nor should I do it, were it not from an absolute necessity and justice, which I think is due to myself, and those lords who did me the honour to second the motion I made for addressing her Majesty for those papers: for to me it seems too much like fear or guilt, to sit down tamely, under any reflexion a man has in his power to wipe off, and there are some which we perhaps may hereafter be reproached with; one is, that these lords, who made you this motion, never so much as looked into the papers they called for, or have thought on, or mentioned that matter since. Perhaps they will say too, That they never intended it should come to any thing, that it was only a cover to hide some design they had under it; nay, I do not know but they may go so far as to say, that under hand they were trying how an act of grace would relish. Should such a thing be offered, I know myself so innocent, as in our present circumstances, I should not give my consent to it, for I shall always think, that when horses are skittish, vicious, and head-strong, let whoso will be upon their back, it is fit they should never be without a good strong curb in their mouths. And as to these papers, my lords, I have looked into them, and those who have done so cannot, in my opinion, but think of them; but that your lordships may not have my word only for this, I will, with your lordship's leave, take notice of some particulars that are in them; and that you may be certain of the truth of what I observe, I beg your clerk may read for vouchers the papers themselves, as they shall be called for.

It will not, I presume, be denied me, that upon the twenty-third of February, Mr. Boyle received certain intelligence, that the intended armament at Dunkirk was designed for Scotland; there had been several advices before of great preparations making, and by the great quantity of fire-arms it was judged to be for some land design. The States were apprehensive, and acquainted her Majesty by their minister with it; and Scotland had been in several intelligences named, but I do not find there was a certain account till that of the twenty-third of February, to Mr. Boyle.

The Queen, in her letter of the twenty-fifth of February, to the council of Scotland, thinks it necessary to acquaint them with it, and that she does expect they should do their utmost for the protection of her subjects, and preservation of the publick peace; that nothing on her part should be wanting; that she has given orders that some of her troops in Flanders should be ready to imbark, in case the imbarkation at Dunkirk should go on: And that her troops in England and Ireland are so disposed as to give what assistance may be necessary; in the

mean time authorises and impowers them, the privy-council, to give such orders as were proper to put her forces, forts, and garrisons there, in the best order.

This then being allowed, the first question is, What number of forces, effective regular troops I mean, were in Scotland at this time, that is, the twenty-third or twenty-fifth of February, 1708? I cannot but observe to your Lordships that there has been a great deal of care taken to conceal this from us, although this very account was particularly asked for by your address; yet in all that great bundle, there is not one paper from whence we can learn the number: I was therefore forced to get the best light and intelligence I could elsewhere, and have very good authority for what I am going to say, and do affirm to your Lordships, that the regular forces in Scotland, upon the twenty-fifth of February, 1708, were not above 1500 men. If I am mistaken, I hope some Lord here will set me right, and take upon him to say what the real number was at that time.

And since there were but 1500 men, it is certain that was not a number or strength that could be thought by any man sufficient to secure and protect the kingdom against the invasion that threatened it; and the ferment that was then in the nation was such, that I do not find they durst so much as trust their militia with their own defence. We are therefore in the next place to consider, what additional strength or augmentation this handful of men had, or what assistance, either from the forces from Ostend, or those from Ireland, or English troops from hence.

As to augmentations or additions, I find there was little or nothing done, as to that part. The parliament indeed had, on the twentieth of December, 1707, raised the establishment of the forces in Scotland from 2834 to 5932; but it appears by a letter from the Earl of Leven, to the Earl of Mar, of the seventh of March, that little notice had as yet been taken of what the parliament had done; for in that letter to the Earl of Mar, he intreats him again to mind the establishment, and let him know if he shall give encouragement to any who should be willing to take arms to join them; and says further, he hopes at least, that so much of the levy money, as is due since the Twenty-fourth of December, will be given now; for that would buy some horses, and levy some men: So that by this letter it appears there was no money given to levy men, or increase the forces in Scotland, though there were 3600 men wanting at that time, and had been so ever since the parliament had voted the establishment in December, and though our danger at that time, from the want of them, was so very great and evident, which seems very astonishing. Nor does it appear that any directions, or money for this or any other service, till the invasion was over, was ordered here till the twelfth of March; and then indeed, on the thirteenth, the Earl of Mar writes from hence, to the Earl of Leven, that my Lord Treasurer had ordered the people of the customs and excise to answer the Earl of Leven with money for provisions, and other necessary charges; and further says, That my Lord Marlborough told him that very morning, which was the thirteenth, that the Scotch establishment

would be ended that day; he knows not how they have made it, or if they have altered any thing that we had concerted with St. John, or if any thing be omitted; but he hoped they had not.

It is very true, her Majesty, in her second letter, of the Eighth of March, to the council of Scotland, recommends to them to give present directions to put her forts, garisons, and magazines there, in a good posture of defence; and says, That what shall be expended towards these ends, by their warrants, shall be repaid, for which she has already given orders. What those orders were, or to whom given, are not to be found among the papers; but it is very evident, that there was no order for one farthing of money, to answer either the orders of the council, or the Earl of Leven's necessary charges, out of any branch of the revenue, or otherwise; for in a letter of the Earl of Leven to the Earl of Mar, of the thirteenth of March, he has these words, which will likewise shew the condition of the nation, at that time:

'My Lord, says he, I leave it to your Lordship, to consider my circumstances; here I am, not one farthing of money to provide provision, or for contingencies, or intelligence, none of the commissions yet sent down, few troops, and those almost naked. It vexes me sadly to think, I must retire towards Berwick, if the French land on this side the Firth; and, that you may not have his Lordship's single word for it, the Lord Advocate confirms very much the truth of this, in his letter of the eleventh of March, to the Earl of Mar; for after he had said, that he was ordered to lay before her Majesty the inclosed information, for the Castle of Edinburgh, and a particular account of what it wants, to put it in a case of defence; and also the Castles of Sterling, Dumbarton, and Blackness, to shew their present condition, and what great disorder and want they are in, and that he had formerly sent a memorial of Mr. Slezer's, for a train of artillery; all which he hopes will be considered:' He adds, 'I believe,' says he, 'there was never a country more destitute and defenceless, than we are, nor have we so much as a treasury, or any money for incident charges; so that I must again, by the council's order, lay these things before your Lordship, and that at least some order may be given, whereby necessary expences may be defrayed; and the Earl of Mar's letter of the thirteenth, from hence, is the first account, we have of any money, that was ordered for Scotland. By all which, it plainly appears, that notwithstanding the orders, the Queen mentions in her letter of the eighth of March, the council had not a shilling for necessary expences, on the eleventh, nay, not so much as one penny ordered, till the thirteenth; and as to the establishment, notwithstanding all the pressing instances, that was not settled till after the invasion, as appears by the Earl of Mar's letters, of the twelfth and thirteenth of March.

This, my Lords, is the true state, as appears from the papers themselves given in, relating to the force of that, I had almost said, deserted, but I may say defenceless nation; few men, and those almost naked; three thousand six hundred men wanting of the establishment voted by parliament, for the year 1707-8, near three months before; no levy-money, no establishment settled, no commissions sent down, not a shil-

ling ordered by the ministry, out of any branch of the revenue, or otherwise, to the Privy-council or Earl of Leven, for necessary expences, or to bring provisions, or for contingencies, or intelligence, and all this in a time of the utmost danger.

In the next place, I shall shew your Lordships, when Scotland was in this defenceless condition, what assistance they had from Ostend, England, and Ireland. As to the transports, that were to come from Ostend, though all the dispatch was made, that could be made, they did not arrive at Tinmouth-Bar, till ten days after the enemy were seen upon the Scotch coast; so that the dispute, if there had been any, would have been over, and the enemy, in all human probability, would have been masters both of Edinburgh, the castle, and all that was in it, before they could come up to their assistance. And the very orders to Baker is so extraordinary, a man cannot but take notice of it, for, after that he is required and directed to make the best of his way to Tinmouth-Bar, with her Majesty's ships under his command, and the transport ships with troops, which he brought with him from Ostend, &c. there is a further order in these words, 'But in regard there are several dismounted troopers on board the transports, you are to send a vessel with them to Harwich, if you can conveniently, their horses being now in Essex;' so that instead of taking the horses to Tinmouth, the dismounted troopers are first to be sent to Harwich, to their horses, and from thence to proceed to Scotland, which, one would think, were a very round-about way.

And as to our troops from hence, which were to assist them, the several regiments of horse-dragoons and foot had not their orders to hold themselves in a readiness to march till the eleventh of March. The next day, orders were given for them to augment, and on the fourteenth, they were ordered to march northward; which was certainly too long a delay, considering what a march it is from hence to Edinburgh; yet this was all the readiness they were in, to assist them.

But there is one thing which is most amazing, and I must again desire, if I am wrong in fact, that some lord here, who I am sure can, will set me right.

The Queen, as I shewed to your Lordships, in her letter of the eighth of March, which your clerk just now read, told the council of Scotland, Our troops from Ireland, which we mentioned in our last, are ready to imbarque in transport ships, provided in those places, with all necessaries for that service; and yet it does appear plainly, That there were no transports provided at that time here, nor were any transport ships ordered in Ireland; nay, the very orders to provide transports were not given by my Lord Sunderland, till the twelfth of March here, nor by my Lord Lieutenant for Ireland, for the troops to be in a readiness to be transported, till the thirteenth; and then my Lord Sunderland sends an order to the commissioners of transports, telling them, That it is her majesty's pleasure, that they forthwith take up shipping, for the transportation of six hundred horse, that are to imbarque at the White-house between Carrickfergus and Belfast, and it is left, says he, to your discretion, to hire these ships, either at Whitehaven,

Liverpool, or Chester, as you can do it, with most expedition and convenience; and, upon the thirteenth, his lordship sends another letter' acquainting them, that they are to provide a board those ships hay and oats sufficient to serve six-hundred horse for a fortnight, and as many water-casks, as may be necessary to carry water, particulars that were, it seems, forgot in the first orders; and in an extract of the Earl of Pembroke's letter to the Lords Justices of Ireland, of the thirteenth, he tells them, 'I do not in the least doubt, but that your lordships will issue proper orders for one regiment of horse, and two of dragoons, to be provided with necessaries ready to imbarque, whenever there shall be occasion for them; and it is her Majesty's opinion, that the regiments under the command of Lieutenant-General Langston, Major-General Ecclyn, and Lord Lunbridge, should be on this service; and I am of opinion, that it will be for the service of the Queen, to have these three regiments move with all convenient speed, and take their quarters in and about Belfast and Carrickfergus, that they may be in a readiness to imbarque: I desire your lordships to give directions to the proper officers, to provide and get ready hay, oats, and water, for at least a fortnight.

And here, if we consider, that these letters were dated the twelfth and thirteenth of March from hence, that they were to go to the commissioners of transports here, and to the lords justices in Ireland; that after these transports were to be agreed for, and hay, oats, and water to be provided, and the three regiments to be ordered to march, what time all this would take up: It seems very evident, that her Majesty was not truly acquainted with the danger she was in; that she thought these things were in a readiness, which were not; and that the orders she had given had not been observed, as she concluded they were; and in the last place, that these three regiments must arrive in Scotland, very late.

But there is one thing more so very new, and without precedent, that it cannot but be very astonishing, which is, that in the Earl of Leven's instructions, of the fourth of March, in that part where he is ordered to Ireland, for assistance, there is a blank left, as to the person to whom he is to write, the words are these: 'You are, upon the first appearance of any squadron of French ships upon the coast, to send to Ireland to

to advertise him thereof, whoh as orders to send troops to your assistance;' and yet, as was just now proved both from Lord Sunderland's letter to the commissioners of transports, and from my lord lieutenant's to the lords justices, there was not so much as orders given, for any transports here, till the twelfth, nor any ever in Ireland, nor were the three regiments directed to move, in order to imbarquing, till the thirteenth.

I confess, when I read this, I thought it was a mistake of the transcriber, till I saw these words in the Earl of Leven's own letter, of the 7th of March, to the Earl of Mar: 'I desire you, says the Earl of Leven, to send down the name of the person I am to write to in Ireland, if there be occasion; and must still intreat your lordship, that orders be sent for some horses and dragoons to imbarque.' And again, in his letter of the 13th, where he has these words to the Earl of Mar, he repeats the

same thing, 'Pray endeavour to get orders sent straight to Ireland, for the officers there to imbarque, for you know I have no person's name to whom I should write.' This convinces me, beyond what any man can say, that his lordship did not know to whom to write; for sure his lordship would not repeatedly affirm what was not fact; and whoever considers, that there were no orders lodged any where for any person from Ireland, upon advice from the Earl of Leven, of the appearance of the enemy, to follow his direction, and hasten to his assistance; nor any orders at all for transports there; nor any direction here for transports till the 12th, must, I think, be convinced, that this blank in the instructions did not happen by chance, but was a premeditated and designed omission.

I would not forget any care that was taken, and therefore must take notice, that on the 27th of February, there were a hundred barrels of powder ordered to be sent from Berwick to Edinburgh; but the Earl of Leven was not writ to about it till the 2d of March, which was four days delay; and the order itself was so very preposterous, I had almost said ridiculous, much like that of Baker's, that it had full as well been omitted, for, instead of ordering the store keeper of Berwick immediately to carry a hundred barrels of powder to Edinburgh, they sent an order to one Mr. James Robb, deputy store-keeper of Edinburgh, to get carts, and go with them to Berwick, and take three-hundred barrels of powder, and bring it to Edinburgh; and Mr. Grieve, store-keeper of Berwick to the board of ordnance, writes a letter, dated March 10, 1707-8, hither, that Robb was come to Berwick, and the carts would be there that night. And I appeal to a lord, who cannot but know whether the powder came to Edinburgh before the danger was past, and the French off our coast. And whoever will reflect, that the Earl of Leven's letter, dated here the 2d of March, was to go to Edinburgh; that then at Edinburgh carriages are to be taken up for the powder; then they are to go to Berwick, and from Berwick they are to return again to Edinburgh, will find it could hardly be there sooner.

The next thing I shall take notice of to your lordships, is the state of the garisons. The parliament had given, the 20th of December, the sum of 130981. 17s. 2d. for the garisons of North Britain, for the year 1708. But I cannot but think your lordships will be greatly surprised, when you find in what a wretched condition they were. I will give your lordships but an instance or two, the rest are much in the same state.

Sterling Castle.

THIS is a very considerable post, a place of great importance; and yet what an account is there of the arms and ammunition in that place?

One barrel of powder.

550 Fire-locks, of which, about a hundred for service; and some of that hundred want ram-rods, and some nails; all the rest unserviceable.

780 Musquets, which may be for service, when furnished with ram-rods; some nails, and some shattered in the stocks.

380 Musquets, with broken stocks and locks, and many wanting locks, and all unserviceable.
150 Bundles of match, all damnified with lying in rain.
300 Bayonets, most of them broken and spoiled, altogether unserviceable.
300 Cartridge-boxes, all broken and unserviceable.
200 Pikes, damnified by long lying.
40 Cannon-ball, 18 pounders.
70 Cannon-ball, 12 pounders.
1200 Balls, 9 pounders.
3400 Four pounders.
20 Small bomb-shells without mortars.
1200 Hand-grenado shells.
50 Stands, back and breast.

Ordnance Store in Blackness Castle.

TWO Barrels of corn-powder, one hundred each.
100 Yards of match.
4 Hand-spikes.
59 Musquet barrels, repairable.
7 Scimitar blades, useless.
100 Pounds of musquet bullets.
3 Ladles, one serviceable, the other useless.
2 Cannon, 3 pounders.
1 Train carriage, unserviceable.
2 Minions.
3 Falcons on ship carriages, unserviceable.
77 Balls for minion.
25 Balls for three pounders.
149 Hand Grenado shells.

Dumbarton Castle, as per memorial.

THERE are several breaches in the wall; there are twelve brass guns, none of them mounted, all want carriages; there is no powder in the garison, and few flints; all the lodgings in a ruinous condition; no coals in the garison, nor any other provision: The fire-locks, being long since they were gotten, are ill fixed.

Edinburgh, March 9, 1707-8.

The abovementioned is the true condition of the castle of Dumbarton, at present.

I need not, my lords, I think, make any observations upon the castles, after your lordships have seen the wretched state of them; and, therefore, in the last place, shall only take notice to your lordships, that after the invasion was over, there were estimates made, what it would cost to put the fortifications of Scotland in good repair. The total, as

appears by your schedule, amounts to 231561. of which there could be but 3000l. laid out this year; and yet there has been but poor 1500l. expended upon that service this year, as appears by your paper.

I will not trouble you further: I think this matter is now very plain before your lordships: I could wish I had not said one word of truth in what I have said to you; but the vouchers shew it to be so; and, if all this be true, it is a very strange, a very surprising, and a very astonishing truth.

I shall not move any thing to your lordships further in this matter; I believe there has been enough now said, to justify those lords for moving this enquiry, and shall add but this word, That if there be no greater care taken for the future, than there was at this time of such eminent danger, it will be the greatest miracle in the world, if, without a miracle, the pretender be not placed upon that throne.

This is the substance of what was observed by that noble lord, as exactly as I can get it put into a thread, though there happened some interlocutories between him and another lord, and the observations were made upon the papers as they were read.

I cannot say, as you do in your letter, that the ministry, if you are not very ill informed, have altered some of the papers and letters laid before the parliament, lest their negligence, or somewhat that is worse, should appear; but I have it immediately from those who have very exactly looked over the papers laid before the House of Lords, That, though there are a great many more in that mighty heap which was laid on the table, than ever were asked for, by the address, perhaps to discourage the looking into them, yet several material papers that were desired, have carefully been left out, and several that are in that bundle, are very imperfect, being such extracts as they thought fit to give; and, in some, where it was material to know the point of time, the dates are omitted; but as imperfect as they are, and notwithstanding the want of many which should have been there, you will find enough to convince you, whether the observations out of them were well grounded, and whether the conduct of our ministry, in such a critical juncture of affairs, is to be paralleled; that you yourself may the better judge of the whole, I send you the true copies of so many authentick papers.

To this account of what passed in the House of Lords, relating to the invasion, I shall only add, that I hear the same papers being laid before the House of Commons, pursuant to their address produced the like observations there; and that the Scotch gentlemen concurred with the English, in blaming the conduct of the ministry, affirming, it was such as gave great encouragement to the enemies of the government, while its friends look on their country to be perfectly given up. This, they said, was their general sense. In the House of Commons, some observations were also made upon the imprisoning many persons in Scotland at that time; several lords and gentlemen, of the best quality and estates, were apprehended and seized, by virtue of warrants sent from hence, for suspicion of treason and treasonable practices: Though it does not appear from the papers, there was any cause to suspect them, nor that any of their countrymen (who were the properest persons to be

advised with on this occasion) were consulted in it. For the Earl of Mar, in his letter to the Earl of Leven, March the 9th, writes, that he, with the Dukes of Queensberry and Montrose, the Earls of Lowdon and Seafield, were summoned to the cabinet, and were there told, that since both houses had, for securing suspected persons, suspended the *Habeas Corpus* act, it was fit, persons in Scotland should be apprehended; and a list was read to them, which they took down in writing, and warrants were ready drawn. This was certainly a very extraordinary way of proceeding; and the more extraordinary, because the greatest part of the lords and gentlemen taken up by these warrants, had given undoubted testimonies ever since the revolution (in which, some of them had been very active and instrumental) of their fidelity and good affection to the government; they had taken all oaths that have been enjoined for its security; they had sat in parliament, and some of them had been in offices and employments of great trust, in the reign of King William, and of her Majesty. Others, under the like circumstances, were taken up by warrants, bearing date the 29th of March, when the danger was over; which made the Scotch gentlemen very free in declaring, that the taking them up could be for no other reason, than to influence the approaching elections to parliament, and for their disaffection to the interests some courtiers then promoted, rather than for their disaffection to her Majesty's person and government; in which they were the more confirmed, because they saw there was no evidence in the papers against any of them. There was, indeed, some evidence of high treason pretended against five gentlemen, taken up by warrants from the privy-council of Scotland; but that was such as the lord advocate writes, neither he, nor the other advocates employed for her Majesty, did think would convict them; and, therefore, he humbly offered it as their opinion, that it would be more for the honour and service of her Majesty, and of her government, that they should not be prosecuted. The Earl of Sunderland, in his answer, acquainted him, he had laid his memorial before her Majesty, who was well satisfied with what he had done, in procuring evidence against the prisoners; and though possibly, upon their trial, the evidence might not be sufficient to convict them by the law of Scotland, yet, considering all the circumstances of that affair, and the noise it has made in the world, her Majesty thought it absolutely necessary for her service, that it be carried as far it will bear; accordingly they were brought upon their trials, and acquitted.

After all the observations made upon the papers, the considerations of them ended in the House of Commons, in the resolution which you have seen in their votes, &c.

'That it appears to this house, that timely and effectual care was taken by those employed under her Majesty, at the time of the intended invasion of Scotland, to disappoint the designs of her Majesty's enemies, both at home and abroad, by fitting out a sufficient number of men of war, ordering a competent number of troops from Flanders, giving directions for the forces in Ireland, to be ready for the assistance of the nation, and by making the necessary and proper dispositions of the forces of England.'

The gentlemen that were against this resolution desired, that all the papers laid before the house, relating to the intended invasion of Scotland, might be printed, that the world might see and judge, how well grounded it was: But those who had justified the ministry in their debates, and voted for the resolution, would not suffer the papers to be printed: So that the question was carried in the negative.

The true account of the condition of the Castle of Dumbarton.

IMPRIMIS.

THERE are several breaches in the wall. There are 12 brass guns.
There are none of the guns mounted; all of them want carriages.
There is no powder in the garison, and few flints.
All the lodgings in a ruinous condition.
There are no coals in the garison, nor any other provisions.
The fire-locks, being long since they were gotten, are very ill fixed.

Edinburgh, March 9, 1707-8. The above is the true condition of the Castle of Dumbarton, at present.

An account of remains of ordnance stores in her Majesty's Castle of Blackness, in the North of Britain.

Brass Guns.

Two cannon, 3 pounders, on train-carriages, unserviceable.

Iron Guns.

1 Minion long, 5 foot $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches,
1 Minion long, 3 feet $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches,
2 Falcons long, 4 feet $2\frac{3}{9}$ inches,
1 Ditto, long, 3 feet $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches, all on ship carriages, unserviceable.

Round Shot.

77 Balls for minion.
25 Balls for 3 pounders.
2 Barrels of corn-powder, 100 pounds weight each.
149 Hand Grenado shells.
100 Yards of match.
4 Hand-spikes.
100 pounds of musquet bullets.
59 Musquet barrels, repairable.
3 Ladles, one serviceable, and the other two useless.
7 Scimitar blades, useless.

The contents above is the present state of the stores of ordnance in her Majesty's castle of Blackness, the 16th of November, 1708.

T. DURY.

An account of arms and ammunition in the Castle of Sterling, March 6, 1707-8.

ONE barrel of powder.
550 Fire-locks, of which about 100 for service, and some of that 100 do want ram-rods, and some nails; all the rest are unserviceable.
70 Chests of musquet ball.
780 Musquets, which may be fit for service when furnished with ram-rods; some nails, and some shattered in the stocks.
380 Musquets with broken stocks and locks, many wanting locks, all unserviceable.
150 Bundles of match, all damnified with long lying, and rain.
200 Pikes, damnified by long lying.
40 Cannon ball, 18 pounders.
70 Cannon ball, 12 pounders.
1200 Ball, 9 pounders.
3400 Four pounders.
20 Small bomb-shells, without mortar.
1200 Hand Grenado shells.
50 Stands, back and breast.
300 Bayonets, most of them broken and spoiled, all wanting scabbards, altogether unserviceable.
300 Cartridge-boxes, all broken and unserviceable.

Copy of a letter from the Earl of Sunderland, to the commissioners for transports, March 13, 1707-8.

I HAVE lately writ to you, to take up shipping for six-hundred horse to be brought over from Ireland. I am now to acquaint you, that you are to provide, and put on board the ships employed in that service, hay and oats sufficient to serve them a fortnight, and as many water-casks as may be necessary to carry water for them for that time.

Whitehall, March 13, 1707-8.

Sir,
Mr. Burchet,

I RETURN you, by the Earl of Sunderland's command, the draught of instructions for Rear Admiral Baker, or the commander in chief of her Majesty's ships, coming from Ostend with the transports, with some alterations, as you will find in the inclosed.

I am, &c.

THO. HOPKINS.

His Royal Highness, Prince George of Denmark, &c. Lord High-Admiral of Great-Britain and Ireland, &c. And of all her Majesty's Plantations, &c. And Generalissimo of all her Majesty's forces, &c.

Instructions for Rear-Admiral Baker.

YOU are hereby required, and directed forthwith, upon your receipt hereof, to make the best of your way to Tinmouth Bar, with her Majesty's ships under your command, and the transport-ships with troops, which you brought with you from Ostend; and when you come off the said Bar, you are, if you do not find orders there, to continue there, with the aforesaid transport-ships, till further orders. But if you should be there credibly informed, that the French have landed their forces in the north of Scotland, you are then to make the best of your way to the Frith, in order to land the forces at Leith, or as near Edinburgh as may be. But, in regard there are several dismounted troopers on board the transports, you are to send a vessel with them to Harwich, if you can conveniently, their horses being now in Essex. And, in case Rear-Admiral Baker shall himself proceed with the transport-ships, and that the enemy's ships, said to be in Flemish road, were there when he sailed from Ostend, he is forthwith to return with her Majesty's ships off of Dunkirk; but, if the enemies ships shall be gone from Dunkirk, when he sails from Ostend, he is then to make the best of his way to the Downs.

But if he has detached any of her Majesty's ships, to be convoy to the transports, and continues himself off of Dunkirk, then the commander in chief of the said ships is hereby required, after having landed the troops, to make the best of his way to a proper station off of Dunkirk, and join the said Rear-Admiral Baker; and, in case the Lenox, Ipswich, and Nottingham, shall be in your company, you are to bring them back with you.

Given under my hand, the 13th of March, 1707-8.

To John Baker, esq. Rear-Admiral of the White, or the commander in chief of her Majesty's ships coming from Ostend with the transports.

By command of his Royal Highness.

J. BURCHETT.

Extract of the Earl of Pembroke, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland's letter, of the thirteenth of March, 1707, to the Lords Justices of that kingdom, concerning some horse and dragoons, designed to be transported from thence to Scotland.

My Lords,

I HEREWITH transmit your lordships her Majesty's letter of the eleventh instant, and must desire your lordships, to direct an account of the horse and dragoons to be sent over, in order to my laying the same before her Majesty.

I shall now acquaint your lordships, That the officers are all under orders, and moving to their posts in Ireland, pursuant to her Majesty's commands; and do not in the least doubt, but your lordships will issue proper orders, for one regiment of horse, and two of dragoons, to be provided with necessaries ready to imbarque, whenever there shall be occasion for them: And it is her Majesty's opinion, the regiments, under the commands of Lieutenant-General Langstone, Major-General Echlin, and the Lord Tunbridge, should be sent on this service; and since they are to go, as they now stand on the Irish establishment, I hope care will be taken that they be compleat.

And her Majesty having ordered the commissioners of transports, to take up at Chester, Liverpool, and Whitehaven, tonnage for six-hundred horse, I am of opinion, it will be for the service, to have those three regiments move with all convenient speed, and take quarters in and about Belfast and Carrickfergus, that they may be in a readiness to imbarque at the White House, which lies between these two places, as soon as the transport-ships shall arrive.

And though the passage from the White House, to the place to which they may be ordered, may not be above twelve hours, yet I desire your lordships to give directions to the proper officers, to provide and get ready hay, oats, and water, for, at least, a fortnight, &c.

PEMBROKE.

A true extract, by

George Doddington.

The Earl of Mar's letter to the Lord Leven.

Whitehall, March 13, 1707-8.

My Lord,

I WRIT to your lordship two letters yesterday by a flying-pacquet, which I hope you will get safe. In one of them I told you if Major-General Cadogan got intelligence, that the French landed at Aberdeen, it was probable he would land his forces at Leith; since that time, the Queen thinks it so reasonable that he should do so, that I believe there were orders dispatched to him last night to that purpose; and her Majesty thought it worth while to give you notice of it by this flying-pacquet, that, in the mean time, you may be looking for provisions and forage about Edinburgh for these forces, against they arrive, which will surely be e're long: They are about seven thousand; so that your lordship will know what to be providing for them. If the French, either by design, or be obliged by this wind, to put into the Frith, and land near Edinburgh, then Major-General Cadogan will land his forces at Tinmouth, and there will be no occasion for your providing these provisions. My lord treasurer has ordered the people of the customs and excise, to answer your lordship with money for provisions, and other necessary charges.

I am glad the presbyterian ministers have shewn themselves so hearty for the Queen on this occasion, and so zealous against the invasion; every body is pleased with their declaring themselves as they have done, for the Queen, and against the invasion; and I hope they will continue themselves more and more so.

My Lord Marlborough told me this morning, that the Scots establishment would be ended to-day. I asked to meet with Mr Walpole about it, but his grace desired me to tell his grace of any thing I had to say about it. Now this I can hardly do, until I see the establishment, for I know not how they have made it, or if they have altered any thing that we had concerted with St. John, or if any thing be omitted; I hope they have not, but I shall see it soon, and then I shall lose no time to represent any thing in it, which chances not to be as your lordship expects, though I hope there will be no occasion for this. There is no intelligence to-day, either of the fleet or otherways, but we expect it every minute.

I am, &c.

The Duke of Marlborough desired me to write to your lordship, to send him an exact and particular account of your train of artillery.

The Earl of Leven's letter to the Earl of Mar, shewing the sad circumstances he is in, and desiring to know to whom he must write in Ireland.

Edinburgh, March 13, 1707-8.

My Lord,

YOU have here a copy of letters I received this morning, which I thought of so great importance, as to acquaint your lordship, and his grace, the Duke of Marlborough, of them by a flying-pacquet. I think the fleets, mentioned in these letters, are two different ones; the wind is south-west, so it is not possible for them to enter the Frith. Some five or six ships were seen this morning near the May from the castle, but it has been foggy ever since, so we can have no further account of them; I believe it is the Dunkirk squadron, and therefore am still expecting some good news of our fleet's appearing. My lord, I leave it to your lordship to consider my circumstances; here I am, not one farthing of money to provide provisions, or for contingencies, or intelligence; none of the commissions yet sent down, few troops, and those almost naked. I beg to hear from you very frequently, and allow me to write freely; I hope you will only read such parts of them to others, as you judge proper; pray cause always to advertise my son when any flying-pacquet is sent to me, and let Weems know too. It vexes me sadly, to think I must retire towards Berwick, if the French land on this side the Frith. Adieu my lord.

Pray endeavour to get orders sent straight to Ireland, to the forces there to imbarque, for you know I have no person's name to whom I should write.

A copy of a letter from the Earl of Sunderland, to the commissioners for transports, March the 12*th*, 1707-8.

It is her Majesty's pleasure, that you forthwith take up shipping sufficient for the transportation of six-hundred horse, that are to imbarque at the White House, between Carrickfergus and Belfast, in Ireland; but, it being not yet determined where they are to land, you are to make your contract by the week, or such other time as you shall think proper. It is also left to your discretion, to hire the ships for this service, either at Whitehaven, Liverpool, or Chester, as you shall find you can do it with most expedition and conveniency.

The Queen's letter, of March the eighth, to the council of Scotland, takes notice, that she had sent one of the twenty-fifth of February before, and adds, We do again recommend to you to get intelligence, &c. and to give present directions for putting our forts, garisons, and magazines, in a good posture of defence; and what shall be expended herein, by your warrants, shall be repaid, for which we have already given orders. Our troops from Ireland and Flanders, which were mentioned in our last, are ready to imbarque in transport-ships, provided in those places with all necessaries for that service. So that the orders of the Lord Sunderland were not given till four or five days after, and the lord lieutenant's letter to Ireland was dated five days after; which shews to me evidently, either that the Queen was not rightly informed of facts, or, let her Majesty say what she will, the Ministry will do what they please.

The Earl of Mar's letter to the Earl of Leven, March the 12*th*, 1707-8.

My Lord,

I WRIT to your lordship yesterday morning by a messenger, and sent you the copy of General Cadogan's letters, giving an account of the French sailing on Tuesday morning by three of the clock; we have since got intelligence, that Sir George Byng sailed after them that same day, at six of the clock at night; the Queen came to the house yesterday, and, after passing several accounts, gave an account, in a short speech, of the news of the French sailing. There was a cabinet-council at night, in the Cockpit, where I, and the other four I formerly writ of, were; the first thing that was talked of, was the troops to be sent from Ireland; my lord lieutenant said, that one regiment of horse, and two of dragoons, was all that could possibly be spared from thence; these three regiments will make about six-hundred men. Next, transport-ships for these forces were spoke of, and resolved on, as the best way, to get them from Whitehaven, Liverpool, and Chester, and the troops to be shipped off at the White House, between Carrickfergus and Belfast. If the French land in the north, about Aberdeen, it is thought your lordship will write to these troops to land at Portpatrick; but, if the French land in the Frith, or any where else, whereby you think the troops from Ireland can be of no use to you, or whereby these troops would run a risque, then it is expected, that your lordship will advertise them to

land at Whitehaven. This was left to me to tell your lordship, and the Duke of Marlborough said he would write to you himself, and order copies of the orders, given to the troops here, to be sent you. We talked also, how your lordship would dispose of the few troops you have; but I have nothing of this in charge to write to you, only for your own use I tell it you, that I thought, that the men you had were such an handful, that you would not think of taking the field, but that you would divide your foot, and put good garisons in Edinburgh and Sterling Castles, and some in Dumbarton, to defend these, the best you could, till succour come from Flanders and Ireland; Edinburgh and Sterling, particularly the first (besides other reasons) for the money there, and the other for a pass, and the fitness of it for a garison; and that, with the horses and dragoons, you would endeavour to keep the country quiet, and from joining with the enemy.

I believe there are ordered from hence seven or eight regiments of foot, amounting to about five thousand men, Northumberland's regiment of horse, two troops of the horse-guards, the horse-grenadiers, and the half of two regiments of dragoons; but you will know the particulars of this from the Duke of Marlborough; this, with those from Ireland and Flanders, will make such a force, that the French, and all who will join them, will not be able to overcome; so there is no fear of the main chance, but I am afraid our country, and particular persons, will suffer extremely.

All the officers here were ordered away yesterday, and they will be gone to-day; Colonel Erskin sets out this afternoon, I wish he were at Sterling, to which place he will make all the dispatch he can. I believe the troops from Flanders were designed to land at Tinmouth, if the French go to the Frith; but if they go to the north, I believe they will land at Leith, which I think most probable. My lord treasurer has promised, that money shall be ordered for every thing that is necessary; the commons have voted, that whatever the Queen expends on this affair shall be made good; they are also come to a resolution, and are bringing in a bill upon it, that if any Highland chieftan join the pretender, then his estate shall belong to his vassal, and they to hold of the crown, if they do not join; and if any vassal join, that his estate shall belong to the landlord, if he do not. The bill, for every body in publick trust taking the abjuration, passed yesterday, and also the bill, suspending the *Habeas Corpus* act, till the thirteenth of October next.

I hope the powder from Berwick is in the castles in Scotland before this; I ordered Holbourn to send your lordship the cannon ball, which I hope he did. We long very much to hear from your lordship, and what is doing in Scotland.

I had almost forgot to tell your lordship, that yesterday the Queen gave the negative for the new militia of Scotland; the establishment for the Scots troops will be adjusted to-day I believe, or to-morrow. This is all I have to say now, but if any thing else occur before the express goes off, I shall add it.

I am, &c.

Whitehall, Friday, 12 *o'clock*,
March 12, 1707-8.

I conclude your lordship is at Edinburgh, so I thought it not needful to write to any other of the queen's servants.

My lord treasurer has ordered three months subsistence to be advanced to your lordship's troops, until other things be adjusted; the Duke of Argyle spoke to the Duke of Marlborough for Finab's independent company going into Argyleshire, which his grace thinks reasonable, and the Duke of Argyle desired me to shew this to your lordship.

The Lord Advocate's letter to the Earl of Mar, shewing the destitute condition of Scotland, at that time; never a country more destitute and defenceless; and that at least, some order may be given, whereby the necessary expence may be defrayed. March the 11th, 1707-8.

May it please your Lordship,

THE council met again yesterday, and dispatched their orders, for calling in suspected persons, to appear before them, with the proclamation for the fast, of all which, your lordship had a full account; there was presented to the council the memorial here inclosed for the castle of Edinburgh, a large and particular account of what it wants, to put it in a case of defence, and memorials also, for the castles of Sterling, Dumbarton, and Blackness, to shew their present condition, and what great disorder and want they are in; and all these memorials I am ordered to lay before your lordship, for her Majesty's information. I sent Mr. Slezer's memorial formerly for a train of artillery, and I hope, all will be considered, for I believe there was never a country more destitute and defenceless than we are, nor have we so much as a treasury or any money, for incident charges; so that, I must again, by the council's order, lay these things before your lordship, and that at least some orders may be given, whereby necessary expences may be defrayed.

I am, &c.

The Earl of Mar's letter to the Earl of Leven, to secure the bank. Whitehall, March the 9th, 1707-8.

My Lord,

THE Queen called a cabinet-council last night, where she was pleased to call the Dukes of Queensberry and Montrose, the Earls of Louden, Seafield, and me; we gave an account there, of what orders the Queen had sent to Scotland, since the news of the invasion, and the letter now to the council was read, of which you have a copy. It is expected, that the council of Scotland will secure the horses and arms of those, they think disaffected, and also will be assisting to give their advice and directions, for securing the money, in the mint and bank; in case of a landing, or any apparent danger, certainly the enemies will have a design of seizing that. It was told us, that since both houses had addressed the Queen, to apprehend and secure such persons, as she had cause to suspect, and are now upon a bill for suspending the *Habeas Corpus* act; it was fit, that suspected people in Scotland should be apprehended and secured. There was a list of them read to us, which

we took down in writing; there were warrants ready drawn conform to the stile here, which was thought inconvenient to be altered, but, as to the way, they are ordered to be put in execution, &c.

ANNE R.

The Queen's Letter to the Council of Scotland, March the 8th, 1707-8.

Right Trusty, &c.

WE did by our letter of the Twenty-fifth of February last, acquaint you with the intended invasion, on some part of our kingdom of Great-Britain, and with our Royal pleasure on that occasion; we doubt not, but you have used the utmost care, pursuant to our command: We have since further confirmation of our enemy's designs; the pretended Prince of Wales is at Dunkirk, with some battalions of French and Irish papists, ready to imbarque for Scotland, and our enemies give out, that they have invitations from some of our subjects there: We are hopeful, that this desperate attempt will, by the blessing of God on our arms and councils, be disappointed, and turned to the confusion of all concerned in it. But that nothing be omitted on our part, for preventing the least danger, which threatens our people: We have emitted a proclamation, by advice of our Privy-council of Great Britain, which we herewith send to you, and we do require you, to cause the same to be published at all places needful, as proclamations of our Privy-council in Scotland have been published.

We think it necessary, that the landlords in the high-lands, and chieftains of clans, be called to Edinburgh, to give the security, appointed by law, for preserving the peace and order, and we do require you forthwith to do the same.

We do again recommend to you, to get intelligence of the designs of our enemies, and evil-affected people there, and to give present directions, for putting our forts, garisons, and magazines in a good posture of defence; and what shall be expended towards these ends by your warrant shall be repaid, for which we have already given orders.

We take this occasion to let you know, that our fleet is now at sea, and much increased since our last: The Dutch fleet is in great forwardness, and both are so disposed, that our enemies cannot reasonably hope to escape an engagement; our troops from Ireland and Flanders, which we mentioned in our last, are ready to imbarque in transport-ships, provided in those places, with all necessaries for that service: The troops from England are also posted in the best way, for the relief of our people in Scotland, if our enemies shall have the boldness to pursue their design.

We have dispatched the Earl of Leven from hence, to command our forces there, and given him such instructions, as we judged necessary on this occasion, to whom you will give your advice, assistance, and due encouragement.

We expect that you will assemble frequently in council, and use such vigour in your proceedings, as hath been done on like occasions formerly; which will be acceptable to us, and may prevent the misleading of

our people, and their conjunction with French and Irish papists, the irreconcileable enemies of their religion and liberties.

We do also require you, to transmit to us full and constant accounts of the state of affairs there, and not doubting of your zeal and diligence. We bid your heartily farewel.

Given at our court, at Kensington, the Eighth day of March, 1707-8. And of our reign the seventh year.

By her Majesty's command,

Counter-signed,

MAR.

The Earl of Leven's letter to the Earl of Mar, to press for orders to Ireland for the troops, and that he may know, to whom he must write.

Stamford, March 7, 1707-8, Sunday, Ten o'Clock.

My Lord,

YOU will have a memoir, by the Earl of Weems, which I sent from Stilton. I must again intreat you, to mind the establishment, and all my concernments, both personal, and what relates to the garisons; I desire the three commissions for the three adjutants, to the grenadiers and dragoons, as I gave in the list; I desire you to send down the name of the person, I am to write to in Ireland, if there be occasion; although I must still intreat your Lordship to press, that orders be sent to some horse and dragoons to imbarque. By my letters from Scotland, I understand that there is a great ferment there, and particularly, in the West-Country; and that the Jacobites are very uppish; my letter also says, That the officers can hardly get money for the bills sent from London; therefore, I pray you, represent it so, that some method may be taken, to send money down, for you may be sure, if the invasion be, there can none be got there; and how inconvenient the want of it will be, is obvious. My Lord, Adieu.

Pray, write by every occasion, and let me know, if I shall give any encouragement to any, who shall be willing to take up arms to join us; I hope, at least so much of the levy-money, as is due since the Twenty-fourth of December, will be given now, for that will buy some horses, and levy some men.

ANNE R.

Instructions to our right trusty and well-beloved cousin and counsellor, David, Earl of Leven, Lieutenant-General, and Commander in Chief of our Militia, and of all our forces, in that part of our kingdom of Great Britain, called Scotland.

YOU are to repair to Scotland, with all convenient diligence, and to take the advice of our privy-council, in all things, you shall judge

necessary, for preserving the peace of that part of our united kingdom.

And whereas we have intelligence, that there are preparations at Dunkirk, for invading that part of our kingdom of Great Britain: You are to oppose their landing, as much as you can, and in case they shall land, you are to hinder, as much as possible, our subjects, from joining them, and to fall upon, and disperse any, who shall tumultuously rise in arms, and endeavour to join them.

You are to make such a disposition of the troops, as you shall judge most for our service in this present juncture.

You are to take care to put Edinburgh Castle, in such a posture of defence, as your time will allow; and provide provision for the garison, for three months, and to advise with the other governors of garisons, that they be in like manner provided, and put in an order of defence.

You are to dispose of the ammunition, you are to receive, to the garisons and troops, as you shall judge most for our service.

You are to apply to our Privy-council in Scotland, for giving the necessary orders for providing of horses, both for the baggage and for the train of artillery, in case you shall be obliged to take the field.

You are impowered to call councils of war as often as you shall think fit, and to take their advice, in any manner of difficulty.

You are to advertise us from time to time, either by express, or the ordinary pacquet, of the posture of affairs there, and of what intelligence you shall receive of the designs and condition of the enemy, and obey such further instructions, as we shall think fit to give therein.

You are, upon the first appearance of any squadron of French ships upon the coasts, to send to Ireland to ———, to advertise him thereof, who has orders to send troops to your assistance.

Given at our Court, at Kensington, the Fourth day of March, 1707-8; and of our reign, the sixth year.

Counter-signed

MAR.

ANNE R.

The Queen's Letter to the Council, concerning an Invasion.

RIGHT trusty, &c. Whereas we have intelligence, that there are preparations at Dunkirk for fitting out a squadron of ships: And that these intelligences do likewise give an account of embarking some troops, arms, and ammunition, which may be designed for invading and making disturbance within that part of our kingdom of Great Britain called Scotland: We have therefore thought it necessary to acquaint you of this, and we do expect that you will use your utmost care and diligence

for the protection of our subjects, and the preservation of the publick peace there.

We are unwilling to believe that any of our subjects will give assistance or encouragement to any such invasion, which would prove of such dangerous consequence to their religion and liberties, and make their native country a scene of blood and confusion; however, we doubt not but that you will take all the necessary measures to discover and disappoint any such bad practices and contrivances, and to secure such as you shall find concerned therein.

We are hopeful, with the assistance of God, to prevent and defeat this design of our enemies, and for this end nothing shall be wanting on our part; we have fitted out a fleet superior to any they can have in those parts; we have also given orders that some of our troops in Flanders be ready to embark, in case the embarkation at Dunkirk shall go on, and our troops in England and Ireland are so disposed as to give you what assistance may be necessary. In the mean time, we hereby authorise and impower you to give such orders as are proper, to put our forces, forts, and garisons there, in the best order.

We shall continue to inform you from time to time of what further intelligence we may receive, and therefore we think it necessary, that you appoint all our Privy-counsellors there to attend at Edinburgh, for receiving and obeying our orders, except such as you judge more useful for the publick service to be in the country; and having intire trust and confidence in your loyalty and conduct, in this juncture, we bid you heartily farewel.

Given at our Court at Kensington the 25th day of February 1707-8, and of our reign the sixth year.

By her Majesty's Command,

Counter-signed,

LOUDEN.

THE

GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY OF MONS.

FIRST WRITTEN IN FRENCH

FOR THE

SERVICE OF AN IMPERIAL OFFICER,

IN THE ARMY ABOUT MONS;

AND NOW DONE, A SECOND TIME, IN ENGLISH,

FOR THE

SATISFACTION OF OUR BRITISH OFFICERS.

By John Mack Gregory, L L. L.

PROFESSOR OF GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY.

Printed at Edinburgh, in the Year MDCCIX, Quarto, containing forty-four pages.

MONS is a great town, the capital city of all Hainault, and the principal place of residence of the governor, and the other officers, who compose both the particular courts, and the general councils, of that whole province.

It is situated on the banks of the river Trouille, in the middle of a large plain, that reigns all around it, for several leagues, on both sides the river Haine: But, just where the town stands, there is a small eminence, included within it; the bank of the Trouille, on the one side there, being a little rising ground, or hill; that on the other side, a great level, or plain: And, immediately without the town, the ground is a great marsh, caused principally by an abundance of waters proceeding from the confluence of those two rivers, of a great many rivulets, of some brooks, and of several canals, all rendezvousing thereabouts, and partly by the continuance of the plain, which favours that of the marsh, making it to run out for a half a league from the walls, for three quarters, and for a whole league in some places; so that it reigns about the town, for a great way off, and with such a great deal of water, that it cannot be well drained, except on the East-side towards Namur, where the ground rises too high for it, and on the West towards Valenciennes, where there is likewise a little rising.

The chief of those waters, that render the country about Mons so marshy, are these two rivers, the Trouille and the Haine.

The Trouille is but a small river, taking its rise near the village of Merieux, in the same province of Hainault, three leagues and a half from the town of Mons, on the South-side. It has at first its course from South to North, then makes a turn within Mons, runs afterwards from East to West, and, at length, falls into the river Haine, a league above the fortress of St. Guislain, likewise in the same province, three quarters of a league from Mons, on the West-side.

Upon both the sides of this river, just where it makes the turn from the North to the West, or rather from the North-East to the North-West, stands Mons, seated upon the two banks, the bank there, on the East-side, being an eminence, or hill; that on the West-side, a flat ground, or plain; and the river running through the town, North-East when it goes in, and North-West when it goes out, divides it into two very unequal parts, the part on the East-side, upon the hill, being by far the greater; that on the West-side, in the plain, much the lesser; just three leagues and a half below where it rises, near Merieux, and about three quarters of a league, above where it falls into the Haine, not far from St. Guislain: That part of the river, which is above Mons, is called the Upper Trouille; and below, it is named the Lower.

The Haine is also but a small river, though somewhat greater than the Trouille, having its source near the town of Fontaine l' Eveque, in the same province of Hainault, four leagues and a half from the town of Mons, on the East-side. At first it runs North, then turns West, afterwards North-West, then South-West, and again West; so, making a great many turnings and windings, as it goes through the country, but having the main of its course from East to West, especially it is so as it passes by Mons; it at length falls into the river Scheld, a little above the fortress of Condé, likewise in the same province, four leagues and a quarter from Mons, on the West-side.

Upon the South-side of this river, at a place where it runs from East to West, or rather from North-East to South-West, stands Mons, seated on an eminence, upon the banks of the Trouille, in the middle of the plain on that side the Haine, and at the distance of betwixt a quarter and half a league from the river, where it passes by the town; just four leagues and a half below where it rises, near Fontaine l' Eveque, and about four leagues and a quarter above where it falls into the Scheld, hard by Condé: That part of the river, which is above Mons, is called, the upper Haine; and below, it is named, the Lower.

Besides those two rivers, there are abundance of other waters, that contribute to render the ground thereabouts a marsh, a great many rivulets, of lesser note, some brooks, and several canals, detached from those rivers both above and below Mons, that are all made to run, turning and winding through the country, about the town, into the lakes and ponds, to supply them with water; through the town, into the ditches and kennels, for the conveniency of the people; and out of the town, away into the channels of the Lower Trouille and Haine, with design to render them navigable.

In this manner, it happens, that the country about Mons is so marshy: The town is so surrounded, and the territory adjoining so planted, with

such abundance and plenty of waters, proceeding from a confluence and complication of so many rivers, rivulets, brooks, and canals, all rendezvousing there on purpose, as it were, to make a marsh, and the ground thereabouts is so continued a level and plain, that it cannot well be otherwise; and, for the conveniency and advantages of water, one may say, there is not, perhaps, such another inland situation of a town, as that of Mons is, in Europe, if it be not that of Ghent. As for what inconveniencies may arise there, from the superabundance of these waters, they are wisely provided against, as much as may be, by the industry and care of the inhabitants, who, by the multiplying of canals and ditches, by the keeping clean and neat their channels, by the variety of ponds, and little lakes, but especially by the number and good government of sluices, have them so under command, that they can let them out, or keep them in, or make of them what they please: And consequently, by such means in the case of a siege, the people within Mons can egregiously incommode an enemy without, by inunding the whole country that is immediately about the town; which they do effectually, to the distance of a quarter of a league from the walls, of half a league, and of three quarters in some places; so as to make the inundation reign around, for a good way off, and with such a deepness of water, as to render the town inaccessible, except on the East-side towards Namur, where the ground rises too high for it, and where an enemy might incamp, and intrench, and from thence approach, and batter the place, in spite of the inundation; the same might be done on the West-side towards Valenciennes, where there is likewise a little rising; but not so well, because the ground there does not rise to such a height.

This town was at first founded by Alberon, a Prince of France, son to Clodion the Hairy, King of France, and grandson to Pharamond the Great, first King thereof; who, in the year of our lord 449, being left, by his father's death, to the guardianship of his kinsman Merovee, and his guardian having deprived him of his inheritance, and usurped his crown to himself, went thereupon into Germany, to sollicit assistance to recover his right, and was assisted by the Germans so powerfully, as that, in progress of time, he recovered all the lower Austrasia, and a good part of Belgium, as far as Tournay and Cambray; and, in the year 481, he came hither into that country, where now Mons is, which was then all covered with wood as well as with water, being a part of the Saltus Carbonarius, which was a skirt of the forest of Ardenna, and built a high tower there, on the top of a small eminence, upon the bank of the river Trouille, towards the East, hard by the water-side, just where it, running from the South, makes a turn from the North to the West, in the middle of a large plain, covered then with a great deal both of wood and water, though now with the last more than with the first, on the bank of the river Haine towards the South, not far from the water-side, just where it runs from East to West, towards the North: Which tower served him, as a house, or palace, where he lodged; as an observatory, or watching-place, from whence he discovered the country about; and as a fortress, or place of security, by the means of which he maintained himself there, notwithstanding the efforts of his enemies, the Merovignians, to turn him out. He likewise cut down

all the trees, which covered the eminence where the tower stood, and by such means discovered it all around, so as to make an explanade, or empty space, immediately about the tower, in the middle of the wood that reigned, from the top, where the tower was, to the bottom, where it was bordered with trees, all about the eminence: And this explanade served him, as a camp-post, or place of arms, where he was wont to rendezvous his soldiers, and to draw them up in order of battle.

The same Prince Alberon continuing, so long as he lived, to have sharp war with the Merovignians, upon the account of the usurpation of his dominions, and consequently, having frequent occasion to have his troops lodged nigh to him, first pitched tents for them in the explanade about his tower; then built huts and houses, which, by degrees and through time, grew out into a considerable village all around the tower, under the defence of which it was secure; and afterwards, to secure it further from the sudden attempts of his enemies, he inclosed it with a hedge, of bushes and branches joined and interlaced, which, from a village, made it become a town. This was done, in the year of our Lord 490, and it is the first inclosure of Mons: The town was called Alberon's camp-post, which name it retained for a long time after; and the tower, Alberon's tower, which name it retains to this day.

What sort of town this camp-post of Prince Alberon's has been, we cannot well tell, for now there are no vestiges of it to be found: But I have seen a plan of it, in miniature, in an old Latin manuscript, preserved by the ladies * of St. Waltrud's at Mons, and to be read in their library; by which it appears, that it has been of a round figure, lying on the East-side the Trouille, hard by the river-side, where it, running from the South to the North, makes a turnaway to the West, and on the South-side the Haine, not far from the river-side, where it runs from East to West, towards the North, including just the eminence, where the tower stood, and occupying just the explanade, that reigned about, between the top, where the tower was, and the bottom, where it was inclosed with a hedge, and no more. As for Alberon's tower, we can give some account of it, it being still on foot and intire, though, by this time, beginning to look pretty ancient, and engaged with another edifice that was afterwards adjoined to it, standing just on the top of that eminence, which was once occupied by Alberon's camp-post, and is now in a place within Mons, that makes exactly the middle of the town, at the distance of near five hundred paces from the side of the Trouille, towards the East, and about two thousand and five hundred paces from the Haine-side, towards the South: It is a tower round, having in diameter sixty feet, built of hewn stone, to the height of a hundred and twenty feet, the wall being five feet thick, consisting of six stories, adorned at the bottom with a base, and a gate arched, towards the South, accompanied with its pilasters, with borders at the division of stories, and windows round, towards all points, accompanied with their chanbranles, and at the top with a cornish; above which there is an attick,

* See these ladies described below.

terminated in a platform, guarded with a balustrade, and surmounted with a globe, of timber covered with lead, bearing up a flag-staff and flag, having blazoned the arms of the sovereign: The whole a piece of Gothick work, engaged with another edifice, adjoined afterwards to it, that because of its age, and its being seated upon a height, where it is exposed a great deal to the injuries of weather, as well as of time, has now, at this day, very much the face and air of an antiquity.

This was the condition of Mons, as Prince Alberon, of France, founded it: And, it continued in the same state, till the year of our Lord 526, when, Walbert, son and successor to Prince Alberon, and the first Earl of Hainault, having continued the war his father had begun against the Merovignians, upon the account of the usurpation of their inheritance, and being married to the Lady Lucilla, sister to Zeno, Emperor of the East, the Emperor thereupon took part with his brother-in-law, in his quarrel against Clovis the Great, King of France, whom he forced to enter into a treaty with him, and to restore to him the county of Hainault; which was accordingly done at Cambray, that year, when King Clovis resigned so much territory to Prince Walbert, and the Emperor Zeno erected it into an earldom in his favour, giving him this for a coat of arms: Or, a lion rampant sable, armed and langued gules: For a crest, an earl's coronet Or, adorned with eight flowers of the same. From that time, Earl Walbert, and his successors, being at peace with the Merovignians, and having no war with any other of their neighbours, had but little occasion to fear any thing, and be obliged to be much upon their guard, to live in the midst of a wood, and have their troops lodged always nigh to them, as their predecessor, Prince Alberon, had done; but they chose rather to dwell elsewhere, in more convenient places, and neglected the dwelling-place of Prince Alberon; so that Alberon's tower thereupon became a waste, and Alberon's camp-post returned to be a desart, as it has been formerly.

It continued so, till the days of the Lady Waltrud, otherwise, St. Waltrud, Countess and Heiress of Hainault, daughter to Earl Walbert the Fourth, and wife to Maldegair, otherwise, St. Vincent, a Prince of Ireland, who, by vertue of his marriage, was likewise Earl of Hainault. This religious princess, being inclined to renounce the world, and looking out for a convenient retiring-place, was perfuaded by St. Guislain, and others, her spiritual directors, to make choice of the dwelling-place of Prince Alberon, in the wood, which, by that time was become waste, turned quite a desart, and covered with trees as much as ever; where first she built a cell and a chapel, for herself, in Alberon's camp-post, hard by Alberon's tower; and afterwards founded a church, and a cloister, for others, in the same place, in which she begun and instituted that famous college, or congregation, of religious ladies, or noble women, canonesses secular, without any rule, which continues there, and flourishes to this day. Saint Waltrud went thither to live, about the year of our Lord 603, and she made that institution of Ladies in the year 609; which gave occasion to a great many other people, gentlemen as well as ladies, poor as well as

rich, and laicks as well as religious, to resort to the same place, and build houses for themselves there, in Alberon's camp-post, under the shadow of Alberon's tower, and in the neighbourhood of St. Waltrud's church; so that Alberon's camp-post, by degrees, came again to be very well inhabited; and, through time, grew out into a considerable town, being inclosed with a new hedge of bushes and branches rebuilt, including the eminence, and occupying the explanade all around, between the tower, which defended it at top, and the hedge which inclosed it at the bottom, as it was before. And they changed the name of Alberon's camp-post, and called it by that of Bergen, signifying, in Teutonick, or old high Dutch, the ancient language of that country, as much, as if one would say, by way of distinction, The Hill: which name they designedly gave it, both because it was built upon a little hill, the only hill in the country thereabouts, and because of the respect and veneration they had for the dwelling-place of so many religious persons, as lived there a pious and devout life; which respect they thought they expressed a little, by calling it with a distinction, The Hill. At the same rate of speaking, and, for the same reasons, in Latin, it was called Mons: And both these names it retains to this day; the one, Mons, is used commonly by foreigners; the other, Bergen, is only known among the natives.

What sort of town this hill of St. Waltrud's has been, we cannot at all tell; because now there are no vestiges of it to be found; and as for plans of it I have never seen any. However, we may presume, that, being built upon the same ground with Prince Alberon's camp-post, it has been much of the same figure, and situate the same way; has included the same eminence, and occupied the same explanade, that reigned about, between the top, where Alberon's tower was, and the bottom, where it was inclosed with a new hedge, as before.

This was the condition of Mons, as St. Waltrud, and her ladies, and their followers, refounded it. It continued in the same state, till the year of our Lord 680, in the days of Alberick, Earl of Hainault, son to Earl Brunulph, a prince of a publick spirit, and a great lover of building, who did a great deal of that kind for Mons, and made it, indeed, look like a town.

First, because it was the place, where his predecessor St. Waltrud, and several other saints, had lived, out of the respect and veneration he had to their name and memory, he loved mightily to dwell in it; and, because he found that the lodgings in Prince Alberon's tower were both too little for him, and become ruinous, he not only repaired them, but also built a castle of his own, a great and noble edifice, upon the top of the same eminence, where Alberon's tower stood, and adjoining to it on the south side, the tower being engaged with it on the north; which castle and tower, together, made such a large and capacious dwelling-place for him, that it served him conveniently as a house where he lodged; as an observatory, from whence he discovered the country about; and as a fortress, by the means of which, he not only maintained himself, but likewise defended the town, and, upon an occasion, could command the same. He also cut down all the wood, which covered the ground, both within and without the town, especially with-

out, and by such means discovered it all around, so as to make a grand explanade, immediately without the inclosure, that reigned for a great way of, all about the town; and this explanade served him as a large camp post, where he rendezvoused his troops when he had occasion, and drew them up in order of battle.

Then, for the further defence of the town, which, till his time, never had any better inclosure than hedges, he was the first who conceived the design of inclosing it with a wall, and took care to have his design put inexecution; in order to which, he cut down the hedge inclosure, that had been begun by Prince Alberon, and continued by his successors till then; extended the *Pomœrium*, or explanade, on it, a good way beyond it, further into the country, and there built another of his own, being a wall of stone, making it go quite round the town with a larger compass; so as take in not only the eminence, upon which the town stood, with the castle and tower at the top, but likewise a good deal of more ground at the bottom of it, which he designed should serve as an empty space, for the inhabitants to build houses farther upon. This was done in the year of our Lord 687, and it is the second inclosure of Mons, which made it, indeed, look like a town; whereas, till that time, having never any thing but a hedge about it, it looked no better than like a village; of which and of all the other publick works of Earl Alberick's about Mons, an account may be gathered from the inscriptions, that are to be seen in and about his castle; it being still on foot and intire, whereas of his wall there is not the least vestige to be found, it having been so compleatly overthrown and ruined, that one cannot know now where it has been; but the ancient history of Mons is to be read more at large, in a book intituled, 'The Annals of Hainault,' a Walloon manuscript, written in the year 1360, by Jacques de Guyse, a native of Mons, and a Licentiate in Divinity, of the order of St. Francis, preserved by the Ladies of St. Waltrud there, and to be seen in their library, by any one that calls for it.

What kind of inclosure this wall of Earl Alberick's has been, we cannot well tell; for now there are no vestiges of it to be found; but I have seen a profile of it, in oil, in a prospect of old Mons, hanging in the closet of the Lady Margaret of Croy, a princess of the family of Rœulx, and one of the Ladies of St. Waltrud's there, by which it appears that it has been built of hewn stone, in the Roman fashion, and fortified with square towers, at equal distances, and a third part higher, having three gates, but no ditch, and that it has run about the town in an oblong figure, stretching itself from East to West, so as to approach nearer to the Trouille side, the river running from South to North, and to take in the eminence, upon which the town stood, with a good deal more. As for Earl Alberick's castle, we can give some account of it, it being on foot and intire to this day, though beginning now to look pretty ancient, standing on the same eminence with Prince Alberon's Tower, where they together occupy all the top of it, the Tower being engaged with the Castle on the North-side, and the Castle adjoined to the Tower on the South, the eminence stretching itself East and West; it is four pavilions round, joined together with four sides oblong, making up a court square, the root of the interior square being eighty feet, that of the ex-

terior an hundred and sixty, built of hewn stone, the sides to the breadth of forty feet, the pavilions to the solidity of sixty, and both to a height equal to their respective breadth and solidity, the walls to the thickness of five feet, and to a height different as the parts of the edifice require, the sides consisting of two stories, the pavilions of three, adorned without and within, with a base continued at the bottom, and a gate arched, on the South-side, accompanied with its pilasters, with borders likewise continued at the division of stories, and windows cornered on all sides, accompanied with their chanbranles, and with a cornish at the top discontinued, the parts of the edifice differing in height; above which there is an attick, terminated in a platform, guarded with a balustrade, all discontinued and surmounted, the sides with a roof pavilion-wise, of timber, covered with lead, the pavilion with a dome and cupola, bearing up a fane-staff and fane; and, as Alberon's round Tower is on the North-side engaged in the body of the edifice, so corresponding to it on the South-side just over the gate, there is another Tower square, the root of the square being sixty feet, built as the rest of the edifice, to the height of an hundred and twenty feet, consisting of six stories, adorned at the bottom with a base and a portal arched, accompanied with its pilasters, with borders at the division of stories, and windows cornered, accompanied with their chanbranles, and with a cornish at the top, having above it an attick, terminated in a platform, guarded with a balustrade, and surmounted with a spire of timber, covered with lead, bearing up a flag-staff and flag, having blazoned the arms of the sovereign; the whole a mass of Gothick work, adjoined to Alberon's Tower, that, because of its situation as well as of its age, upon the top of a rising ground, or height, where, consequently, it is exposed very much to the injuries both of time and weather, begins now, at this day, to look like an antiquity; and as, by reason of its being seated upon an eminence, the only eminence in the country thereabouts, it is seen a great way off all around, by those who come towards the town, so the best prospect that one can have of Mons, and of the ground about it, is from the platforms of the Castle within it, especially from those of the two Towers, and particularly that of Alberon's, which stands just upon the top of the eminence, on the very highest spot of it all, and where the curious traveller should not neglect to go up to the platform of it, because from thence he can discover and view all at once, the town, its situation, and fortification, the ground, its rising, and falling, the waters, their course, and quantity, the rivers, canals, lakes, the marshes, and all that is of it.

This was the condition of Mons, as it was built by Earl Alberick: And it continued so, in the same state, without any further alteration or change, either for its increase, or for its better defence, till a long time after.

In the year of our Lord 812, in the days of the Lady Renny, Countess and Heiress of Hainault, daughter to Earl Walter the Third, and wife to Albo, a Prince of Lorrain, who, by his marriage, was likewise Earl of Hainault, Charles the Great, King of France, and Emperor of the West, had so much good will for Mons, partly for the sake of Earl Walter the Third, who was killed in his service against the Saxons, in

the year 800, but principally upon the account it had been the dwelling-place of St. Waltrud, and several other great saints, that, as a mark of the respect and veneration he had for the name and memory of those worthies, he not only declared it a noble town, and gave it all the privileges of a free city, but, besides, made it the capital of all Hainault; and, what was more, erected it, and the territory about it, into a particular earldom by itself, distinct from the earldom of Hainault, in favour of the Countess Renny, and of Earl Albo, to whom he had beforehand married her, giving it this for a coat of arms: *Argent*, a castle triple-towered *Gules*; for a crest, an earl's coronet *Or*, adorned with eight flowers of the same. From that time, the Earls of Hainault were likewise Earls of Mons, and used both titles together, quartering the armorial ensigns of both earldoms, so as to make up an escutcheon in this manner: Quarterly, in the first and fourth, *Or*, a lion rampant sable, armed and langued gules, for Hainault; in the second and third argent, a castle triple-towered gules, for Mons; for a crest, an earl's coronet *Or*, adorned with eight flowers of the same. And it continued to be so till the days of Earl John.

Rainier the First, Earl of Hainault and Mons, cousin to Earl Manassy, having sharp war in his time with Otho the Great, Emperor of Germany, and Bruno, Archbishop of Cologn, two brothers, in the year of our Lord 959, went out to meet the archbishop, who, in the emperor's name, was come against him with a great army into Hainault, and met him near Valenciennes, where they fought; but the archbishop, being much superior to him, in quality, as well as in number of troops, not only defeated his army, but likewise took himself prisoner, and carried him in chains to Cologn, where he kept him till he died: He, also, the same year, took possession of both the earldoms of Hainault and Mons, for the emperor, and disposed of them by his authority, by giving them to governors, who held them in his name, excluding both Earl Rainier, whom he kept prisoner, and his children, whom he banished the country. In this manner, the town of Mons, and the territory about it, came into the hands of the Emperor Otho, and his governors; and it continued to be so for the space of nineteen years; that is, till the year 978, when Rainier the Second, son and successor to the other, after having made many efforts, during the time of his banishment, to revenge his father's quarrel, and recover his own inheritance, and all to no purpose, being then a refugee at the court of France, and married thereto a French Princess, the Lady Havidea, daughter to Hugh Capet, Earl of Paris, and a peace being, that year, concluded between Otho the Second, Emperor of Germany, and Lothair, King of France, by an article of that treaty, it was provided for his restoration; so, by means of his foreign alliance, he, at length, recovered his own country, after having been banished it nineteen years.

In the year of our Lord 1113, in the days of Baldwin the Second, Earl of Hainault and Mons, Earl Baldwin the First's son, a terrible fire broke out in Mons, which reduced almost the whole town to ashes. It lay in ruins till the year 1145, that Baldwin the Third, son and successor to the former, begun to rebuild it, and continued to do so as long as he lived, that is, till the year 1171; but, having sharp and violent

war in his time, with Thierry of Alsace, Earl of Flanders, upon the account of the succession to that earldom, by reason of his affairs abroad, his buildings at home did not advance, and were not perfected in his life-time; except the wall about Mons, which, for the security of his house and family, as well as for the defence of the town and burghers, he took care to have advanced, and perfected very quickly; so that, in a short time, it came to be in as good a case as before.

What kind of inclosure this wall of Earl Baldwin the Third's has been, we cannot at all tell, there being now no vestiges of it to be found; and, as for plants or profiles of it, I have never seen any: However, we may presume, that, being built upon the same bounds, and on the same foundation, with the former, it has likewise been in the same fashion, of the same figure, and the same every other way.

This was the condition of Mons, as it was rebuilt by Earl Baldwin the Third: And it continued in that state, only till the year of our Lord 1186; for then, Baldwin the Fourth, sirnamed the builder, because of the great inclination he had that way, son and successor to the other, a publick-spirited prince, who, alone, did more for Mons, than all those who were before him, having perfected the buildings his father had begun, and added a great many other edifices of his own, so as to take up all the ground that was included within the town, and be obliged to go without, if he had a mind to build any more, fell thereupon into a dislike of the inclosure, as being of too narrow bounds, conceived the design of another, larger, and immediately put his design in execution, throwing down the wall that had been built by Earl Alberick, and lately rebuilt by his father, extending the *Pomœrium* on it a good way beyond it, further into the country, and there building another of his own, likewise of stone, together with a ditch, making both go quite round, with a greater circumference, so as to take in, not only the town, but a good deal of ground more, which he designed should serve as an empty space, for himself, and his successors, as well as for the inhabitants, to build further upon: This was done, that same year; and it is the third inclosure of Mons, which did, indeed, render it a great deal larger than what it was formerly, as it was in this prince's time, that the town arrived at a pitch of splendor and magnificence, beyond what it had ever been at before. Of which, and of all the other publick works of Earl Baldwin, the Builder, about Mons, an account may be gathered from the inscriptions, that are to be seen in and about the town-house, and the other edifices which he built there, being most of them still on foot, and intire; though of his wall and ditch there is not the least vestige to be found, they having been so completely destroyed, the one filled up, the other pulled down, and both levelled to the ground, so that one cannot know now where they have been; but the history of Earl Baldwin, the Builder, and of his works, is to be read more at large, in a book, intituled, The Annals of Mons, a Walloon manuscript, written in different times, by the town-clerks there, preserved in the town-house, among the archives, and to be seen by those who have acquaintance enough among the magistrates.

What kind of inclosure this wall of Earl Baldwin the Builder has been, we cannot well tell; for now there are no vestiges of it to be found: But I have seen a profile of it, in Destrampature, in a prospect of Old Mons, upon the wall of the council-chamber, in the town-house there, by which it appears: that it has been built of hewn stone, in the Roman fashion, and fortified with round towers, at equal distances, and a third part higher, having five gates, with a large ditch, and that it has run about the town in an oblong figure, stretching itself from east to west, so as to touch upon the Trouille-side, the river running from south to north, and to take in the town, with a good deal more.

This was the condition of Mons, as it was rebuilt by Earl Baldwin, the Builder: And it continued so, in the same state, without any further addition or change, either in its buildings or government, for a long time after.

In the year of our Lord 1252, in the days of the Lady Margaret, Countess and Heiress of Hainault and Mons, daughter to Earl Baldwin of Constantinople, and widow to Burchard sirnamed of Avesnnes, a nobleman of the same country, who, by virtue of his marriage, had been likewise administrator of Hainault and Mons, an unnatural war broke out in Hainault, between the Countess Margaret, and her own son, Prince John of Avesnnes, who, immediately upon his father the administrator's death, would not wait the succession, till his mother the heiress died also, but conceived the design of turning her out, and by the assistance of William the Second, Earl of Holland, and King of the Romans, whose sister, the Lady Alice, he had married, and who, for that reason, was a stout friend to the son, and a bitter enemy to the mother, did almost put his design in execution; for partly by King William's assistance, and partly by the means of a strong party, which he made among the nobility of Hainault, he very soon possessed himself of Mons, and of most of the other towns in that province, meaning no less than to take the whole, and drive his mother quite out of it, as in effect he did at length, and obliged her to retire to France. But, in the year 1254, the Countess Margaret, being assisted with troops by Lewis the Ninth, otherwise, St. Lewis, King of France, returned into Hainault, where she recovered Mons, and the other towns, and reduced the whole province to her obedience; upon which, her son, not having the patience to wait the succession till her death, broke his heart, and died in the year 1255, after having shewn himself to be a son unworthy to have lived so long, by his having so unworthily treated a lady, who was both his own mother, and his father's widow, and whose dominions he was to have all, without dispute, immediately upon her demise, which happened in the year 1280.

John, sirnamed, of Avesnnes, Earl of Hainault and Mons, Prince John of Avesnnes's son, in the year of our Lord 1299, by the right of his mother, the Lady Alice of Holland, Earl William the Second, otherwise King William's sister, succeeded likewise in the Earldoms of Holland and Zealand; by which means, four earldoms came then to be joined in the person of this earl, who thereupon changed the escutcheon of the Earls of Hainault by putting out the arms of Mons, and putting

in those of Holland in their room, quartering the original escutcheons of Hainault and Holland, so as to make up a coat of arms in this manner: Quarterly; in the first and fourth, or, a lion rampant sable, armed and langued gules, for Hainault: in the second and third, or, a lion rampant gules, for Holland; for a crest, an earl's coronet, or, adorned with eight flowers of the same. And it continues to be so to this day. He also neglected, among his titles, to use that of Earl of Mons; so from that time it went into desuetude.

In the year of our Lord 1339, in the days of William the Second, Earl of Hainault and Holland, son to Earl William the Good, Edward the Third, King of England, being constituted by Lewis of Bavaria, Emperor of Germany, great Vicar of the Holy Empire, and having occasion to go from England into Germany, about the affairs that belonged to his charge, passed the way of Mons, and staid two days in the town, where he was splendidly and magnificently received and entertained, by Earl William, and his nobility.

In the year of our Lord 1424, in the days of the Lady Jaquelin, Countess and Heiress of Hainault and Holland, daughter to Earl William of Bavaria, and wife to John Duke of Brabant, who, by his marriage, was likewise administrator of Hainault and Holland, a terrible war broke out in Hainault, upon the following occasion: The Countess Jaquelin was lawfully married to Duke John of Brabant, as we have said, but afterwards disliked him, and, he being still alive, married again adulterously to Humphry Duke of Glocester, King Henry the Fifth of England's brother; upon which Duke John the Administrator, being assisted by Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, came into Hainault, in the year 1424, and, either by force of arms, or a voluntary submission, reduced into his power all the towns in the province, except Mons, in a very short time. The next year 1425, the two Dukes, John and Philip, came together before Mons, besieged it, and took it upon terms. In continued in the hands of the Brabancons, so long as Duke John the Administrator lived, that is, till the year 1426, when Duke Philip, as next heir to the Countess Jaquelin, who was banished the country, succeeded in the Administratorship of Hainault, and the Burgundians took possession of Mons and kept it, till at length, in the year 1436, the Countess Jaquelin died, and Duke Philip then succeeded to her as heir general.

About this prince's time, that is, after the year of our Lord 1436, a great many foreigners, especially Dutch and Burgundians, came thronging thither to Mons, and made the town increase so much in the number, both of its inhabitants and houses, that there was not room enough for them within Earl Baldwin the Builder's wall; for all the ground, included with it, was intirely taken up: So that, afterwards, they were obliged to begin to build without the ditch, along the sides of the highways, that run out from the gates; which buildings, at length, grew out into suburbs, having each of them the same name, with the gate they run out from.

Duke Philip, having first had Mons as administrator for another, and afterwards got it in sovereignty to himself, being at sharp and violent

war, in his time, with Charles the Seventh, King of France, upon the account of the death of his father, who was killed upon the bridge at Montreau, in Champagne, by the French King's order, and considering the importance of the town of Mons, being a frontier to him on the side towards France, how weakly it was fortified, having nothing but Earl Baldwin the Builder's wall and ditch to defend it, and that then, after the invention of powder and guns, towns wanted to be fortified at a better rate, than ever they had been before, was thereupon the first who conceived the design of throwing up a rampart about it; and, because the town, by reason of its excrescence into suburbs, that was likewise grown considerable, required a new inclosure, he designed also, that the rampart should inclose, and go quite round it, with such a large compass, by the outer ends of all the suburbs, as to take in town, suburbs, river, and all that was on it: Which design he begun to put in execution, in the year of our Lord 1460, when, in order to it, he first destroyed Earl Baldwin's inclosure, by throwing down the wall, filling up the ditch, and levelling both to the ground; then extended the *Pomœrium* of the town, into the country, beyond the far-ends of all the suburbs, and the river, and there built an inclosure of his own, by cutting out a ditch, throwing up a rampart, and making both go clear round, with such a large circumference, as to surround and shut up all. It was compleated in the year 1467, the last year of Duke Philip's life; and it is the fourth and last inclosure of Mons, which, among all those that the town has had, is the only one that continues on foot, and intire to this day; and, though it be now above two-hundred years old, yet it is all that Mons has about it.

What kind of inclosure this rampart of Duke Philip the Good's is, we can very well tell: for it is still on foot and intire, and I have seen and observed it very exactly. It is not a simple wall of stone, as the other inclosures were, but a thick rampart of earth; built in the ancient fashion, not after the modern; altogether irregular, not according to art; and fortified with towers and bulwarks intermixed, not bastions, being a confused mass of Roman and Gothick work together, that discovers, by its mixture, the age it was done in, as well as the hands who did it. It is hard to tell its dimensions, because of its irregularity; for we could not take them, otherwise than measuring them by common paces; which we did, walking it on foot, both within and without the town: So, according to what we found, I shall endeavour to give a description of it as full and exact as is possible. And, to begin with its plan:

It is built in form of a polygon, or figure having many sides, of an oblong, round, or parabolick kind; consisting of two unequal parts upon the two sides of the Trouille; of several irregular sides on both sides the river, and having seven gates in it, two sluices, and a great many towers and bulwarks intermixed, at unequal and irregular distances.

The great semidiameter of the interior polygon is just a thousand common paces, five-hundred geometrical paces, or a third part of a British mile; which, doubled, makes the length of the ground, within this polygon, two-thousand common paces, or a thousand geometrical

paces, or two thirds of a British mile. The great semidiameter of the exterior polygon is a thousand and forty-two common paces, that is, five-hundred and twenty-one geometrical paces, or somewhat more than a third of a British mile; which, doubled, makes the length of the ground within this polygon, or the greatest length of the place. Take it which way you will, two-thousand and eighty-four common paces, or a thousand and forty-two geometrical paces, or somewhat more than two thirds of a British mile. The little semidiameter of the interior polygon is just seven-hundred and fifty common paces, that is, three-hundred and seventy-five geometrical paces, or a quarter of a British mile; which, doubled, makes the breadth of the ground, within this polygon, fifteen-hundred common paces, or seven-hundred and fifty geometrical paces, or half a British mile. The little semidiameter of the exterior polygon is seven-hundred and ninety-two common paces, that is, three-hundred and ninety-six geometrical paces, or somewhat more than a quarter of a British mile; which, doubled, makes the breadth of the ground within this polygon, or the greatest breadth of the place, take it which way you will, fifteen hundred and eighty-four common paces, or seven-hundred and ninety-two geometrical paces, or somewhat more than half a British mile.

The sides of both the polygons being of an equal length, and the towers and bulwarks of an irregular situation, at unequal and irregular distances, we could not well take the dimensions of them all separately, but, jointly all together, we found the circumference of the interior polygon to be just six-thousand common paces, that is, three-thousand geometrical paces, or two British miles; and the circumference of the exterior polygon, six-thousand two-hundred and fifty-two common paces, or three-thousand a hundred and twenty-six geometrical paces, or somewhat more than two British miles. But the circumference, measuring it upon the top of the rampart, going along the corridor, or gallery, and around the platforms, or terrasses of the towers and bulwarks by the foot in the battlement, or breastwork, and reckoning all the sides and angles, or turnings in and out of the ramparts, towers, and bulwarks, or the greatest circumference of the place, take it which way you will, is exactly seven-thousand two-hundred and forty common paces, that is, three-thousand six-hundred and twenty geometrical paces, or two British miles, and somewhat more than a third of a mile.

There are seven gates in this rampart; five in that part of it which surrounds the greater part of the town, on the east-side the river, commonly called the Great Town, being by far the greater part of it; and two in that part which surrounds the lesser part of the town, on the west-side the river, named the Little Town, being much the lesser part. The gates on the east-side, in the rampart about the Great Town, beginning at the river, at the lower end towards the north, from thence going eastwards, and so round, are reckoned in this order, and thus named: The Water-gate, the Castle-gate, the Park-gate, the Nimy-gate, and the Havre-gate. Those on the west-side, in the rampart about the Little Town, beginning at the river, at the upper end towards the south, from thence going westwards, round, are reckoned and named

so: The Hayon-gate, and the Bartemont-gate. And upon the river, at each end of the town, whereas, originally, there was nothing but a pannel or piece of wall, with a little gate in it, for the water to pass through, built by the Burgundians, to join the rampart on the one side, and that on the other side together, and so to compleat the inclosure; instead of those pannels of wall, there are now two sluices, lately made by the Spaniards, which serve the turn of joining the two ramparts, and compleating the inclosure to better purpose; for, besides the joining of the ramparts, by these sluices, the people of the town have the command of the river-water, so as to be able to let it out, or keep it in, or make of it what they please; whereas, by those pannels of wall, they could do nothing with it.

It is fortified all about with round towers, and bulwarks, likewise round, intermixed, at unequal and irregular distances; and every one of those gates and sluices is so placed in the middle between two towers, one on each side of it, and so nigh to one another, that it stands equally defended and hid between them.

As to its profile: the rampart, the gates, the towers, the bulwarks, and all that is on it, is built of earth thrown up, revested on the outside, and incrusted on the inside, with facades of hewn stone; the rampart and gates being to the thickness of seventy feet, that is, reckoning the mass of earth, with the revesture and incrusture of stone, and to the height of eight and twenty; the towers to the solidity of five and thirty feet, and to the height of two and forty, that is, a third part higher than the rampart, after the manner practised in the towers of the Aurelian wall about Rome; and the bulwarks to both a solidity and a height equal to those of the rampart, according to the common practice. The ramparts and gates are terminated with a grand corridor, or gallery, being a kind of terra-plain, running along the top of it; the towers and bulwarks with grand platforms, or terrasses, some of which are covered, and some discovered; and both terra-plain and platforms are guarded on the outside with a grand battlement, or breastwork, being a kind of parapet, likewise of earth cast up, revested, and incrusted with hewn stone, to the thickness of one and twenty feet, and to the height of seven; founded upon the top of the rampart and gates, the towers and bulwarks, and reigning along the terra-plain, and around the platforms, all about the town: By which means, though the rampart and gates be seventy feet thick, yet the terra-plain, in the top of them, comes to be only forty-nine feet broad, by reason that one and twenty feet, the thickness of the parapet, are taken from it; and, the parapet going round the towers and bulwarks, as well as along the rampart and gates, the breadth of their platforms comes also to be diminished in proportion.

Without the rampart is the ditch, being a moat, or wet ditch, a hundred and forty feet broad, and twelve feet deep: It is cut out of the earth, has its scarp and counterscarp incrusted with hewn stone, and is always full of water from the river, and the other neighbouring waters that are made to run into it. Over it, before the gates, are seven bridges, that is, one before each gate, giving passage into, and out from the town; and having, at the outer ends of them, as many high-ways,

that, from thence, run out into the adjacent country, and have each the same name with the gate it runs out from. They were originally fixed bridges of stone, built by the Burgundians, but now they are draw ones of timber, lately made by the Spaniards; that is, before each gate there is now a draw-bridge, or rather a concatenation of such bridges, one beyond another, placed upon mounts, or pillars, founded in the ditch to such a length, as to cross it over, and to the ordinary breadth of bridges.

The river Trouille, whether within or without the town, is but very small and inconsiderable; however, it is navigable for boats, as much as is of it below Mons, and bordered all along with a quay, or landing-place, revested with stone, its channel being incrusted with the same. As for the bridges, that are over it, joining the two parts of the town together, the one part on the east-side, being by far the greater, the other on the west-side much the lesser, there are a great many of them, one in every street that touches upon it, but none of them considerable, the river being but small. They are all fixed bridges of stone, as they have always been, built originally by the Burgundians, and rebuilt lately by the Spaniards, terminated in the top with a cause-way, or street, guarded on both sides with a balustrade, or rail; the whole of hewn stone.

That was the condition of Mons, as Duke Philip the Good fortified it, and this is all the length its fortifications came, in his life-time; for, according to the knowledge the Burgundians had of the art of military architecture, in those days, being surrounded with a rampart and a ditch, they reckoned it a town compleatly fortified.

Charles the Warrior, Duke Philip's son and successor, having likewise sharp and violent war, in his time, against Lewis the Eleventh, King of France, upon the account of his grandfather's death, and the knowledge of the art of military architecture being come a greater length in his days, than it was in his father's, considered further of fortifying Mons, being a principal frontier-town to him on the side towards France, by the addition of outworks to its strength; and, in order to it, he first cut down all the wood, which covered the country about the town, and, by such means, discovered it all around, so as to make a grand explanade, immediately without the ditch, that reigned, for a great way off, all about the place; then he cut out another ditch, likewise a moat, making it go quite round, a little without the former, and disposed of the other waters about the town, so as, by the means of canals, to make them run into the ditches, to fill them: And last of all, for the better defence of the rampart, on the south and west sides of the town, being the sides towards France and Flanders, he erected two forts, being a kind of ravelin, upon the ground included between the two ditches, the one before the Hayon-gate, towards the south, the other before the Bartemont-gate, towards the west: This was done in the year of our Lord 1470; and he would, perhaps, have done more towards the fortifying of Mons, if his death, which happened, at the battle of Nancy, in the year 1477, had not prevented him.

What kind of works these outworks of Duke Charles the Warrior's were then, we cannot precisely tell; for now they are either taken in, and embodied with the Spanish and French works that have been since made, or levelled. However, I have seen a draught of them in the hall of the castle at Mons, by which it appears, that the forts have been good large works, built of earth, revested and incrusted with stone, to a solidity double of the thickness of the rampart, and to a height equal to the depth of the ditches, between which they were erected, terminated in the top with platforms, guarded on the outside with battlements, fortified with round turrets, and having bridges of stone over the two ditches, both before and behind them, the whole being suitable to the rest of the fortification; that the ditch has been a moat, half as broad as the other, and whole as deep, going round, sometimes at a greater, and sometimes at a lesser distance; and that the wood has been discovered, for a great way off, all about the town.

That this was the condition of Mons, as Duke Charles the Warrior further fortified it, and this is the length its fortifications came in his life-time; when, according to the rate of reckoning the strength of towns in those days, it was indeed become pretty strong; being inclosed with a rampart, fortified with towers and bulwarks, further fortified with some outworks, and surrounded with a double ditch; all which did indeed make it strong at that time, though now it would signify nothing.

However, it continued so in the same state, without any further alteration or change befalling it, either in its edifices or government, till the days of Philip the Second, King of Spain, Duke of Burgundy, and Earl of Hainault, son to the Emperor Charles the Fifth. This Prince had no war in his time with the French, but cruel and bloody war with the Dutch, the states-general of the United Provinces, who naturally were his subjects, but had made a general defection from him, because of his tyranny and oppression towards them, upon the account of their differing in religion from him, they being protestants, and he a papist, and established a republick of their own, which was headed by William the First, Prince of Orange, and Lewis, Earl of Nassau, his brother, who, in the year of our Lord 1572, being assisted with the Protestants of France, came into Hainault, drew near to Mons in the night time, and took it by a stratagem. But it was retaken, by force, the same year, by Don Ferdinand, Duke of Alva, governor for King Philip in the Low Countries, and Don Frederick of Toledo, his son, who besieged it closely for two months, and then forced it to surrender upon terms.

King Philip having recovered it into his hands, and the bloody war, betwixt him and the States-general, becoming more violent, considering the weakness of the rampart about it, by reason of the slenderness of its fortification, and the Spaniards being come a greater length, in the knowledge of the art of military architecture, than the Burgundians ever were, resolved to provide for the further security of the town, by amending the defects in its strength. So accordingly, in the year of our Lord 1576, for the better defence of the rampart, he fell a fortify-

ng it with bastions, such as the Spaniards in his time could construct; and begun on the east-side at the gate of Nimy, where, the ground being a rising ground, or hill, he thought it was most attackable, from thence going southwards, round; but he only perfected two of them during all the rest of his life-time; the one at the saillant angle, on the right of the gate of Nimy, towards the east; the other at the saillant angle in the middle of the distance between that and the gate of Havre, towards the south-east.

What kind of works these bastions of Philip the Second's were, we can very well tell, they being still on foot and intire, and free from any other edifice; they are bastions flat, not royal; built of earth, revested with stone to a solidity triple of the thickness of the rampart, and to a height equal to that of the same; terminated in the top with platforms, or terrasses, guarded on the outside with parapets, or battlements and banquets, or footsteps, suitable to the rest of the fortification.

That was the condition of Mons, as King Philip the Second amended it, and this is all the length its fortifications came in his time; he would perhaps have done more towards the strengthening of the town, if the cruel and bloody religious war, which happened in his reign, had not hindered him.

Albert, Archduke of Austria, King Philip the Second's son-in-law, by marrying his daughter Donna Isabella, and successor in the dominion of the Low-Countries, though he had little or no war during his government, with the Dutch, or any other of his neighbours, yet continued the design his father had begun, of amending the defects in the strength of Mons, and fortifying the rampart with bastions; and accordingly, in the year of our Lord 1603, added one on the south-west side, near the gate of Bartemont, where there being likewise a little rising ground, he thought it was somewhat attackable; it is at the saillant angle on the left of the gate of Bartemont towards the south-west.

What kind of work this bastion of Archduke Albert was, we can likewise very well tell; it being still on foot and intire. It is of the same figure, has the same dimensions, and is every way the same with the other two, that are already described.

That was the condition of Mons, as Archduke Albert further amended it, and this is the length its fortifications came in his government. It continued so in the same state, without any further addition to its strength, till the days of Philip the Fourth, King of Spain, and Earl of Hainault, King Philip the Third's son, who having sharp war in his time with the French, during the minority of Lewis the Fourteenth, the present King of France, and the Spaniards being come a greater length, in the knowledge of the art of military architecture than formerly, considered further of strengthening the defence of Mons, by compleating its fortification with outworks; in order to which, in the year of our Lord 1660, he first enlarged Duke Philip the Good's ditch, in such and such places, so as to render it capable of the works he designed in it; and then, beginning on the East-side, at the gate of Nimy, where, the ground being high, he thought the town was most attackable, from thence going southwards round, he planted and raised the following out-

works: A large ravelin, just before the Nimy-gate, towards the East; a half-moon in the middle of the distance, between King Philip the Second's two bastions, likewise towards the East; another half-moon before the Hayon-gate, towards the South; a third half-moon in the middle of the distance, between that and Arch-duke Albert's bastion, likewise towards the South; a fourth and large half-moon, just before the Bartemont-gate, towards the West; and a horn-work before the Water-gate, towards the North-west.

What kind of works these outworks of King Philip the Fourth's were, we can well enough tell; they being still on foot and intire, and free from other edifices. They are built of earth revested and incrusted with stone, to a solidity and height in proportion to the rampart; terminated with platforms, guarded with parapets and banquets, suitable to the rest of the fortification; planted in the ditch, at the distance of its ordinary breadth from the rampart, that is, beyond the general ditch, which accompanies the rampart all along; surrounded with water, that is, their particular ditches, which only accompany them, and are commonly half the breadth of the other, both being but one ditch enlarged, originally cut out by Duke Philip the Good; and joined to the scarp or slope, on the inside, and to the counter-scarp, or contrary slope, on the outside, with draw-bridges.

That was the condition of Mons, as King Philip the Fourth compleated it, and this is all the length its fortification came in his reign. Perhaps, he would have done more, but his death, which happened in the year of our Lord 1665, prevented him.

Charles the Second, late King of Spain, King Philip the Fourth's son, and successor to the Earldom of Hainault, having likewise sharp and violent war in his time, with the present King Lewis the Fourteenth of France, continued the design his father had begun, of strengthening the defence of Mons, by compleating its fortification with outworks, and partly by the means of the knowledge that the Spaniards were then come to in military architecture, partly by the help of the skill of some straggling French pretenders to that art, who, either by chance, or out of design, were got into his service, did more of this kind for that town than all those who were before him, though to no great purpose.

First, In the year of our Lord 1670, in Duke Philip the Good's ditch, beginning on the East-side, where the town, because of the rising ground, is most attackable, at the gate of the Park, from thence going southwards, round, he added these following outworks to those that were in it before: A half-moon, just before the Park-Gate, towards the North-east; another half-moon, in the middle of the distance, between that and King Philip the Fourth's ravelin, before the Nimy-gate, likewise towards the North-east; an irregular horn-work, with a small ravelin before it, covering King Philip the Second's bastion, on the right of the Nimy-gate, towards the East; and a third half-moon in the middle of the distance, between the Havre-gate and the Hayon-gate, towards the South. Then he converted the ground, included between Duke Philip the Good's ditch, and Duke Charles the Warrior's, into a grand covered way, with a glacis, or parapet, on the outside; reigning quite round the town, and being tenailed or angled all along; divided

in some places, because of its too great breadth, and intercut in others, for the sake of a communication of water between the ditches. Afterwards, without Duke Charles the Warrior's ditch, for the further fortification of the place, he added these outworks: A small swallow-tail, with a moat, or wet ditch, separated at some distance from the other, in the middle of the distance, between the Castle-gate and the Park-gate, towards the North-east; a small half-moon, with a moat, at a good distance from the other, before the Nimy-gate, towards the East; two ravelins, and a half-moon, consecutively, in a lake, considerably both broad and deep (that reigns, instead of Duke Charles's ditch, immediately without the glacis, and Duke Philip's ditch, all along, from the Nimy-gate, on the East-side the town, to the Hayon-gate, on the South, so as to surround it on these two sides; the part of it on the East being called the Apostles Lake, that on the West, Priests Lake) at some distance from the glacis, without the horn-work and ravelin, that covers Duke Philip the Second's bastion, on the right of the Nimy-gate, towards the East; a triple fortification, of a horn-work, a single tenaille, and a double tenaille, one without another, with moats accompanying them, at the distance of the breadth of the lake from the glacis, and Duke Philip's Ditch, they being all on the other side of it, before the Havre-Gate, towards the South; three ravelins, consecutively, in the lake, at some distance from the glacis, on the right of the Hayon-gate, likewise towards the South; an odd unaccountable fortification, of an irregular horn-work, with a counter swallow-tail, at some distance from it, towards the left, and two small ravelins and a quarter-moon lying scattered between them, all in Duke Charles's ditch enlarged, without the glacis, before the Bartemont-gate, towards the West; and a grand single tenaille, with a ravelin before the angle of the right, in Duke Charles's ditch, covering King Philip the Fourth's horn-work, before the Water-gate, towards the North-west. Last of all, for the further security of his outworks, he cut out a third ditch, likewise a moat, making it go round the town on two sides, that is, the West and North, a little without Duke Charles's ditch; whereas, on the other two, the East and South Sides, it was before-hand surrounded, and abundantly secured, with the lake, that is, the Apostles Lake on the East, and Priests Lake on the South; both being but one lake, though, by the works before the Havre-gate, divided into two, and of a sufficient both breadth and deepness to secure the town on those sides. He also disposed of the other waters about the town, so as, by the means of canals, to make them run into the ditches, into the lakes, or into the marshes, as he had a mind; and, by the means of sluices, to make them run, or not run, as he had a mind, whatever way he would.

What kind of works these outworks of King Charles the Second's were, we cannot precisely tell, as to them all; some of them being still on foot, and intire, and free from other edifices; others, either taken in, and embodied with the French works that have been since made, or levelled; but, by an account of those that are on foot, and free, one may guess at what the others have been: They are built of earth, revested and incrusted with stone, having their dimensions somewhat, but not al-

together, in proportion to the rampart; terminated with platforms, guarded with parapets and banquets suitable to the rest of the fortification; planted in the ditches, at the distance of their ordinary breadth from the interior works towards the town; surrounded with water, or their particular ditches, and joined to the scarps and counter-scarps, as well as to one another, with draw-bridges.

That was the condition of Mons, as King Charles the Second further compleated it; and this is the length its fortifications came, in the time that he had it; for, after he had brought them so far, his engineers, both Spaniards and French, told him it was a town both completely and right fortified; but it afterwards appeared, how much they were wrong.

In the year of our Lord 1678, the war continuing, between King Charles the Second of Spain and King Lewis the Fourteenth of France, King Lewis marched an army into Hainault, under the command of Julius, late Duke of Luxemburg, who came before Mons, and besieged it, but afterwards found it convenient, because of the watery situation of the place, to convert the siege into a blockade; which he continued so long, that those within the town were reduced to very great straits; when the army of Great-Britain and Holland, and of the other powers in alliance with King Charles, under the command of William the Third, late Prince of Orange, and afterwards King of Great-Britain, came seasonably to their relief, attacked the Duke of Luxemburg with the French army, fought them, and gained a compleat victory over them, at the memorable battle of St. Dennis, where the Scotch and English troops did wonders; and where the Prince of Orange, engaging too far among the enemy, would certainly have been either taken, or killed, by a French officer, if Mynheer Overkirk had not come time enough, and shot that officer through the head: So, by the means of the good success of that day, on the side of King Charles and his allies, the town of Mons, for that time, narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the French, and continued still to be under the dominion of the Spaniards. This action was immediately followed by a separate peace, betwixt France and Holland, which, afterwards, drew on a general one.

In the year of our Lord 1691, the war being again broke out, between King Charles of Spain and King Lewis of France, King Lewis came, himself in person, with a great army, into Hainault, sat down before Mons, and, by the means of that odd, unaccountable fortification, of an irregular horn-work, a counter swallow-tail, with two little ravelins and a quarter-moon lying between, before the Bartemont gate, towards the West, which the French took, sword in hand, forced the town to surrender upon terms, after a siege of three and twenty days. The Prince of Orange, then King of Great-Britain, had gathered an army to endeavour its relief, but could not come up to it in time: So the Spaniards lost the town of Mons, with all its fine fortifications, to the French, who kept it during all the rest of that war, and have had it ever since, except for a very little while.

No sooner King Lewis had got Mons into his hands, but, knowing the importance of the place, he resolved well to keep it, if he could; and, considering the faults of its fortification, immediately begun, that same year, to amend them: And, the French being one of the nations of Europe that understand the art of military architecture best, they never gave over the fortifying of Mons, till, by making alterations and additions, suitable to its weakness and wants, they rendered it a town compleatly and rightly fortified, with all the art and skill they were masters of; the principal direction of the work being committed to the particular care of the famous Monsieur De Vauban, Lieutenant-general and Chief Engineer of France, who has indeed given it the finishing stroke, and acquitted himself very handsomely in it, both as to design and execution.

First, he repaired the breaches that had been made, during the siege, in the rampart, and those in the outworks, which he had a mind to preserve as they were; then, beginning at the river, where it goes out of the town, at the North-west corner, on the left of the Water-gate, from thence, going eastwards round, he made the following alterations and additions. In the rampart: A small bastion, flat, at the saillant angle, where the Park-gate is, towards the North-east; another, irregular, of the same kind, in the middle of the distance between King Philip the Second's bastions, towards the East; and a demi-bastion, likewise flat, at the saillant angle, on the left of the Water-gate, towards the North-west. In Duke Philip the Good's ditch: A small ravelin, before King Philip the Fourth's horn-work, covering the Water-gate, towards the North-east; the tenaille of King Charles the Second, there, being converted into a part of his covered way and glacis: A second rampart, taken off from the too great breadth of King Charles's grand covered way, beginning near the Water-gate, having two bastions flat in it, and ending upon a large half-moon before the Castle-gate; which, with King Charles's two half-moons without the Park-gate, and King Philip's ravelin before the Nimy-gate, are joined together, consecutively, with traverses, or galleries; the whole being at the distance of the ordinary breadth of the ditch from the first rampart, towards the North and North-east; a small tenaille before the courtine, and behind the ravelin, of King Charles's irregular horn-work, covering King Philip the Second's bastion, on the right of the Nimy-gate, towards the East; a half-moon, covering the point of King Philip's other bastion (King Philip the Fourth's half-moon being between the two) towards the South-east; two small traverses, one without another, a half-moon, and another traverse, consecutively, or one after another, in the way from thence to the Havre-gate, likewise towards the South-east; after King Charles's next half-moon, there, the river, where it enters the town, on the South-side, on the left of the Hayon-gate, King Philip the Fourth's two half-moons, Arch-duke Albert's bastion, and King Philip's other half-moon, before the Bartemont-gate, a cut-work, on the right of the half-moon, with a double counter-guard, before the two, all three without the Bartemont-gate, towards the West; a half-moon, a traverse, another half-moon, and another traverse, consecutively, joined together, and

ending upon the river, where it goes out of the town, on the left of the Water-gate, towards the North-west, from whence he began his course. In King Charles the Second's covered way and glacis: the covered way reformed to an ordinary breadth; the glacis double-tenailled, or double-angled all around; both cut in some places, on the left of the Water-gate, towards the North-west, at the point of King Philip the Second's second bastion, towards the South-east, on the left of the Hayon-gate, towards the South, on the right of Arch-duke Albert's bastion, towards the South-west, and intirely destroyed in one place, on the right and left of the Havre-gate, towards the South and South-east, for the sake of the passage of the river, into and out of the town, and of a communication of water, between the ditches and lakes about the town. In Duke Charles the Warrior's Ditch: three half-moons, consecutively, in the distance between the Water-gate, and the Castle-gate, towards the North; a large voluminous horn-work, with a tenaille, and a ravelin, before it, in the room of King Charles's swallow-tail, in the middle of the distance between the Castle-gate and the Park-gate, towards the North-east, where a canal from the north enters the ditch, and where the ground begins to rise, and, consequently, the town to be more attackable; a grand complex fortification, of three large horn-works, with their accompaniments, one without another, the first having a tenaille before it, the second a tenaille, a ravelin, a cut-work, and a quarter-moon, the third a tenaille, and a ravelin, the whole running out, from between the Park-gate and the Nimy-gate, a good way into the country, towards the East, where a canal from the East enters the ditch, and where the ground rises most, and, consequently, the town is most attackable; Duke Charles's ditch ending, and the lake beginning, immediately after the three horn-works, in the Apostles Lake, a cut-work, and a quarter-moon, consecutively, in the room of King Charles's two ravelins and half-moon, before the Nimy-gate, likewise towards the East, where the ground falls low again, and, consequently, is less attackable; a half-moon, on the left of the Havre-gate, towards the South-east; Duke Charles's fort, as well as King Charles's horn-work, remaining before the Havre-gate, the first serving as a work of communication thorough the lake to the last, and consequently, dividing the lake into two; a small ravelin, before the horn-work, on the other side the lake, before the Havre-gate, towards the South, the single tenaille and double tenaille of King Charles, there, being converted into a covered way and glacis, tenailled, and surrounded with a moat; in Priests Lake a ravelin in the middle of the distance, between the Havre-gate and the Haydon-gate, likewise towards the South; the lake ending on the one side, the river from the South entering the town, and Duke Charles's ditch beginning again, on the other side, another grand fortification, of a large horn-work, a ravelin, a double tenaille, and another horn-work, one without another, running out, from the right of the Hayon-gate, into the country, towards the South-west, where the ground rises a little along the river-side, and, consequently, is somewhat attackable; a ravelin on the right of the Hayon-gate, likewise towards the South-west; a half-moon on the right of Arch-duke Albert's bastion,

likewise towards the South-west; a horn-work, with a small ravelin before it, in the room of that odd unaccountable fortification of King Charles's, an irregular horn-work, a counter-swallow-tail, with two little ravelins, and a quarter-moon lying between, by means of which, the French easily took the town, before the Bartemont-gate, towards the West, where, likewise, the ground rising a little, the town is somewhat attackable; two ravelins, and a half-moon, consecutively, in the distance between the right of the Bartemont-gate, and the Water-gate, where the river goes out of the town, towards the North-west, where he began his course. In the ground, between Duke Charles's ditch, and King Charles's third one, a new covered way and glacis, regular, and tenailled; reigning round the town on all sides, except where the lake is, there being no need for it on those sides, by reason of the lake's being sufficiently broad to guard the works there; cut in some places, on the left of the Water-gate, towards the North-west, before the large horn-work, in the middle, between the Castle-gate, and the Park-gate, towards the North-east, on the right of the three horn-works, between the Park-gate and the Nimy-gate, towards the East, on the left of the outermost horn-work, on the right of the Hayon-gate, towards the South-west; and intirely wanting in one place, on the right and left of the Havre-gate, towards the South and South-east, for the sake of the passage of the river, into, and out of the town, of the enterance of two canals, from the North, and from the East, into the ditches, and of a communication of water between the ditches and the two lakes, about the town. As for King Charles's ditch, he destroyed it, and, instead of it, converted the ground immediately, without the outer glacis, into a grand explanade, reigning for a great way off, all about the town, which he fortified with redoubts, upon the avenues to the place, as follows: Without the Water-gate, towards the North-west, on the right of the river, a ravelin, in a moat, joined to Duke Charles's ditch with a traverse of water; and, beyond it, a lozenge, likewise moated, on the river-side, further into the country; in the middle of the distance, between the Water-gate and the Castle-gate, towards the North, a ravelin, moated, and joined to Duke Charles's ditch, with a travese, as before; without the Castle-gate, likewise, towards the North, on the left of the canal that comes from thence, a lozenge moated, as before; beyond it, further into the country, another of the same, and the village of Espinlien, on the other side the canal, inclosed with a horn-work; in the middle of the distance, between the Park-gate and the Nimy-gate, towards the North-east, a ravelin, moated, and joined with a traverse, as before; without the Hayon-gate, towards the South, on the right of the river, upon the water-side, the mill of St. Peter's, inclosed with an irregular fort, being a polygon, on both sides the river, with a small ravelin before it, on the right; in the distance between the Hayon-gate and the Bartemont-gate, towards the South and South-west, two ravelins, moated, and joined, as before, consecutively, one after another; in the distance between the Bartemont-gate, and the Water-gate, towards the West and North-west, three ravelins, consecutively, moated, and joined, each of them, as before. He also disposed of the waters about

the town so, as, by the means of canals, to make them run into the ditches; and, by the means of sluices, to make them run or not run, as he had a mind, and run which way he would: Especially, he made two complications of canals, the one near the village of Espinlien, towards the North; the other, over-against St. Peter's Mill, towards the South, which equally contribute to drain the ground, and to defend the town on those sides. Last of all, he built a citadel within the town, being a demi-hexagon, adjoining to the rampart, on the inside, at the saillant angles, in the middle of the distance, between the Bartemont-gate and the Water-gate, towards the West; which, because it is inconsiderable, and of no consequence, upon the double account of its low situation, and weak defence, both lying in a plain, and having nothing but an explanade about it, with a small ravelin before the mid-courtine, towards the town, I shall supersede any further description of it.

What kind of works these outworks of King Lewis's were, we can very well tell; for they are still on foot and intire; and I have seen and observed them both very exactly, and very lately. They are built all of earth, revested and incrusted with stone and brick, intermixed; having their dimensions in proportion to the rampart, as well as to one another; terminated with platforms, guarded with parapets and banquets, suitable to the rest of the fortification; planted in the ditches, at regular distances; surrounded with an abundance of water, and joined to the scarps and counter-scarps, as well as to one another, with timber bridges, some of which are draw-ones, and some fixed.

That was the condition of Mons, as King Lewis the Fourteenth of France finished it; and this is the compleat and right length its fortifications came, in the time that he first had it; by the means of which, and of its situation, it was certainly then become, both naturally and artificially, one of the strongest and most impregnable towns in the world: And it continues to be so to this day.

King Lewis kept it, that first time, till the year of our Lord 1697, when a general peace being concluded at Ryswick, between himself and the princes in confederacy against him, by the seventh article of that treaty, he was obliged to restore it to King Charles.

It continued again in the hands of the Spaniards, till the year of our Lord 1701, when, King Charles the Second being dead, and having constituted, by a testament *, Philip, Duke of Anjou, King Lewis's grandson, and his own grand-nephew, his heir and successor, by vertue of that claim to the monarchy of Spain, King Lewis seized upon the town of Mons, among others, for Duke Philip, and keeps it now a second time, for him, to this day. But, the war breaking immediately out again, upon that ground of the Spanish succession, and being just now on foot, between Charles the Third, present King of Spain, cousin and successor to the former, and King Lewis of France, with Duke Philip of Anjou, who pretends likewise to be King of Spain, and King Charles being powerfully assisted by his allies, the emperor, the Queen of Great-Britain, and the States-general of the United provinces, in the

* Forged. See the succession of the House of Austria to the Crown of Spain, Anno 1701. Vol. X.

pursuit and recovery of his right, they are like to drive his enemies, King Lewis, and Duke Philip, out of his territories, by a sharp and victorious war, and oblige them to quit their pretensions, by a sure and lasting peace. Last year, they luckily got Lisle from them; this year, they easily took Tournay; very lately, they bravely fought them at the battle of Arquennes; and just now, they are closely besieging Mons: But, whether or not they will have it, at this time, is doubtful.

In fine, this is the condition of Mons, as King Lewis of France now has it, and that the compleat and right length its buildings and fortifications are come, at this time, as it was founded by Prince Alberon of France, refounded by St. Waltrud, Countess of Hainault, built by Earl Alberick of Hainault, rebuilt by Earl Baldwin the Third, further rebuilt by Earl Baldwin the Builder, and has been fortified by Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy, further fortified by Duke Charles the Warrior, amended by King Philip the the Second of Spain, further amended by Archduke Albert of Austria, compleated by King Philip the Fourth of Spain, further compleated by King Charles the Second, and finished by King Lewis the Fourteenth of France.

It is of an oblong, round, or parabolick figure, lying cross the river, on both sides, and stretching itself from East to West, the river running from South to North. It has in length, taking it, from the Nimy-gate on the East-side, to the Bartemont-gate on the West, just two thousand common paces, that is, a thousand geometrical paces, or two third parts of a British mile; in breadth, reckoning, from the Castle-gate on the North side, to the Hayon-gate on the South, it is fifteen hundred common paces, or seven-hundred and fifty geometrical paces, or half a British mile; and in circumference, going round within, on the inside the rampart, there are exactly six thousand common paces, that is, three-thousand geometrical paces, or two British miles; but measuring it without, on the outside the outer ditch and lake, we found it to be as good as fifteen thousand common paces, or seven thousand and five hundred geometrical paces, or five British miles.

THE

GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY OF TOURNAY:

FIRST WRITTEN IN FRENCH,

FOR THE

SERVICE OF PRINCE EUGENE OF SAVOY,

And sent inclosed in a letter to him, when he marched to besiege Tournay.

NOW DONE A SECOND TIME IN ENGLISH,

FOR THE

SATISFACTION OF OUR BRITISH GENTLEMEN AND OFFICERS.

By John Mack Gregory, L L. L.

PROFESSOR OF GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY.

To which is prefixed, as an Epistle Dedicatory, the Author's Letter to Prince Eugene.

Printed at Edinburgh, 1709. Quarto, containing forty-four pages.

To his Highness Prince Francis Eugene of Savoy, in the army about Tournay.

Edinburgh, the Ninth of July, 1709.

Sir,

THIS is only to accompany the inclosed, and it is the fourth I have writ to your highness, since I had the honour of one from you.

The first was from London, January 1704, concerning my own private affairs. The second was from Edinburgh, August 1708, after a long silence, having inclosed an account of the situation and fortification of Lisle. The third was likewise from Edinburgh, December the same year, concerning my own private affairs.

This present has inclosed an account of the situation and fortification of Tournay; I should be glad to know, that your highness is pleased to take all my little services in good part. I am.

Sir, Your highness's most humble,

Most obliged, and most devoted servant,

MACK GREGORY.

TOURNAY is a great town, the second city of Walloon Flanders, and the principal place of residence of the parliament of that part of these countries, which, because it was some time ago conquered by the

French, and is still in their possession, is commonly called, 'The conquered Countries.'

It is situate on the banks of the river Scheld, upon the skirts of a large campaign, that reigns about it, for several leagues on the one side towards Lisle; on the other side towards Oudenard; there are a great many little hills, that interrupt the continuance of the plain, though none so nigh as to command it: And, just where the town stands, it is an eminence; the bank of the river, on the one side, being a rising ground, or hill; that on the other side a level or plain. There have likewise been some heights hard by, especially on the hill side the river, that were indeed very hurtful to the town, in the case of a siege, by commanding and weakening its defence. But since the French came last there, and have fortified it, all these heights, and the other eminences, that did any way prejudice its strength, are either inclosed, and taken in with the outworks, or levelled; so that now the town is free, and its fortifications command all around.

The Scheld is one of the greatest rivers in the Low-Countries. It takes its rise near Chastelet in Picardy, and makes a great many turnings and windings, as it goes through Cambresis, Hainault, and Flanders; but the main of its course is from south to north, especially it is so at Tournay: At length it falls into the German Sea, over-against the Islands of Zealand.

Upon both the sides of this river, at a place where it runs from south to north, or rather from south-south-east to north-north-west, stands Tournay, seated upon the two banks, the bank on the west-side being a hill, that on east-side a plain; and the river, running thorough the town, divides it into two unequal parts, the greater being on the west-side upon the hill, the lesser on the east-side in the plain; just fifteen leagues below where it rises near Chastelet, and about twenty above where it falls into the sea over-against Zealand. But Tournay is not so far distant from the sea in direct way, there being no more than fifteen or sixteen leagues from it to Newport, or to Ostend.

Besides this great river, there is a small brook, or rivulet, which takes its rise near a little village, about a league and a half from the town on the East-side, and comes turning and winding thorough the country, till at length it falls into that part of the ditch, which is about the town on the same side.

This town is one of the most ancient in Europe, so that it is very hard to trace out its origin. However, we find that it was at first founded by the Nervii, otherwise Minervii, so called from the goddess Minerva, whom they worshiped, the original inhabitants of that country; who, in the year of the world 3360, six-hundred years before the birth of our Saviour, built a tower there, in a small island of the river Scheld, in the place within Tournay, at the lower end of the town, where now there is a bridge over the river, called the Iron Bridge; which tower served them as an observatory, or watching-place, from whence they could discover and view the country all about. They likewise built a castle there, in the year of the world 3396, on the east bank of the river, upon the water-side, just opposite to the tower, which they joined to it with a bridge of timber over the part of of the river that run between, and surrounded it with a moat, or wet ditch, on the land side; which was so

much the more practicable there at that time, because the ground then, on that side the river, was a marsh, whereas now it is good ground. And this castle served them as a fortress, or place of security, where they lodged their wives and children, and laid up what else was dear unto them, during the troublesome time of war.

About five-hundred paces from that tower and castle, up towards the south, the banks of the river, on both sides, were in those days covered with woods of thorn-trees, and thickets of briar-bushes; among which the same Nervii, the ancient people of the country, in the year of the world 3430, begun first to build huts and houses, under the shadow of the trees and bushes, and in the neighbourhood of their tower and castle; and those huts and houses, by degrees, and through time, grew out into a considerable village, on both sides the river. Then, to secure themselves farther from the attempts and assaults of their enemies, they cut and plied, and joined, and interlaced the thorns and briars, with the supple branches of other young trees, so as to make a hedge about their village, so strong, and to such a thickness, that not only their enemies could not pass it, but what was more, they could not so much as see thorough it. This was done in the year of the world 3482, and it is the first inclosure of Tournay, which from a village made it become a town. They likewise, about the same time, built a bridge of timber over the river, to join the two parts of the town together; as before they had built one below over a part of the river, to join the tower and castle together: Which tower and castle were, by that hedge-inclosure, shut out without the town, at the distance of five hundred paces, down towards the north. And they called the name of the town Doornwick or Doornick, signifying in Teutonick, or old High Dutch, the ancient language of that country, as much as to say, Thorntown, or Town of Thorns, it having been built in a wood of thorns, and inclosed with a hedge of the same. Which name it retains to this day. Accordingly, the Latin name of it is Dornacum, or Tornacum, and the French call it Tornay, or Tournay.

What sort of town this ancient town of the Nervii has been, we cannot well tell; for now there are no vestiges of it to be seen, no more than of their castle and tower. But I have seen a plan of them in miniature, in an old Teutonick manuscript, preserved by the Monks of St, Martin's at Tournay, and to be seen in their library by any one that calls for it; by which it appears, that the town has been of an oblong figure, lying cross the river on both sides, aud stretching itself out from east to west, the river running from south to north; the castle has been a square, upon the water side, on the east-side of the river, below the town; and the tower has been round in a little island in the middle of the river, just opposite to the castle.

This was the condition of Tournay, as the Nervii, the original inhabitants of the country, built it. It continued much in the same state, without any farther alteration, either for its increase, or for its better defence, till the days of Julius Cæsar, the first Emperor of the Romans; who, in the year of the world 3950, came into that country, besieged the town of Tournay, found it an easy matter to break thorough its hedges, and subdued it to the Roman empire.

It continued in the power of the Romans, till the year of our Lord 445, when Clodion, sirnamed the Hairy, King of France, son to Pharamond the Great, the first King thereof, having conquered as far as the rivers Rhine and Maese, came at last unto the Scheld, drove the Romans out of the country, and took both Tournay and Cambray. But the same King Clodion, in the year following, being obliged to return home, because of an irruption which the Goths and Vandals, at the instigation of the Romans, had then made into France; he was content to abandon his foreign conquests, to save his own kingdom; so the country of the Nervii and the town of Tournay returned to the Roman Empire.

It continued again in the possession of the Romans, till the days of Clovis the First, sirnamed the Great, King of France, who, in the year 479, having overcome the Roman governor at Soissons, came conquering into the country of the Nervii, and subdued to himself all that the Romans held there; by which means Tournay returned to the dominion of the French, who kept it unmolested for a long time after.

It is remarkable, that, notwithstanding all these changes and revolutions, which happened about Tournay, and though the Romans, as well as the French, were there for some hundreds of years, yet it never was any thing considerable, and never came to have any better inclosure than hedges, till the time of Chilperick the First, King of France, who alone did more for it than all those who were before him, and made it indeed look like a town. For, first, he went thither in person, and dwelt at it; he added a great many houses to it; he built some palaces in it, particularly Our Lady's Church, the cathedral; and adorned it with an infinity of other publick buildings. Then, what was most of all, in the year of our Lord 580, he was the first who begun to inclose it with a wall and a ditch, and took care to have it perfected in his own life-time; so as to take in with it the old town of the Nervii, on both sides the river, but still to leave out their castle and tower, at the distance of five-hundred paces, down towards the north. He also built bridges over the river, to join the two parts of the town together; the part on the west side, upon the hill, being always the greater, that on the east side in the plain, the lesser. In fine, it was in this prince's time, that the town of Tournay arrived at a pitch of splendor and magnificence, beyond what it had ever been at before. An account of all which may be seen upon record, in a rich Latin manuscript, preserved by the Canons of Our Lady's, to be seen in their treasury.

This second inclosure of Tournay of King Chilperick's is still on foot, and intire, tho' now shut up very far, within the body of the town, by the last inclosure, which has been since made, and so much engaged and confounded with other edifices adjoining to it, on all sides, that it is not every where to be seen. However, in some places, going thorough the town, we see a part, both of the wall and ditch of it; and, by sight of a part, we may guess at the whole.

It is not a rampart, but a wall, built in the Roman fashion; but after the manner of the Goths, which begun early to prevail over that of the ancients in architecture, especially in these western countries.

It has thirteen gates in it; eight in that part of it which surrounds the greater part of the town, on the west-side the river, commonly called, the High Town, standing on a hill; four in that part, which surrounds the lesser part of the town, on the east-side the river, named the Low Town, lying in a plain; and one upon the river, at the upper end of the town, towards the south, at a place where the channel of it is so narrow, as to admit of a gate over it, thorough which the river runs. So that this gate is not only a gate upon the river, but it may likewise be said to be a kind of bridge of one arch over it, joining the wall on the one side, and that on the other side together, at the one end of the town, as in effect we see at this day, it does actually serve as a bridge: And, corresponding to it, there is another bridge of five arches over the river, at the lower end of the town, towards the north, at a place where the channel of it is so wide, as not to admit of a gate, or bridge of one arch upon it: which bridge joins the wall on the one side, and that on the other side together, at the other end of the town, and so compleats the inclosure. There is also a third bridge of three arches over the river, in the heart of the town in the middle of the distance between the other two: It joins the body of the town on the one side, and that on the other side together, and is also a work of King Chilperick's.

The gates on the west-side, in the wall about the high town, beginning at the river, at the upper end towards the south, from thence going westwards, and so round, are reckoned in this order, and thus named, St. Mark's-gate, St. Catharine's-gate, St. Piat's-gate, St. Martin's-gate, St. Quintin's-gate, the Magdalen-gate, our Lady's-gate, and the Tower-gate: Those on the east-side in the wall about the Low Town, beginning at the river, at the lower end towards the north, from thence going eastwards round, are reckoned and named so: The Castle-gate, St. Brice's-gate, the Hospital-gate, and St. John's-gate: And that upon the river, at the upper end of the town, towards the south, is named the Water-gate, as being a gate, but as a bridge it is called, The Bridge of one Arch; whereas the bridge corresponding to it, at the lower end of the town, towards the north, is named The Turned Bridge; and the third bridge, in the middle of the town, is called, The Bridge to Bridge.

This wall is fortified all about with round towers, at the distance of fifty paces one from another; and every one of these gates is so placed between two towers, one on each side of it, and so nigh to one another, that the gate stands equally defended and hid between them.

The wall is built intirely of hewn stone, to the thickness of five feet, and to the height of twenty; but the gates and towers are of earth revested with stone, likewise hewn; these to the solidity of ten feet, and to the height thirty; those to the thickness of ten feet, and to the same height with the wall: So that the towers are in solidity twice the thickness of the wall, and in height a third part higher, after the manner practised in the towers of the Aurelian wall about Rome; but the gates, though twice as thick as the wall, yet are no higher, according to the common practice. The wall is terminated with a corridor, or gallery, running along the top of it; the gates and towers with platforms, or terrasses, some of which are covered, and some discovered; and both

platforms and corridor are guarded on the outside, with a battlement, or breastwork, likewise of hewn stone, two feet thick, and five feet high, that reigns along the one, and around the others, all about the town.

The bridges over the river are also built of hewn stone: The one, at the lower end of the town, towards the north, making a part of the inclosure, to the breadth of fifteen feet, and to the length of a hundred and fifty, the channel of the river being so wide at that place; the other, in the middle of the town, to the breadth of twenty feet, and to the length of a hundred, the channel there being so wide; whereas the third, being the water-gate, at the upper end of the town, towards the south, is but ten feet broad, and fifty feet long, the channel there being no wider: They are terminated in the top, with a causey, or street, guarded on both sides with a balustrade, or rail; the whole of hewn stone.

Without the wall is the ditch, fifty feet broad, and ten feet deep, having its scarp and counter-scarp incrusted with stone, likewise hewn. It is a moat or a wet ditch, on the one side the river, towards the east, where the ground is a level, or plain, and is supplied with water from the river, as also from the little brook, which falls into it, on the same side; on the other side, towards the west, where the ground is a rising ground, or hill, it is dry. Over it, on both sides, before the gates are bridges, giving passage into, and out from the town; they were anciently draw-bridges of timber, but now they are fixed ones of stone: And, at the outer ends of them, there are principal streets, that anciently were so many high-ways, running out from the gates into the adjacent country, having each of them the same name with the gate it runs out from.

The channel of the river within the town is so unequal in its dimensions, that I can say nothing about it; for it is differently wide and deep in different places: At the upper end of the town, towards the south, it is fifty feet wide, and a hundred feet deep: in the middle of the town, a hundred feet wide, and fifty feet deep; and at the lower end, towards the north, it is a hundred and fifty feet wide, and five and twenty feet deep. It is bordered all along with a large quay, or landing-place, revested with hewn stone, its channel being incrusted with the same; for the merchants of the town their conveniency in embarking and dis-embarking their goods, the river being navigable for barks and boats, all the way from the sea, not only up to Tournay, but as far as Conde and Valenciennes, which is seven leagues higher. The bridges over it within the town, giving passage from the one part of it to the other, are already described; having at both ends of them some principal streets, that from thence run out thorough the town.

It is observable concerning this inclosure of King Chilperick's, that, whereas anciently it was every where to be seen, being free of other edifices, now it is so far shut up in the heart of the town, and so mixed with other buildings adjoining to it on every side, that one sees but parts of it here and there. The bridge over the river, at the upper end of the town, towards the south, called, The Bridge of one Arch, is a part of it, being the ancient water gate; and a very remarkable part, being one of the hardiest pieces of Gothick architecture in the world. It is ten

feet broad, and fifty feet long, the channel of the river being so wide there, all one arch; for which reason, it is called, The Bridge of one Arch, all the other bridges upon the river being of several arches: Anciently it served only as a gate, but now it is commonly used as a bridge; and is terminated in the top with a causey, guarded on the one side with the old battlement, and on the other, with a new balustrade: the whole of hewn stone. From this bridge, going westwards, round, at the distance of about three-hundred paces, there is another part of the inclosure to be seen, being the ancient St. Catharine's-gate. And in several places, going thorough the town, there are parts of it here and there to be found; and, by a sight of a part, one may guess at the whole.

And this is what they call Old Tournay, as it was founded, enlarged, inclosed, and fortified, first by the Nervii, the ancient inhabitants of the country, and then, by Chilperick the First, King of France.

It is a town of an oblong round, or parabolick figure, lying cross the river on both sides, and stretching itself out from east to west, the river running from south to north. It has in length, taking it from St. Brice's gate on the east-side, to St. Quintin's-gate on the west, cross the river, just a thousand common paces, that is, five-hundred geometrical paces, or a third part of a British mile; in breadth, reckoning from the water gate, or the Bridge of one Arch, at the upper end of the town, towards the south, to the Turned Bridge, at the lower end towards the north, along the river-side, it is five-hundred common paces, or two-hundred and fifty geometrical paces, or a sixth part of a British mile; and in circumference, going round within, on the inside the wall, as near as one can go for the other buildings adjoining to it, there are about three thousand common paces, that is, fifteen-hundred geometrical paces, or a British mile; but measuring it without, on the outside the ditch, as nigh to it as we could go, we found it to be as good as four-thousand and five-hundred common paces, or two-thousand two-hundred and fifty geometrical paces, or a British mile and a half.

This was the condition of Tournay, as King Chilperick the First of France left it, in the year of our Lord 587, the last year of his life, when having compleated its inclosure, as the last token of his good will to it, he declared it a noble town, and gave it all the privileges of a city, with this coat of arms, Azure, a castle triple-towered Argent.

It continued so, in the same state, and in the power of the princes of the same nation, without any further addition or change befalling it, either in its building or government, till the days of Charles the Second, sirnamed The Bald, King of France, and Emperor of Germany: who having sharp war, in his time, with the Danes and Normans, that were then come from the North, in the design to make an irruption into France, in the year of our Lord 880, they besieged and took Tournay in their way, and destroyed it with fire and sword. It lay in ruins for thirty years, that is, till the year 910, when, in the days of Charles the Fourth, sirnamed The Simple, King of France, it was begun to be rebuilt, and, in the space of a few years, it came to be in as good a condition as formerly.

It continued so, in this rebuilt state, and again in the dominion of the French, who kept it unmolested or above three-hundred years, that is, till the year of our Lord 1214, in the days of Philip the Second, sirnamed Augustus, King of France; who having violent war, in his time, with Don Fernando, sirnamed of Portugal, Earl of Flanders, whom he looked upon as his vassal, and a rebel, because he had entered into an alliance with Otho the Fifth, Emperor of Germany, and John, King of England, against him. Don Fernando besieged the town of Tournay, and took it. But it was immediately retaken, the same year, by King Philip; who, besides, gave the princes in alliance against him an intire defeat, at the memorable battle of Bovines, within two leagues of Tournay, took Don Fernando prisoner, and carried him to the Louvre at Paris, where he kept him twelve years: By which means, Tournay returned into the power of the French, who again held it in peaceable possession, for a long time after.

Charles the Sixth, sirnamed The Well-beloved, King of France, in the year of our Lord 1384, having occasion to be at Tournay, as a mark of his good will to the town, confirmed to it all the privileges that his predecessor, King Chilperick the First, had given it, and made this addition to its coat of arms, a Chief Argent, three Flower-de-Luces Gules; which was a considerable piece of honor done to it, the flower-de-luces being the ensigns armorial of the Kings of France their own coat: So that the arms of Tournay, as they now stand, are, Azure, a castle triple-towered Argent, on a Chief Argent, three Flower-de-Luces Gules. And Lewis the Eleventh, King of France, having likewise occasion to be there, in the year 1467, confirmed again to it all the privileges and honours, that his predecessors, King Chilperick the First and King Charles the Sixth, had bestowed upon it. And the burghers of Tournay, at that time, were so sensible of the good will and kindness of the Kings of France towards them, upon so many occasions, and were frenchified to such a pitch, that, when King Lewis departed from the town, in order to return home, the magistrates presented him with a flower-de-luce of gold; and, to make it appear to him, how much he might reckon upon their gratitude and fidelity towards him, they affirmed, that every burgher of Tournay bore the figure of a flower-de-luce imprinted upon his heart.

In this manner, it continued in the same state, and in the hands of the French, who had kept it unmolested for such a long time, till the year of our Lord 1479, in the days of the same King Lewis the Eleventh of France; who, having sharp war, at that time, against Maximilian, Arch-Duke of Austria, and Earl of Flanders, and the Arch-Duke having gained a memorable victory over the French, at the battle of Esguingate near Terouane, marched thereupon straight to Tournay, besieged it, and took it upon terms. But, four years after, that is, in the year 1483, a peace being concluded at Arras, betwixt these two princes, and confirmed by a marriage agreed on, between Charles Dauphin of France, King Lewis's son, and the Lady Margaret of Austria, the Arch-Duke's daughter, by an article of that treaty, it was restored to the French, who again held it peaceably for some time.

Lewis the Twelfth, King of France, having very violent war in his

time, with Henry the Eighth, King of England, especially towards the end of his reign, in the year of our Lord 1513, King Henry came over with an army of fifty-thousand men into France against him. He first landed at Calais, and ravaged Picardy; then he went into Artois and Flanders, and took both Terouane and Tournay: And although, the year following, peace was concluded between these two Kings, and confirmed by a marriage, betwixt the same King Lewis of France and the Lady Mary of England, King Henry's sister, yet the town of Tournay, by that treaty, was not restored to the French, but it remained in the possession of the English, who kept it five years.

It is to be observed, that, notwithstanding all the war that had chanced to be in the country of Flanders, and all the changes and revolutions that had befallen the town of Tournay, yet its inhabitants, by this time, were come to increase so much in number, by reason of a great concourse of people that had come thronging thither, at different times, on several occasions, and from a great many foreign countries, especially from France and Burgundy, that there was not room enough for them to lodge in, within the old town; and, no empty space being left to build any more in within King Chilperick's wall, they were obliged to build without the ditch: Which buildings, by degrees, grew out into suburbs, having each of them the same name with the gate they stood nearest to; those suburbs, through time, became considerable, because they were so very large; and this gave beginning to, what was afterwards, when it came to be inclosed, called, The New Town.

In this condition it was when the English came from England before it, in the days of King Henry the Eighth; who, after he had subdued it, did not lodge within the town, there being no convenient lodgings for him there, but took up his quarters in the old castle of the Nervii, on the east-side the river, five-hundred paces from the town, down towards the north; which, together with their tower in an island of the river, continued on foot at that time. But because he found, that that old castle was both too little for him, and become ruinous, he ordered the tower and it together to be thrown down, and a new castle of his own to be built, in the same place, and on the same ground, but a great deal larger and more capacious; so as that it might be sufficient to hold, not only himself, and his ordinary attendants, but likewise a good number of troops in garison; and to the end it might serve, both as a castle, or palace, where himself, or his lieutenants, might lodge, and as a citadel, or fortress, from whence his troops might command the town, in the case of an insurrection among the inhabitants: which was accordingly done; and it was inclosed with a wall and a ditch, adjoining to the river, on the east-side, and at the distance of five-hundred paces from the town-wall and ditch, towards the north. And then the other English, who had occasion to come thither at that time, and either would not, or could not be allowed, to lodge within the castle, built houses for themselves hard by, in the neighbourhood, and under the shadow of it, in the interspaces that reigned from the castle, on both sides the river, towards the town.

This castle of King Henry's is still on foot, though not intire, and now shut up within the town, by the last inclosure of Tournay, which

was afterwards made; and although it be somewhat engaged, and confounded with other new edifices adjoining to it, both without and within, and the French, since they came last there, have industriously made it their business, by throwing down some parts of it, to disfigure an edifice, which served as a lasting monument of the English conquest and power over them, yet it is still very manifestly to be seen, by those who will be at pains to look out for it. on the east-side the river, down towards the north, where it makes the north-east corner of the town: For that was the quarter of Tournay where the English dwelt, during the space of five years that they staid there, and where all the old buildings, both within and without the castle, on both sides the river, as well as the castle itself, have been built by the same nation.

The inclosure of it is not a rampart, but a wall; built in the Roman fashion, but after the Gothick manner, according to the knowledge that the English had of military architecture in those days. There are two gates in it: The one towards the river, called, the River-gate; the other towards the country, named, the Country-gate. Each of these gates is defended by two round towers, one on each side of it, and nigh to one another; and the rest of the wall is fortified all about with round bulwarks, at the distance of two-hundred paces one from another.

The wall is built intirely of hewn stone, to the thickness of six feet, and to the height of four and twenty; but the gates, the towers, and the bulwarks are of earth, revested with stone, likewise hewn; the first and the second to the thickness of twelve feet, the last to the solidity of eighteen, and all to the same height with the wall: Being terminated in the top with platforms, or terrasses, as the wall is with a corridor, or gallery, that runs along the top of it from one platform to another; and both platforms and corridor are guarded on the outside with a battlement or breast-work, likewise of hewn stone, that reigns along the one, and around the others, all about the castle.

Without the wall, on the one side, is the river, a hundred and fifty feet broad and five and twenty feet deep, bordered all along, on both sides, with a large quay or landing-place, revested with hewn stone, the channel of the river being incrusted with the same; on all the other sides, there is the ditch, being a moat, or wet ditch, sixty feet broad, and twelve feet deep, having its scarp and counterscarp incrusted with stone, likewise hewn, and being supplied with water from the river. Over the river on the one side, and over the ditch on the other, before the two gates, are as many bridges, giving passage into, and out from the castle, and having at the outer ends of them streets, that run from thence thorough the town: They were anciently draw-bridges of timber, but now they are fixed ones of stone. The one over the river is the most remarkable, consisting of five arches, fifteen feet broad, and a hundred and fifty feet long, the channel there being so wide; being terminated in the top with a causey, or street, guarded on both sides with a balustrade or rail: the whole of hewn stone. It was anciently called the Castle-Bridge; but now it is named the Iron-Bridge: It is just five-hundred paces distant from the Turned Bridge, which makes a part of King Chilperick's inclosure of the town, down towards the north; and exactly in the place where the island was, in which stood the ancient

tower of the Nervii, their castle having been built on the river-side, upon the ground where the bridge ends, towards the east, which is now occupied with a corner of King Henry's castle, for, of the ancient tower and castle of the Nervii, there is not now the least vestige to be seen.

And this is that castle of Tournay, which was built by the order of King Henry the Eighth of England, during the time that the English staid there. It is of an oblong square, or parallelogrammatick figure, lying along the river-side on the east, five-hundred paces from the town, down towards the north, and stretching itself out from south to north, the river running the same way. Its length, taking it from the south-side to the other side parallel, is just five-hundred common paces, that is, two-hundred and fifty geometrical paces, or the sixth part of a British mile; its breadth, reckoning from the river-side to the other parallel, three-hundred common paces, or the tenth part of a British mile; and its circumference within, on the inside the wall, is about fifteen-hundred common paces, that is, seven-hundred and fifty geometrical paces, or half a British mile; but without, on the outside of the ditch, it will be as good as two thousand common paces, or a thousand geometrical paces, or two thirds of a British mile.

This is the condition that Tournay was in, at the time that the English were there. It consisted of the old town, inclosed by King Chilperick the First of France; of several suburbs all around, occasioned by a throng of people from a great many foreign countries, especially from France and Burgundy; and of the new castle, or citadel, built by King Henry the Eighth of England, without the town, upon the east-side the river, down towards the north.

The English kept it five years, that is, from the year of our Lord 1513, to 1518, in the days of Francis the First, King of France; who, having made his peace with King Henry, and given him a sum of money, to reimburse him of the charges he had been at in building a citadel at Tournay, and King Henry not caring to retain a place so remote from his other territories, the English were content to evacuate it, and it returned again to the dominion of the French, who lost it in a short time to the Spaniards. For the same King Francis the First of France, having violent war then with Charles the Fifth, King of Spain, Emperor of Germany, and Earl of Flanders, in the year 1521, the Emperor Charles sent thither an army, which immediately sat down before Tournay, and took it in a few days.

The Emperor Charles the Fifth having got it into his hands, and considering that it was a member of the Earldom of Flanders, and an advantageous post upon the river Scheld, he resolved well to keep it, if he could, and to prevent the French from coming there again. So, to the end he might be able to do that effectually, he resolved to have it fortified at a better rate than ever it had been before; and considering that then, after the invention of powder and guns, neither the wall about King Chilperick the First's town, nor that of King Henry the Eighth's castle, was sufficiently strong to hold out against an enemy, he thereupon was the first who conceived the design of having it fortified with a rampart; and because the town, by reason of its excrescence

into suburbs, which by that time were likewise grown considerable, required a new inclosure, he designed further, that that rampart should inclose and go clear round it, by the far ends of all the suburbs, so as to take in King Chilperick's town, King Henry's castle, the suburbs, and all that was on it. Which design he immediately took care to have put in execution, beginning, the very year following, being 1522, to cut out the ditch, and throw up the rampart, making both to go quite round the town, by the outer ends of the suburbs and castle, so as to surround and shut up all. And this is the third and last inclosure of Tournay, which gave birth to what they call the New Town, that is, that part of it which is included between the two last inclosures.

This last inclosure of the Emperor Charles's is still on foot, and intire; and, tho' it be now very near two-hundred years old, yet it it is all that Tournay has about it.

It is not a simple wall of stone, as King Chilperick's inclosure is, but a rampart of earth thrown up, built in the ancient fashion, not after the modern; every way irregular, not according to art; and fortified with bulwarks, not bastions: being a gross piece of Gothick architecture, that discovers, by its face, both the age it was done in, and the hands who did it; for one sees in it a mixture of an ancient and modern work together, that points out a turning, or changing, from the one to the other, the whole accompanied with a Spanish air; and tho' the French, at that time, began to understand a little the modern way of building and fortifying, yet the knowledge of it did not so soon come the length of being comprehended by the Spaniards. It is hard to tell its dimensions, because of its irregularity; for we could not take them otherwise, than measuring them by common paces, which we did, walking it on foot all the way, both within and without the town: So, according to what we found, I shall give a description of it, as full and exact as is possible; and to begin with its plan.

It is built in form of a parabola, or figure oblong and round, of an oval kind; consisting of two parts upon the two sides of the river, and having seven gates in it, two sluices, and about eighty bulwarks, on both sides the town.

The great semidiameter of the interior parabola is just a thousand common paces, that is, five-hundred geometrical paces, or a third part of a British mile; which, doubled, makes the length of the ground, within this parabola, two-thousand common paces, or a thousand geometrical paces, or two third parts of a British mile. The great semidiameter of the exterior parabola is a thousand and forty-two common paces, that is, five-hundred and twenty-one geometrical paces, or somewhat more than a third of a British mile; which, doubled, makes the length of the ground within this parabola, or the greatest length of the place, take it which way you will, two-thousand and eighty-four common paces, or a thousand and forty-two geometrical paces, or somewhat more than two thirds of a British mile. The little semidiameter of the interior parabola is just seven-hundred and fifty common paces, that is, three-hundred and seventy-five geometrical paces, or a quarter of a British mile; which, doubled, makes the breadth of the ground, within

this parabola, fifteen-hundred common paces, or seven-hundred and fifty geometrical paces, or half a British mile. The little semidiameter of the exterior parabola is seven-hundred and ninety-two common paces, that is, three-hundred and ninety six geometrical paces, or somewhat more than a quarter of a British mile; which, doubled, makes the breadth of the ground within this parabola, or the greatest breadth of the place, take it which way you will, fifteen-hundred and eighty-four common paces, or seven-hundred and ninety-two geometrical paces, or somewhat more than half a British mile. The circumference of the interior parabola is just six-thousand common paces, that is, three-thousand geometrical paces, or two British miles; and the circumference of the exterior parabola, six-thousand two-hundred and fifty-two common paces, or three-thousand a hundred and twenty-six geometrical paces, or somewhat more than two British miles. But the circumference, measuring it upon the top of the rampart, going along the corridor, or terra-plain, and around the platforms, or terrasses, by the foot of the battlement, or parapet, and reckoning all the sides and turnings of the ramparts and bulwarks, or the greatest circumference of the place, take it which way you will, is eight-thousand two-hundred and forty common paces, that is, four-thousand a hundred and twenty geometrical paces, or two British miles, and somewhat more than two thirds of a mile.

There are seven gates in it: Four in that part of it, which surrounds the greater part of the town, on the west side the river, commonly called the High Town, standing on a hill; and three in that part, which surrounds the lesser part of the town, on the east side the river, named the Low Town, lying in a plain. These seven gates in this rampart are built answerable to as many of those that are in King Chilperick's wall; but most of them with different names. The gates on the west side, in the rampart about the High Town, beginning at the river, at the upper end towards the south, from thence going westwards, and so round, are reckoned in this order, and thus named: The Valenciennes-gate, that answers to S. Catharine's-gate, in King Chilperick's-wall; S. Martin's-gate, that answers to the gate of the same name; the Lisle-gate, answering to S. Quintin's-gate; and the Seven Fountains gate, to Our Lady's-gate. Those on the east side, in the rampart about the Low Town, beginning at the river, at the lower end towards the north, from thence going eastwards, round, are reckoned and named so: The Brail-gate, that answers to the Country-gate in King Henry's castle-wall; the Mortal-gate, answering to S. Brice's-gate; and the Sorrowful's-gate, to the Hospital-gate.

Upon the river, at each end of the town, there was a pannel, or piece, of wall, having three gates in it for the water to pass thorough, built by the Spaniards, to join the rampart on the one side, and that on the other side together, and so to compleat the inclosure. But, since the French came last there, they have destroyed those pannels of wall, and put sluices in their room, which serves the turn of joining the two ramparts, and compleating the inclosure to better purpose; because, besides the joining of the ramparts, by these sluices, they have the command of the river-water, so as to be able to let it out, or keep it in, or make of it

what they please; whereas by those pannels of wall they could do nothing with it.

It is fortified all about with round bulwarks, at the distance of a hundred paces one from another; and every one of those gates and sluices is so planted in the middle, between two bulwarks, one on each side of it, and so nigh one another, that it is equally defended and hid between them. They are all placed at the outer ends, as the others are at the inner ends, of as many of the suburbs, which, because they lie between the two, are indifferently called by both their names.

As for its profile, the rampart, the gates, the bulwarks, and all that is on it, built wholly of earth thrown up, revested on the outside with one facade of hewn stone, and on the inside incrusted with another of the same: The rampart and gates being to the thickness of seventy feet, that is, reckoning the mass of earth, with the revesture and incrusture of stone, and to the height of eight and twenty; the bulwarks to the solidity of five and thirty feet, and to the same height with the rampart, according to the common practice, except those defending the gates and sluices; which, though they be to the same solidity with the others, yet are in height a third part higher, that is, two and forty feet high, after the manner practised in the towers of the Aurelian wall about Rome. The rampart and gates are terminated in the top with a grand corridor, or gallery, being a kind of terra-plain, running round the bulwarks with grand platforms, or terrasses; and both platforms and terra-plain are guarded on the outside with a grand battlement, or breast-work, being a kind of parapet, likewise of earth cast up, revested and incrusted with hewn stone, to the thickness of one and twenty feet, and to the height of seven, founded upon the top of the rampart and bulwarks, and reigning along the terra-plain, and around the platforms all about the town. By which means, though the rampart be seventy feet thick, yet the terra plain in the top of it comes to be only forty-nine feet broad, by reason that one and twenty feet, the thickness of the parapet, is taken from it; and the parapet going round the bulwarks, as well as along the rampart, the breadth of their platforms comes also to be diminished in proportion.

Without the rampart is the ditch, a hundred and five feet broad, and fourteen feet deep; being cut out of the earth, and having its scarp and counter-scarp incrusted with hewn stone. It is a moat, or wet ditch, on the one side the river, towards the east, where the ground is a level, or plain, and is supplied with water from the river, as also from the little brook, which falls into it on the same side; on the other side, towards the west, where the ground is a rising ground, or hill, it is dry. Over it, on both sides, before the gates in the rampart, are seven draw-bridges, that is, one before each gate, giving passage into, and out from the town, and having at the outer ends of them as many highways, that from thence run out into the neighbouring country, and have each the same name with the gate it runs out from.

That was the condition of Tournay in the Emperor Charles the Fifth's time, and this is all the length the new inclosure and fortifications of the town came in his reign; for, according to the knowledge that the

Spaniards had of the art of military architecture in those days, after it was surrounded with a rampart and a ditch, they reckoned it compleatly fortified.

It continued so, in the same state, without any farther addition to its strength, and in the power of the princes of the same nation, as being reckoned a member of the earldom of Flanders, till the year of our Lord 1579, in the days of Philip the Second, King of Spain, the Emperor Charles's only son, and his successor in the earldom of Flanders. This prince, in his time, had little war with the French, who had been long his father's enemies; but had a very religious war with the States-General of the United Provinces, who were naturally his subjects, and had made a general defection from him, because of his cruelty and oppression towards them, upon the account of the difference of religion between him and them, they being protestants, and he a papist, and had established a commonwealth of their own. The people of Tournay had begun early to join with the States-General; for, in the year 1576, they assisted with them at the pacification of Ghent: And, in this year 1579, the states being united into a commonwealth by the union of Utrecht, those of Tournay entered into an alliance with them, against King Philip the Second; from which time they were an independent state, and governed themselves after their own mind, as allies of the States-General.

In this condition it continued till the year of our Lord 1581, in the days of the same King Philip the Second of Spain; who having sent Prince Alexander of Parma into the Low-Countries, in quality of governor; and having given him a commission, to use all means to reduce his discontented subjects to their allegiance, and the Prince of Parma being in Flanders, and considering of what importance Tournay would be to him, for the securing of several other places, in the midst of which it stands, he catched hold of an occasion, when Prince Peter of Espinoy, governor of it, marched out to go towards Ghent, and carried along with him the best part of the garison, to join and to head the army of the States-General there; and first making shew, as if he would have followed the Prince of Espinoy, and continuing to do so till he was out of sight of Tournay, he then suddenly turned about towards the town, besieged it, and took it in six weeks.

It is recorded in the annals of Tournay, that, though the town at that time wanted both governor and garison, and there was nobody in the castle but the Princess of Espinoy, the governor's lady, with two or three companies of foot, her guards; though it was besieged with a great army, and battered with a great number of cannon; yet the people from within made the most obstinate defence that ever was heard of. For not only men, but women, not only burghers and boys, but wives and maids, appeared upon the rampart, to resist the enemies assaults, and behaved themselves very bravely. The Princess of Espinoy, at the head of her ladies, during the time of an assault, was shot through the arm, at one occasion. At another occasion, the besiegers having sprung a mine, and blown up a part of the rampart, several gentlewomen, who had been on the terra-plain upon duty at the time, got both death and burial at once in the ruins; and, the Spaniards entering the breach, they found some of the women still alive, being buried in the ruins only up to

the shoulders; and the Marquis of Renty, who commanded the assault, seeing them in that pickle, he admired their bravery, pitied their condition, ordered them to be taken out, and allowed them to go back to the town. It is likewise recorded, that, during the continuance of this siege of Tournay, one Colonel Prestoun, a Scotch officer in the service of the states-general, being sent off by the Prince of Espinoy, commander in chief of their army, with a party of three-hundred horse in the design to throw them into the town, for its relief, he attacked the Spanish camp before Tournay at the German quarter, where the Prince of Chimay, general of the artillery, commanded; and having beat the Spanish foot, and broke through the German horse, he not only forced his own way into the town, with all his own troops, but, besides, he carried thirty of the Prince of Chimay's artillery-men along with him. However, all this did not save the place, for it was surrendered, the thirtieth of November, 1581, after a siege of two and forty days: And so Tournay returned into the dominion of King Philip the Second of Spain.

King Philip having recovered it into his hands, and the religious war, betwixt him and the states-general, becoming more violent, the states being powerfully assisted by their protectrix, Elisabeth Queen of England, and he passionately desirous to reduce them to his obedience; considering the weakness of the defence of what towns he held in Flanders, especially of Lisle and Tournay, and the Spaniards being come a greater length in the knowledge and skill of military architecture, than formerly, he resolved to provide for the further security of these towns by the adition of outworks to the fortification. So accordingly, in the year of our Lord 1596, for the better defence of the town of Tournay, to supply the defect of its rampart, he ordered the ditch to be enlarged at twelve different places, to make way for as many outworks he designed to plant in it, and afterwards raised them, being a kind of ravelin, or half-moon, one before each of the seven gates, on both sides the town, and five more at other convenient places, three on the west side, and two on the east.

What kind of works these outworks of King Philip's were then, we cannot precisely tell; for now they are either taken in, or embodied with the French new works, or levelled. However, I have seen a draught of them in the parliament-hall at Tournay; by which it appears, that they have been large voluminous works built of earth, revested and incrusted with stone, to a solidity double of the thickness of the rampart, and to a height equal to the depth of the ditch, where they were planted; terminated in the top with platforms, guarded on the one side with battlements, suitable to the rest of the fortification; planted in the ditch surrounding them; and joined to the scarp on the inside, and to the counterscarp on the outside, with draw-bridges.

By this means, Tournay was then become indeed pretty strong, according to the rate of reckoning the strength of towns in those days; being inclosed with the Emperor Charles the Fifth's rampart, fortified with good bulwarks, for its defence, with the additional defence of King Philip the Second's outworks: All which, at that time, did indeed render it strong; but now it would signify nothing.

However, it continued so, in the same state, and in the power of the princes of the same nation, without any change or revolution befalling it, either in its edifices or government, till the days of Charles the Second, late King of Spain; who having sharp war, in his time, with Lewis the Fourteenth, the present King of France, in the year of our Lord 1667, King Lewis marched an army into Flanders, came before Tournay, besieged it, and took it in a very short time: So once more it returned into the power of the French. He also took Lisle and Douay, and several other towns, the same year, and put King Charles so hardly to it, that, the next year 1668, a peace being concluded at Aix la Chapelle between these two princes, by an article of that treaty, King Charles was obliged to resign to King Lewis the town of Tournay, and some others, for ever.

King Lewis the Fourteenth, having got Tournay into his hands, and knowing the importance of the place; considering how weakly it was fortified, and the French then being come a length in the knowledge of military architecture before other nations; and though he but lately concluded a peace with Spain, yet having a mind to observe it no longer than it should serve his turn, and in the case of war, foreseeing how useful and advantageous a post Tournay would be to him, for preserving the country he had already conquered, and for pushing on his conquests further, he thereupon resolved well with himself to keep it, as long as he could, and, to that end, immediately begun to take care to have it compleatly fortified, with all the art and skill imaginable, and gave the direction of the work to the famous Monsieur de Vauban, his chief engineer, who has indeed acquitted himself very handsomely in it.

Monsieur de Vauban, having got such a commission, proceeded in this manner in the execution of it: First, he considered, that, as for the Emperor Charles the Fifth's rampart, there was nothing to be done with it, because of the facades of hewn stone, with which it was revested, and incrusted, without throwing it all down, and rebuilding a new one, which would have run out to a prodigious charge; and for that he thought there was not so great need there, as elsewhere. Besides, he reckoned, that, whatever weakness there was in or about the rampart, it might be best corrected by a suitable contrivance in the design and execution of the outworks. As for King Philip the Second's outworks, he resolved either to take in and embody them in those that he himself designed, or to level them.

So, without insisting upon the defects of the rampart, he immediately proceeded to the construction of the outworks; and, having cleaned the ditch, and enlarged it in such and such places, so as that it might be capable of the works he designed in it, he planted it abundantly with ravelins, half-moons, horn-works, and all the other kinds that he thought proper for the ground, and for correcting the faults he observed in the situation and fortification of the town; especially he built four great horn-works, three on the one side of the town, towards the west, where the ground is a rising ground, or hill; and one on the other side, towards the east, where it is a level, or plain; all large voluminous works running out from the rampart into the neighbouring country, so as to inclose and take in all the heights, and other eminences, that did any

way prejudice, or weaken its defence. Then, to secure all, he raised a noble citadel, immediately without the town, at the upper end of it, towards the south, and on the west-side the river, being the hill-side, in a place, where the ground is higher than any where else near the town; in the building of which, he employed all the art and skill, he was master of, in military architecture, both as to design and execution, so as to render it a fortress of great beauty, as well as of great strength. And, as it is commonly said to be one of De Vauban's master-pieces, so it is certainly one of the most regular, as well as it has been one of the most chargeable pieces of fortification in the world; though I will not say it is one of the strongest, because of its being situate on a height, upon a ground that is very capable of being mined, and where mines may have dreadful effects. The horn-works on the same side of the town are liable to the same inconveniency, being situate the same way; against which inconveniency, the architect has provided all the remedy that can be, that is, countermines: for both citadel and horn-works, and all the other out works, on that hill-side the town, are intirely countermined before-hand; on the other side, being a plain, the works are not liable to such an inconveniency, and, consequently, there is no need of such a remedy. So that, if ever an enemy comes about Tournay, and attacks it on the high side of the town, where the citadel and three of the horn-works are, they dare do it only by mining; and, the ground there being before-hand countermined, if they be not both very wary and very lucky, they may meet with dreadful rencounters. And, whereas, on that high side, they have fire to deal withal, on the other side, being low, there is water; for, though the ground there be somewhat drained, yet it is still a little marshy; and, in the case of a siege, the besieged can, by shutting the sluices upon the river, overflow the whole country on that side with water. By this means, Tournay, by nature and art together, is a town compleatly fortified, and abundantly strong. For if, on the one side, it be naturally weak, because of its dry situation upon a hill, art has provided there abundance of outworks, and these outworks countermined, to remedy that defect. If, on the other side, it be artificially weak, by reason of fewer outworks there, and these outworks not countermined, nature has provided a wet situation in a plain, to counterbalance that want. So that nature and art have conspired together, to render it a place of strength. However, there is nothing, that art has fortified, but art can take it; nor any thing, that nature has made strong, but what wit may overcome. And the surest and safest, as well as the most effectual and successful way, to besiege Tournay, would, in my humble opinion, be in this manner: To make feint attacks on the high side the town, where there are countermines, and to make real attacks on the low side, where there are none; and, because of the inconveniency of water on that side, to begin early to batter the sluices, that keep it up; which being destroyed, the water will run clear away along the channel of the river, and the ground on that side become good ground, and the besiegers attacks may go on a-pace, with a great deal of safety, and with all the success imaginable; whereas, if the real attacks be on the high side, where the ground is naturally good, but countermined, by beginning early to dis-

cover the countermines, the attacks may indeed be carried on, but slowly, with a great deal of danger, and with a success that will always be doubtful.

But, because there is such variety in the French fortifications about Tournay, such excellency appears in Monsieur De Vauban's works, where ever they are, and such regularity is to be seen, in all that he has done there, both as to design and execution, both in plan and profile, I shall therefore be at pains to give a compleat description of these outworks, and an exact account of their dimensions, for the satisfaction of the curious: And, to do it in order, I shall begin with the citadel, on the south side the town, upon the west side the river; from thence go northwards, and so round. And, first, as to its plan:

It is built in form of a pentagon, or figure having five equal sides; having just so many courtines, as many bastions, and two gates, all royal work, that is, regular, and according to art; so that we found it an easy matter to take its dimensions both in whole and in part, and to do it both exactly and compleatly.

The semidiameter of the interior polygon is just seven-hundred and five feet; which, doubled, makes the length, or breadth (they being equal) of the ground within this polygon a thousand four hundred and ten feet, that is, two hundred and eighty two geometrical paces, or near the fifth part of a British mile. The semidiameter of the exterior polygon is nine hundred and three feet; which, doubled, makes the length, or breadth of the ground within this polygon, or the greatest length or breadth of the fortress, take it which way you will, a thousand eight hundred and six feet, that is, three hundred and sixty-one geometrical paces and a foot, or near a quarter of a British mile. Each side of the interior polygon is just eight hundred and nine feet; which, multiplied by five (there being so many sides in it) makes the circumference of this polygon four thousand and forty five feet, that is, eight hundred and nine geometrical paces, or somewhat more than half a British mile. Each side of the exterior polygon is a thousand and forty two feet; which, multiplied by five (there being so many sides in it) makes the circumference of this polygon five thousand two hundred and ten feet, that is, a thousand and forty two geometrical paces, or somewhat more than two third parts of a British mile. But the circumference, measuring it on the outside, going round by the foot of the rampart, along the way that is called the Round Way, and reckoning all the sides and angles, or turnings in and out, of the courtines and bastions, or the greatest circumference of the fortress, is a great deal more, in this manner: The length of each courtine is four hundred and eighty feet, and the circumference of each bastion eight hundred and ninety, in this manner: Each demigorge a hundred and fifteen feet, each flank ninety, and each face two hundred and forty; which, doubled (there being two of each) and added together, make the circumference so much, as I have said: And the length of the courtines, multiplied by five (there being so many of them) with the circumference of the bastions (subtracting the demigorges) likewise multiplied by five (there being so many of them) and added together, that is, the length of all the courtines, flanks, and faces in the rampart, added together, makes the circum-

ference on the outside, or the greatest circumference of the fortress, take it which way you will, exactly five thousand and seven hundred feet, or a thousand a hundred and forty geometrical paces, or somewhat more than three quarters of a British mile.

As to the profile of it, it is a rampart of earth cast up, revested on the outside, and incrusted on the inside, with a facade of hewn stone.

Its breadth at the bottom is sixty-six feet, that is, reckoning the masss of earth, with the revesture and incrusture of stone; its inward talud, or sloping, fifteen feet; and outward talud seven and a half: Its height fifteen feet, and its breadth at the top forty three and a half. The bastions are terminated in the top with platforms, or terrasses, as the courtines are with a terra-plain, or corridor, or gallery, that runs along the top of the rampart from one platform to another; and both these platforms, and that terra-plain, are guarded on the outside with a parapet, or battlement, or breast-work, and a banquet, or footstep, that reign along the one, and around the others, all about the fortress: The one being three feet broad, and a foot and a half high; the other, fifteen feet broad at the bottom, a foot of inward talud, two feet of outward, six feet high on the inside, four feet on the outside, and twelve feet broad at the top. Both parapet and banquet are built of earth thrown up, revested and incrusted with hewn stone, founded upon the top of the rampart, but with this difference: The one is terminated in a level, proper for men to step or stand on, on the inside towards the town, and continued all about; the other terminates in a slope, on the outside towards the country, proper for bullets to slip or slide on, and is all about discontinued with embrasures, or port-holes, and merlons, or solid spaces between the port-holes. By this means, though the rampart at the top be forty-three feet and a half broad, yet the terra-plain above the courtines comes to be only twenty five feet and a half; by reason that fifteen feet, the breadth of the parapet, and three feet, that of the banquet, are taken from it: And, the parapet and banquet going around the bastions, as well as along the courtines, their platforms come also to be diminished in proportion.

There are but two gates in this rampart: The one towards the town, called the Royal Gate; the other towards the country, named the Dauphin-Gate. They are each of them struck out in the middle of a courtine, where they stand defended by the two neighbouring bastions. Without the rampart, there is, first, the round way, or the way of the rounds, being a corridor, or gallery, fifteen feet broad, guarded on the outside with its parapet and banquet, otherwise called the False Bray, which is every way of the same kind, and has the same dimensions with the Royal Parapet, that is, the parapet of the rampart, which we have already described. Both these works are built of earth cast up, revested and incrusted with hewn stone; and reign, as the rampart does, all about the fortress. Without the False Bray is the berm, or fore-land, being a kind of bank, six feet broad, on the inside of the ditch. It is of earth revested with stone. Then there is the ditch, being a dry ditch, ninety-six feet broad at the top; its scarp, or inward talud, or sloping, ten feet; and counter-scarp, or outward talud, the same; its depth ten feet, and its breadth at the bottom seventy six. It is cut out

of the earth, has its scarp and counter-scarp incrusted with hewn stone accompanies the rampart all around, and is always dry, being upon the top of a rising ground, or hill, where no water comes.

This ditch is abundantly planted with outworks, in this manner: First, the courtine towards the town, that has the Royal Gate in it, is defended with a fortification of three forts, or outworks: The one in the middle, just opposite to the gate, being a large ravelin; the other two are small quarter-moons, one before each face of the ravelin, near the angle of the shoulder. Beginning there at that first courtine, where the Royal Gate is, towards the town, from thence going southwards, round, the next thing, we found in our way, was the King's Bastion, one of the bastions of the rampart, which, for order's sake, we shall likewise call, the first bastion. Then there is the second courtine, also towards the town, before which is repeated a fortification of a large ravelin, and two small quarter-moons, as before. Next is the second bastion, called, the Queen's Bastion. After that, comes the third courtine, towards the country, defended with a fortification of five forts, or outworks: The first, in the middle, just opposite to the courtine, being a large ravelin, as before; the other four are two cut-works, and two small quarter-moons, covering the faces of the ravelin; a cut-work and a quarter-moon being before each face, the one towards the angle of the shoulder, as before, the other towards the saillant angle. Next is the third bastion, named, The Dauphin's Bastion. Then there is the fourth courtine, also, towards the country, having the Dauphin-gate in the middle of it, and before it a fortification of five outworks, a ravelin, two cut-works, and two quarter-moons, repeated and disposed in the same order as before. After which, is the fourth bastion, called, The Bastion of Anjou. Then there is the fifth and last courtine, also towards the country, defended with a fortification of four outworks: The first, in the middle, a ravelin, as before; the other three are a cut-work, and two quarter-moons, covering the faces of the ravelin, the cut-work and a quarter-moon being before the left face, the one towards the angle of the shoulder, the other towards the saillant angle, as before; the other quarter-moon, alone, before the right face, near the angle of the shoulder. Last of all, is the fifth bastion, named, The Bastion of Orleans. After which we found the courtine, towards the town, having the Royal Gate in it, from whence we began our course around the fortress.

All these outworks are built of earth thrown up, revested and incrusted with hewn stone, and have their design and execution, their plan and profile, their terra-plains, parapets, banquets, and the rest, suitable, and in proportion to the other parts of the fortification; being founded in the ditch, which has been before-hand enlarged in such and such places, so as to be capable of them; and, detached from the scarp on the inside, and from the counterscarp on the outside, as well as from one another, at reasonable distances; but joined both to scarp and counterscarp, as well as to one another, with draw-bridges.

Immediately, without the ditch, there is the covered-way, or the way that is covered, being a corridor, or gallery, fifteen feet broad, guarded on the outside with its parapet and banquet, otherwise named the glacis:

The one being three feet broad, and a foot and a half high, as the other banquets are; the other sixty-nine feet broad at the bottom; a foot of inward talud, six feet high on the inside, and, on the outside, it is all a continued talud, or slope, beginning at the top of the height, and ending insensibly at the bottom; the whole tenailled all around: Both these works are of earth revested and incrusted with stone; and reign, as the rampart does, all about the fortress. Without the glacis, last of all, is the explanade, being a grand corridor discovered, or a part of the neighbouring country levelled, to the breadth of a hundred and five feet, and accompanying the glacis all round.

This citadel is built without the town, on the south-side, and on the west-side the river, where the bank is a rising ground, or hill, upon the very highest spot of ground about Tournay, in the design to command the town on the one hand, and the country on the other; but especially to command the town and the river, they both lying low under it, towards the north and east, and it approaching with its outworks to the one, within the distance of four-hundred paces, and to the other adjoining so near, that the outworks of the one incroach and presume upon the fortifications of the other, which are there levelled, to make way for them; so that they not only take up all the ground between the rampart of the citadel and that of the town, but also enter a pretty way within the town, there being a grand overture made in the Emperor Charles the Fifth's rampart, to let them in. The two extremities of this rampart of the town are made to end sloping, in a right line upon the glacis of the citadel: And, in the space, within the town, between this glacis of the citadel, and King Chilperick the First's wall, the buildings are, for the most part, thrown down, and the ground where they stood is converted into a grand explanade, having in length a thousand paces, and in breadth two-hundred; and serving as a grand court before the citadel gate, where twenty thousand men may be drawn up in order of battle. By this means, the town and its rampart being in this manner levelled, as well as the country and its hedges discovered, and the heights and other eminences inclosed, the citadel seated upon the very highest spot of ground thereabouts commands intirely all around.

As to the French fortifications about the town, they are disposed in this order: First, that part of the Emperor Charles the Fifth's rampart, that adjoins to the outworks of the citadel, on the east-side towards the river, running from the sluice, that is there upon the one, up the face of the hill, to the glacis of the other; the distance between these two, being four hundred paces, has been lately thrown down, and is rebuilt in a new way, so as to make a saillant angle, in the middle of the distance from the glacis of the citadel, to the sluice upon the river, to defend the same. The one side of this angle, towards the river, lies low, in a little plain that reigns immediately along the water-side, to the breadth of two hundred paces, towards the west, at the upper end of the town toward the south, and the ditch without it is a moat, or wet ditch, supplied with water from the river, and continuing to be so, as far as the plain continues, that is, to the very angular point; the other side, towards the citadel, stands high, upon the ascent of the hill; that

from the angular point begins to run up pretty steep, and the ditch without it is dry. The gate of Valenciennes is in the side towards the river, where there is nothing to defend, neither it nor the sluice, but the saillaint angle; but the sluice, the gate, the river, the rampart, all lies low, under the cannon of the citadel, which stands, and looks, and defends, and commands, high, over all. That part of the Emperor Charles's rampart, that adjoins to the outworks of the citadel, on the west-side, is denuded of its bulwarks, that have been levelled, to the length of two hundred paces, and the rampart itself is made to continue sloping in a right line, till at last it ends, as I have said, upon the glacis of the fortress.

Four hundred paces from the citadel, going northwards, round the town, is the gate of St. Martin's, which, for order's sake, we shall call the Second Gate, reckoning the Valenciennes gate the first, between the river and the citadel, which is between these two gates. This gate is defended with a great fortification of three forts, or outworks before it; the first, a half-moon, just opposite to the gate; the second a horn-work, covering the faces of the half-moon; and, the third, a ravelin, before the courtine of the horn-work: Being all large voluminous works, especially the horn-work, planted in the ditch, where they take up a great deal of ground, one without another, directly before the gate, and running out a great way from the town into the adjacent country, which they intirely command, as far as their cannon can go.

Immediately after this fortification, in the middle of the distance, between this gate and the next, there is one half-moon alone, by itself, defending the rampart: And, before the next gate, being the Lisle gate, and the third in our way, round, there is another half moon, likewise alone, by itself, opposite to the gate, defending it. After which, we found another great fortification of three forts, or outworks, and a ravelin, as before: All large voluminous works, especially the horn-work, and running out a great way into the country.

Immediately after this, there is again a half-moon alone, by itself, defending the rampart; which, though it be only a half-moon, yet, among officers and soldiers, it is commonly called, The Bastion of Blandinois: And the ground there falling low, and changing from a rising ground into a level, from a hill into a plain, the ditch is no longer a dry ditch, but begins to be a moat, or wet one, being supplied with water from the river, which is at the distance of six hundred paces, the plain that reigns there along the river-side towards the west, at that lower end of the town, towards the north, being so broad. Then we found the gate of the Seven Fountains, being the fourth in our way, round, and defended with another great fortification of three outworks, a half-moon, a horn-work, and a ravelin, as before. After which, the rampart, on that side, ends upon the river, where it is defended with an irregular fort, or outwork, commonly called, The Platform, adjoining to it: It is one of King Philip the Second's old outworks, as I suppose, left so in its old form, adjoining to the river, as well as to the rampart, defending both, but especially defending the sluice there.

The rampart, on the other side the river, makes a turn, as it goes about King Henry the Eighth's castle, and is extraordinarily defended with a very complex piece of fortification, consisting of six outworks, disposed

in this manner: First, the turn of the rampart, towards the north-east, is defended with a half-moon before; after that, the Brail-gate, towards the east, being the fifth in our way, is defended with a small ravelin, covered with a counter-guard before it: Then there is a grand double tenaille, which, beginning upon the river, on the north-side, from thence runs east, turns south, and goes as far as beyond the Brail-gate, where it ends upon the ditch; so as to cover and defend the half-moon, the ravelin, and the counter-guard, already named, as well as all that part of the rampart, that, from the river on the north, runs east and south, as far as beyond the Brail-gate, being in length eight hundred paces. Without this tenaille, on the north-side, near the river, there is a half-moon defending it on that side; at the east-end of which is a canal, with a sluice upon it, conveighing the waters of the ditch away into the lower Scheld, the river running on the west-end of it, so that it stands between the two: And, without the tenaille, on the east-side, there is another half-moon, defending it on that side, which makes out the number of six outworks that compose this complex piece of fortification.

After this, we found a half-moon all alone, by itself, in the middle of the distance, between the Brail-gate and the next, defending the rampart. Then there is the Mortal-gate, being the sixth in our way, and defended with another great fortification of three outworks, a half-moon, a horn-work, and a ravelin, as before. After which, is another half-moon alone, by itself, in the middle of the distance, between the Mortal-gate, and the next, defending the rampart. Then there is the Gate of the Sorrowful, the seventh in our way, defended with a large ravelin; overagainst the point of which, the small brook, that runs towards the town on that side, falls into the ditch. After that, is another half-moon alone, by itself, defending the rampart, in the middle of the distance, between the Sorrowful's-gate and the river. And, last of all, the rampart, on that side, ends upon the river, where it is defended with a large outwork, being a kind of bastion detached, and commonly called, The Bastion of Camus: It adjoins to the river, which it defends, as well as the rampart; but, especially, it defends the sluice that is there; being likewise defended on the other side, with the saillant angle of the rampart, between the river and the citadel, from whence we began our course round the place.

All these outworks are built of earth thrown up, revested and incrusted with hewn stone, and have their design and execution, their plan and profile, their terra-plains, parapets, banquets, and the rest, suitable, and in proportion, to the other parts of the fortification, especially to the defects and irregularities that are in and about the Emperor Charles the Fifth's rampart. They are founded in the ditch, which was beforehand enlarged in such and such places, so as to be capable of them; and, on the one side, where it is a moat, they are abundantly surrounded with water, it being always full from the river; on the other side, where a moat is not practicable, they are dry. They are detached from the scarp on the inside, and from the counterscarp on the outside, as well as from one another, at reasonable distances; but joined both to scarp and counter-scarp as well as to one another, with draw-bridges.

Without the ditch, there is the covered-way, seventeen feet and a half broad, guarded on the outside with its parapet and banquet, or the glacis: The one, the same with the other banquets; the other, seventy feet broad at the bottom, a foot of inward talud, six feet high on the inside; and, on the outside, it is a continued talud, or slope, from the top to the bottom: The whole tenailled all around the place, as the glacis about the citadel is. And, without all, is the explanade, a hundred and five feet broad. These works are likewise of earth, revested and incrusted with stone, and reign, along with the ditch, as the rampart does, all about the town.

Lastly, without the explanade, in the country, two hundred paces from the glacis of the town, on the high side towards the west, in the middle of the distance, between the glacis of the citadel, and that of the first horn-work, there is a ravelin, with a dry ditch about it, placed all alone, by itself, by way of a redoubt, to defend the avenue to the town there. Between the first hornwork, and the second, there is a half-moon placed in the same manner, at the same distances, and to the same purpose. Between the second horn-work and the third, there is another half-moon, the same way. And, on the low side, towards the east, at the lower end of the town, towards the north, at the same distance from the glacis of the town, there is a bridge of timber over the river, with a square fort, or redoubt, on the east-side, defending it, and defending the avenue to the town there. The other avenues to Tournay are sufficiently well defended with the numerous outworks about the town and citadel.

These are the French fortifications about Tournay, and this is the length they came, under the care and direction of Monsieur De Vauban; who, when he had brought them thus far, reckoned it a town compleatly fortified, and as strong as the situation of the place would allow; and, certainly, it is so. As for beauty and regularity, it is, without dispute, that there is a variety of forts, or outworks, an excellency of design and execution, and an exactness in plan and profile, so great about Tournay, that the like is not to be seen about any other town in Europe, except it be at Bergen-op-Zoom, fortified by Coehorn; but, as to this matter, one may say, that though Monsieur De Coehorn has a great many very pretty inventions, that are all his own, and a great deal of very pretty reasoning, upon these inventions of his own, yet, after all, if his works were tried as much as we see Vauban's are daily, it is a question how they would prove.

And this is what they call New Tournay; that is, that part of the town which is included between King Chilperick the First of France's wall, and the Emperor Charles the Fifth of Germany's rampart, as it was begun by the French and Burgundians, and other foreigners, continued by King Henry the Eighth of England, and the English, inclosed by the Emperor, Charles the Fifth, first fortified by King Philip the Second of Spain, and compleatly fortified by King Lewis the Fourteenth of France.

The new town is of the same figure with the old one, that is, an oblong round, or parabolick, but stretched the contrary way; for whereas the old town lies cross the river, on both sides, and stretches itself out,

from east to west, the river running from south to north, the new one lies along the river, on both sides, and stretches itself out, from south to north, the river running the same way. It has in length, taking it from the one sluice upon the river, at the upper end of the town towards the south, to the other sluice at the lower end towards the north, along the river, just two thousand common paces, that is a thousand geometrical paces, or two third parts of a British mile; in breadth, reckoning from St. Martin's-gate, on the west-side, to the Mortal-gate, on the east, cross the river, it is fifteen hundred common paces, or seven hundred and fifty geometrical paces, or half a British mile; and in circumference, going round within, on the inside the rampart, there are exactly six thousand common paces, that is, three thousand geometrical paces, or two British miles; but measuring it without, on the outside the ditch, we found it to be as good as twelve thousand common paces, or six thousand geometrical paces, or four British miles.

The citadel is a pentagon, or figure, having five sides, adjoining to the town, on the south side, and approaching to the river, on the west, within the distance of four hundred paces. Its length, take it which way you will, is just five hundred and sixty-four common paces, that is, two hundred and eighty-two geometrical paces, or near a fifth part of a British mile; its breadth, being equal to its length, the same; and its circumference within, on the inside the rampart, is exactly a thousand six hundred and eighteen common paces, that is, eight hundred and nine geometrical paces, or some more than half a British mile; but without, on the outside the ditch, it will be as good as three thousand seven hundred and fifty common paces, or a thousand eight hundred and seventy-five geometrical paces, or a British mile and a quarter.

In fine it has continued in the same state, and in the same hands, without any further alteration or change, from the year of our Lord 1667, when the French took it last, till this present year 1709, when they are like to lose it again. For the present King Lewis the Fourteenth of France, having sharp and violent war just now on foot, with Charles the Third, the present King of Spain, upon the account of the succession to the Spanish monarchy, and King Charles being powerfully assisted by the other princes in confederacy with him, the ambition of King Lewis and the power of France seem to be reduced to a very low ebb. The last year they took Lisle from him; and now they are before Tournay: And the confederate generals having catched an occasion to besiege it, when the French had drawn out a part of the garison, to reinforce their grand army, the garison being weak within, it is like to fall into their hands.

A

LETTER TO A NEW MEMBER

OF THE

HONOURABLE HOUSE OF COMMONS;

Touching the rise of all the embezzlements and mismanagements of the kingdom's treasure, from the beginning of the revolution unto this present parliament. With an account, from time to time, of the many oppositions the House of Commons met with about redressing the said publick grievances. And, lastly, a proposal humbly offered to their consideration, how to prevent the like miscarriages for the future. To which is added, a parallel account of the national expences, from November 3, 1640, to November 1659; and from November 5, 1688, to Michaelmas 1700.

Amsterdam: Printed in the year 1710. Quarto, containing twenty-eight pages.

Sir,

YOU being a new member of this honourable house, I presume, you are not so well acquainted with the transactions of several former parliaments, in relation to the miscarriages and embezzlements of the publick monies of this kingdom; because I perceive you are somewhat surprised at her Majesty's speech touching that paragraph, wherein she complains to your House, 'That she cannot, without great concern, mention to you, That the navy and other offices are burthened with heavy debts;' which so far affect the publick service, that she most earnestly desires you to find some way to answer those demands, and to prevent the like, for the time to come; the justice of parliament, in satisfying former engagements, being the certain way for preserving and establishing credit.

I say, being a new member, you are utterly at a loss in this matter, and want thoroughly to be instructed in mismanagements of the ministry. For you are earnestly desired by the Queen to find out now some way to answer those demands, and to prevent the like embezzlements and misapplications, for the time to come; it being but justice of the parliament, in satisfying former engagements, and it is the most certain way for preserving and establishing of credit.

Is this the way of establishing and preserving of future credit? Then it is plain, that, by her Majesty's confession, the credit of the nation begins now to flag; and, if so, the question will be, Whether it is occasioned by the funds not answering the intended end, they were raised for? Or, Whether the credit of the nation is sunk by crafty ministers, that have licked themselves into fair estates, and so have embezzled and misapplied the kingdom's publick treasure? Now, if you can find out

but where this shoe pinches, you have done your work; for her Majesty's desire is, to prevent the like practices for the time to come.

In order to which, give me leave to inform you, That the R—— H——— the H-—— of P——, in their address to her Majesty, do as frankly complain of mismanagements and embezzlements in several of the Queen's offices heretofore committed, as well as her Majesty; which, at your leisure, you may read, in their address to the queen, printed in the year 1705.

And I must beg your patience to shew also, That the honourable the House of Commons have formerly made as hearty and heavy complaints, as most have done, and publickly declared, That common justice was refused to be done this honourable house, when so often desired, to redress the publick grievances of the nation, especially touching the mismanagements and embezzlements of the publick monies of the kingdom. Vide their votes of March 24, 1701.

Since they have had every one their turn of complaining, Do not you admire where the fault lies all this while, and that there is no remedy as yet found out? That is to say, from the year 1701, to this present year 1710, being full nine years.

One would think, at first dash, that the queen, the lords, and the commons were all at a loss, and willing, hearty, and ready to embrace any expedient, and listen to any proposal, that could be found out to put a stop to, and prevent the like mismanagements and embezzlements of the kingdom's money for the future, or else they would never, certainly, make their complaints so often. But, alas! Sir, there lies the mystery.

Now, sir, to unriddle this grand secret is to let you into our former miscarriages, and the way, that was then taken to stop and redress those grand grievances, and the many obstructions former parliaments met with, though they heartily espoused, and designed to go thorough stitch with the remedy; and then you will find where this great fault has lain all the while, and perceive who are blame-worthy, such as complained, or those very persons, that refused to punish the transgressors, when they were first catched offending. And give me leave to add, That all mismanagements and losses, that have since happened to this kingdom, are owing to such, as refused to do common justice, when so often importuned thereto.

The great mismanagements of the kingdom's publick treasure, and the misapplications thereof, fell out in the reign of the late King William; which was then observed, for several years together, to be a growing evil upon the government; and at last it did produce several annual commissions, by act of parliament, for taking, examining, and stating the publick accounts of the kingdom; but what success these commissions had, will be worth our time to examine.

Though it has been publickly objected, That by these commissions little was done towards the adjusting the accounts of the nation, and inferences have been thence drawn, That such commissions are of little or no use; yet, certainly, it is the duty of our representatives (especially since desired from the throne) to make it their earnest endeavour to find out proper remedies for this fatal distemper, lest it end in the ruin of the

monarchy, the church, and the state. For the Commons have complained of these miscarriages; the Lords, in their turn, have complained of them; and now at last her Majesty, in her most gracious speech, is heavily complaining of these miscarriages. And, since they have all had their turns of complaint, one would think it were high time to redress this common and publick grievance, which has, in short, almost ruined the credit of the parliament; and there will be no retrieving of it, till a stop be put to those growing evils. It will scarcely be pretended by any man, that such an adjustment of accounts is, in its own nature, impracticable: If, then, the former commissions had not altogether the desired success, the fault must lie either in the scheme laid down, as probably it might be for the first year or two; or in the commission, if they wanted either skill, application, or integrity sufficient for the business, they were employed about.

Now all these wants have been charged upon some of them, but whether with justice, or not, I am not yet well satisfied; but I am sure there were two other impediments, of which I may speak with more certainty, either of which was enough to hinder the execution of that commission.

The first of these was, That divers great men, that had mighty accounts to pass, and, perhaps, had little stomach to do it, had such a power and influence in the house of commons, as were able to cramp the commissioners in their power, and discountenance them in their report, and even to banter them in the execution of their trust.

That this was openly practised, is notorious to all that were then members of the house; and how much the commissioners must needs be discouraged in the execution of so difficult a task, the performance of which was to be laid before such judges so possessed, I'll leave any one to guess.

The influence of these men, perhaps, produced another difficulty, which was a flaw in the commission itself; for the commissioners were not impowered sufficiently to require proof of suspected vouchers; they could not commit persons for contempt of their authority, and consequently were exposed to the hazard of being abused by false vouchers. These were difficulties almost, if not absolutely, insuperable.

Now, that never-to-be-forgotten parliament, in the year 1701, took care to remove most of these obstructions, by providing a bill with larger power, appointing commissioners of known worth and integrity, who were willing, without recompence, to take the trouble upon them, and having such an house of commons (as God be thanked we now have) disposed to hear, and inquire strictly into those miscarriages; and there was great reason to expect a good issue.

But, perhaps, this very expectation (pray God it do not again) defeated the bill, because some of those very persons, who had heretofore borne such a sway in the house of commons, were then grown so powerful in another place, and accounts were still as terrible as ever; it was not therefore their interest to suffer such a bill to pass for those very reasons beforementioned.

First, Because such a commission, with such powers, was as hard to

be resisted, as, on the other side, some men's accounts were to be made up; and consequently, such an enquiry, as the commissioners were thereby impowered to make, might have ruined the credit, and, perhaps, the fortunes of some great men.

Secondly, The same persons knew, that there was no bantering the commissioners named in the bill, because they knew them to be men of sense, honour, and courage, and that knew, and were resolved to execute their commission; and, as they were volunteers in that service, had given earnest of their resolution to unriddle that mystery which divers good men had before lost their labour in, and thereby, perhaps, might have made discoveries, at that time, very unseasonable to some great men. And,

Lastly, The disposition of the house of commons itself, who were resolved as fast as possible to extricate this nation from that labyrinth of debts, interest, deficiences, and other incumbrances she was then in, and is at present in a manner lost, was a terror to those who knew by what steps and artifices she was led into, and left in it.

I say, it was not safe for them, either to let the bill pass, or to have it rejected in gross; and therefore such expedients were to be found out, as might embroil the two houses about it, a practice in which they had not long before shewn a great deal of mastery.

They knew, that the commons, as they had the sole power of granting money, so also of taking an account of the disposition of all money by them granted, and of appointing commissioners for that purpose. This was laid hold on as a proper handle, to introduce those amendments which they knew the commons could not agree to, without departing from those rights which they were sure they would never relinquish.

Divers amendments therefore were made, not, perhaps, so much to alter the bill, as to lay upon the commons a necessity of throwing it out; thereby hoping to shift the odium of such an action from their own door.

But the commons, who were aware of this drift, and saw the conclusion of the session so near at hand, appointed a committee to draw up their reasons, why they could not agree to the amendments made by the lords, and afterwards ordered them to be printed, for the satisfaction of the people whom they represented; which I shall give you in the very words of the house, as they stand in their votes, March 24, 1701.

The commons do disagree to the first amendment made by the lords:

Because it is notorious, that many millions of money have been given to his Majesty King William by the commons, for the service of the publick; which remains yet unaccounted for, to the great dissatisfaction of the good people of England, who chearfully contributed to those supplies: And their lordships first amendment prevents any accounts being taken of those monies by the commissioners appointed by the commons for that purpose.

The commons do disagree to the second amendment made by the lords:

Because John Parkhurst and John Pascal, esqs. have for several years been commissioners of the prizes taken during the late war, and

are accountable for great sums of money arising thereby, which ought to be applied to the use of the publick.

That the said John Parkhurst, and John Pascal were frequently pressed to account for the same, by the said commissioners appointed by act of parliament; but, by many artifices and evasions, delayed and avoided giving any such account as was required by the said commissioners.

That the clause, to which their lordships have disagreed by their second amendment, requires them to account before the first of Sept. next; but, by their lordships amendment, the said John Parkhurst and John Pascal are exempted from giving any such account, which is highly unreasonable.

The commons do disagree to the third amendment.

The commons cannot agree to the clause set down by the lords, marked with X, because their lordships have therein directed the commissioners to allow and certify a pretended debt to Colonel Baldwin Leighton; whereas the disposition, as well as granting of money by act of parliament, hath ever been in the house of commons; and this amendment, relating to the disposal of money, does intrench upon that right.

The commons do disagree to the fourth amendment:

Because it is notorious, that Edward Whitacre, mentioned in ———, left out by their lordships, hath, by colour of his employment (as sollicitor to the admiralty) received the sum of twenty-five thousand pounds, and upwards, of publick monies, without producing any just or reasonable vouchers for the expence thereof, and therefore ought to be accountable for the same.

And that, by reason of their lordships disagreeing to the several parts of this bill, the supplies, provided by the commons for paying the arrears due to the army, must of necessity be ineffectual till another session of parliament.

These reasons were ordered to be inserted in the votes of this day. And, though I have seen many attempts to answer them, yet never met with one that bore a good face, or a true reason for the occasion of them; and, till some body shall produce others more justifiable and probable, the commons will stand clear of all imputation for the miscarriage of that bill, and the evil consequences that have attended the nation ever since the want of it.

But though King William thanked this good parliament for their quick dispatch of those necessary supplies which they had granted for the publick occasion, and for the encouragement they had given him to enter into alliances for the preservation of the liberty of Europe, and the support of the confederacy, and made no doubt, that whatsoever he should do, during their recess, for the advantage of the common cause in this matter, would have their approbation at their meeting again in the winter. Vide the speech he then made at the conclusion of that session of parliament, 1701.

Yet so diligent were the then ministers of state, that, for fear of being

called to account by the said commissioners, they got the consent of King William to dissolve that parliament, by reason they did assure him they would get him a better, and such a one as should not question the embezzlements of his ministers, being now able to carry all things before them; which was then the language of that state-ministry. And the good King assured them he would do it, when he next came from Holland, and was as good as his word; and then the ministry were safe in their affairs. And, upon the death of King William, some of the ministry being changed, we never heard a word of them more, till their lordships began to take up the cudgels.

You must know, at that time, some of the ministry, being turned out, had set up that which they now call a junto, in opposition to the court party; and who should be more forward in pushing on the said H——of P—— into an enquiry of mismanagements and embezzlements, than certain noble persons who had run the same way the new courtiers had just entered, to lick themselves into as fair estates as other antiquated courtiers had done.

I say, these persons, having set up a junto in opposition to the court interest, pressed forward an enquiry into a three years embezzlement and misapplication of the publick treasure, under her Majesty's administration. And is as follows:

	£	s.	d.
First, Their lordships were pleased to observe, that in three years time the navy had exceeded its charge allowed by parliament, the sum of	366032	17	2
Secondly, That the officers had issued, for the use of the navy, short of the sum allowed to that service, the sum of.....	1142361	2	4
Thirdly, The debt of the navy in two years has increased to the sum of.....	1250097	14	1
Fourthly, There wanted of the complement of men, which was then allowed for the sea service, 1566 persons			
Fifthly, There were the last year ten flags in pay of the navy; and three were not in their posts, viz. The H—— Churchill, esq. Graydon, and Sir James Wisheart.			
Sixthly, The pensions of the navy since the year 1697 are increased; that the estimate for 1705 comes to	18011	0	0
Seventhly, That Sir John M——n (whom her Majesty was pleased to turn out for not doing his duty) has a pension of.....	319	17	6
Eighthly, The pension of Admiral N—l's widow, which is set down continued, has not been paid her these two years last past.			
Ninthly, The Prince of Denmark's council to him as Lord High Admiral, are allowed per annum	7000	0	0

	£	s.	d.
And yet there is paid but 1000l. per annum to each council, and in the years 1702 1703 1704 There were but			4 5 6
Tenthly, The H—— Churchill, esquire's, appointments for the navy, are, first council to the prince per annum	1000	0	0
Secondly, A pension to him per annum	0500	0	0
Thirdly, As Admiral of the Blue, per annum	1277	0	0
Fourthly, For his table money per annum	0365	0	0
Tot.	3142	0	0

And lastly, Though by parliament there are allowed forty-three cruisers and convoys for our merchant men, there have not been employed at any time twenty two, and they have not done the duty of three ships for the protection of our trade. All which obstructions they have humbly laid before the queen, and do rest assured that her Majesty, in her great wisdom, and tender concern for the happiness of her subjects, will dispose herself to apply the proper remedies. And they humbly beseech her to give commands that all possible methods may be taken for the encouragement of seamen, the guarding of the coasts, and the protection of trade.

Now you may perceive, Sir, that here is a mighty embezzlement and misapplication among the navy to a considerable sum, as you may perceive in the aforesaid articles; and would not one believe that their lordships were concerned at this matter in good earnest; and that they had nothing more at heart than the preservation of the merchants trade, they so sensibly complain for want of due protection? But, alas! Sir, this is nothing but a mere pretence, as I shall prove to you anon. But I must beg your patience till I have let you into a commoner of England's observations thereon, by way of reply to each particular, as he then wrote from Braintree, Feb. 19, 1705, to a certain member of parliament, and printed the same year.

First, then, says he, their lordships observe, That, in three years time, the navy has exceeded its charge allowed by parliament, the sum of 366032 17 2

This, at first view, he says, was a very heavy charge on the government; but, with humble submission, it is presumed their l——ps are not all bred accomptants, and therefore not so much blameable as some are. I confess it startled me, at this time of day, to see so good, so mild, and so gentle a government, charged with such an inconsiderable sum, not worth mentioning, considering the length of time, viz. three years. We cannot forget the miscarriages of a late reign so soon, when some of the l——ds of a c—— were impeached for the embezzlement of the kingdom's treasure. Let them but look back, and they will find twice as much exceeded in the same service for the same time.

When E— R——ll, esq; (now L— O——d) was treasurer and paymaster of the navy, there was then actually received out of the Exchequer for that service, from Michaelmas 1691, to Michaelmas, 1694, viz. three years time, the sum of 6170359 10 3¾

The estimate, allowed by parliament for the navy, amounts for the same time but to 5400000 00 0

So that the charge of the navy did exceed, what was designed by parliament, the sum of 770359 10 3¾

And then no complaint was made of it; yet our three years inconsiderable sum, viz. 366032 17 2

is a monstrous charge now: Yet theirs exceeds this by 404325 13 1¾

What would not the saints have said! if such a sum as this had fell upon the party the L———ds are now accusing.

Secondly, That the admiralty have issued short of the sum, allotted by parliament for that service, the sum of 1142361 2 4

But their L——ps wisely observe, That the navy accounts make the sum, received by the treasurer of * 6193094 15 0
the navy, between Michaelmas 1701, to Michaelmas 1704, to amount to the sum of 5420700 11 1

Which, if subtracted from the provisions intended by parliament *, which I have placed above the last sum; and then it will come to but 772394 3 11

So that their L—ps have over-charged the admiralty in this article, by the sum of 369966 18 5

Proof 1142361 2 4

Now, Sir, if the sum of 366033 17 2

Be added with the sum of provisions, ... 772394 3 11

Intended by parliament for the navy's use, then the sum will be 1138428 1 1

Which is all their L———ps can pretend to charge the treasurers of the navy with; and we hope their honours think it in safe hands, so long as Sir T——— L——— is of ability to make it good; if not, pray let them speak.

But their L———ps not speaking shewed they thought him to be of ability; but now it seems he is dead, and indebted to the navy, the nation will find whether he was of ability or not.

Thirdly, It appears at Michaelmas 1704, the debt of the navy to be 2266864 17 10

And the navy debt, at Michaelmas 1702, came but to 1016767 3 9

So that it has increased in two years time 1250097 14 1

And well it may, for it appears by the treasury books, that the sums, given by parliament, have fallen short; and, by the extraordinary expences of the war, viz. the taking of Gibraltar, and beating of the French fleet, must needs increase the debt considerably, as the treasury books observe, to the sum of .. 1194249 16 5

And, if any complaint ought to be made, it was on the government's side, and not on their L——ps, as if a mismanagement; but those L—— of the C——, I presume, knew which way they crept into fair estates, by fingering the publick treasure of the nation; and now would make all persons as guilty, &c. that they might come off the easier.

To the 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, and 10th articles, if there be any mismanagement or embezzlement in them, they are so inconsiderable, not worth taking notice of, and especially by the H—— of P——.

Allow the three flag-officers pay and table come to, per annum, £4927 10. for three years comes to	14781	10	0
We will allow a misapplication of the navy's pensions to amount for three years (though in truth it is not so) to	3000	00	0
And the P— Council for three years have embezzled the sum of.....	6000	00	0
Now what a mighty sum is this, viz	23681	10	0

for three years time to complain of? Says he, Sir, this is but a flea-bite to what I shall demonstrate to you.

You cannot forget, Sir, that a Lord C—— was impeached, not long since, for a considerable sum of money he had; yet he was not contented with his place that brought him 4000l. per annum but the late King William allowed him, besides, a pension of 4000l. per annum more: And yet he procured to himself the grants of several manors, fee-farm-rents, quit-rents, &c. to the value of 33600 00 0

So that this person has exceeded all their embezzlements, viz.	23681	10	0
By the sum of	9918	10	0

But give me leave to sum up their L—ps whole charge, as well as the embezzlements, &c. against those persons, and you will find they appear not so great a charge as made.

First then, as for the debt of the navy of ..... I will leave it as I found it, to be made good by parliament.	2266864	17	2
Secondly, As for what the navy has exceeded its charge by act of parliament, viz. ..... I will make it a charge as money overpaid for the use of the navy, above the sum allowed by parliament.	0366032	17	2
Thirdly, As for what the navy has issued short of the sum allotted by parliament, I have sufficient warrant to charge it	0672394	03	11
Fourthly, The unnecessary pay of three flag officers I will charge; which comes to.....	0014781	10	00
Fifthly, A supposed misapplication of the pensions for three years, which comes to	0003000	00	00
And, lastly, An embezzlement of three years money, for the prince's council, comes to.....	0006000	00	00
So that the whole cash in hands, the misapplications and embezzlements for three years time, comes to but.....	1062211	11	01

To which may be answered: First, as their L————ps do find, by the navy accounts, the money, exceeded, did amount, in three years time, to a considerable sum: Yet they do not say, it was not applied to that use; therefore I presume, I have good warrant to discharge the navy of that sum as paid; which is 0366032 17 02

Secondly, The three flag officers are paid the sum of 0014701 10 00

And, lastly, the pensions are paid, viz. 3000 00 00

Total 0383734 07 02

Therefore, all that as can be pretended to be in hands, misapplied or embezzled, for three years time, is but..... 678397 03 11

And, whether this mighty sum be not issued to the yards and victuallers, is the question; and those ministers best know whether it be so or no, for I shall not justify them in it: But what I have to offer may mollify this great offence.

Sir, I cannot but remind you; and give me leave to shew what considerable charges and embezzlements there were brought on the nation in so small a time as five years.

The Lord R—— hath actually received out of the exchequer, for the army from Michaelmas 1691, to Michaelmas 1696 (not computing the pay for the army in Ireland) the sum of..... 9256911 13 4¾

The estimate, allowed by parliament for the army, came at the same time but to 6500000 00 00

So that the army has been over-paid by 2756911 13 4¾

E—— R——, esq. now L—— O———, hath received out of the exchequer, for the pay of the navy for the same time 9108833 10 02

The treasurer of the ordnance, for sea and land service, hath received, for the same time, the sum of 1543826 05 9¾

Total of both 10652659 15 11¾

Now, the estimate of the navy, yards, ordnance, and victuallers, for the same time, comes to but 9000000 00 00

So that the navy and ordnance, &c. have been over-paid..... 1652659 15 11¾

There has been actually received out of the exchequer for the civil list, for the same time, the sum of 3455302 00 00

The estimate of the civil list comes for the said time but to 3000000 00 00

So that the civil list has been overpaid by 455302 08 00

Upon these heads, there has been over-paid as follows.

To the army 2756911 13 4¾

Navy and ordnance, &c..... 1652659 15 11¾

To the civil list..... 0455302 08 00

Total 4864873 17 4½

	£.	s.	d.
And yet the debt of the army, navy, ordnances, &c. and the civil list, amounted to that time to the sum of	6000000	00	00
So that in five years, there was actually embezzled or misapplied	10864373	17	4½

Now, Sir, how much was paid to the army, navy, &c. short of these proportions allowed by parliament, will also be worth the inquiry of your honourable house.

But to their L——ps last observation: They say, that forty-three cruisers and convoys are allowed by parliament to protect our merchants from the enemy (do they mean abroad or at home?) And that not twenty-two have been employed at any time; nor have they done the duty of three cruising ships, which they think is a great hardship on the subject, and endangers their trade; and beseech her Majesty, that all possible methods may be taken for the encouragement of seamen, the guarding of the coast, and the protection of trade.

Certainly, their L———ps think this nation has a very treacherous memory, to forget so soon the complaint your H—— H—— of C—— made to their L- - ps upon this very subject.

Let them remember, that one article of their impeachment against A-— R—— was this: That, when several complaints were made by the old East-India company to the lords of the admiralty (his lordship being chief C———) of divers piracies in the south seas, to the destruction of their trade, that he rejected their request, and procured a C——— for Captain K———d, who went a P——; and that the said C—— commanded Captain S—— to deliver several able seamen out of the D—— (when the nation was threatened with an invasion from France) to Captain K——d, and they went a p——ing.

Secondly, That the L—— ds S——— and B——nt, &c. got a grant under the G—— S——, in 97, to have all the ships, &c. goods, treasures, &c. taken since April 30, 1696, by P——cy without account.

And that said L——— S——— put the Great S—— unto a Treaty with F——, whereby great dominions were given that King, to the prejudice of the merchants trade in general.

But I am very glad their L——ps begin to be so vigilant in national miscarriages; for, with humble submission, I think it is high time they were all redressed. I am sure, your Honourable House has been many years labouring hard to bring it to pass, and have been as often prevented therein, by their L——ps not being at leisure, or, at least, not in a humour to do it; which refusal, your Honourable House, not long since, voted to be a denial of j—— (in their Lordships) to the common cause, and an hindrance to the publick benefit of this kingdom in general. And, since they have publickly begun to address her Majesty, that this publick grievance may be redressed, though very inconsiderable, yet, if not nipped in the blossom, who knows what an heighth it may at last come to? I think now time offers to redress them all; and once your H——— H——— desired such an opportunity; and you cannot do less, for your country's service, than vigorously, and with all diligence, to prosecute this affair, and to go hand in hand with their L———ps, to accomplish it. For, as I am an high church-man, Sir, I am not for having the government imposed on, nor

the nation's treasure embezzled, or profusely spent in needless pensions, &c. by any manner of persons, either high-church, low, or no-church. And whoever is catched in the transgression, and spared by one side or the other, can be no good subject, nor an hearty lover of her Majesty's government.

It mightily rejoices me to see their L——ps eyes begin to be opened, and thatthey can spy faults and mismanagements in government, as well as other persons; though I must confess, there is no government so infallible, but may err in some matters; which errors are very visible in the late reign, as well as in this. And, since it so often happens, it may be convenient to remind their L——ps of your late impeachments, that all offenders and embezzlers of the publick treasure may be brought to a strict account. This is what you always aimed at for the nation's service, and have always continued so to do by your constant addressing her Majesty; and, since I have made it so visible in four heads, that upwards of ten millions of money have been embezzled in five years time, it is to be hoped their L——ps will be pleased to condescend, that the late ministers of state be brought to an account, as well as the present.

I hope, by this time, their L————ps are thoroughly convinced in their judgments, that it is high time they were brought to an account; which, if done, I am sure, would be of great service to the nation, and would deserve the publick thanks of the kingdom. This would encourage the nation and seamen chearfully to go on in the common cause, the one with their purses, and the other with their lives; but, if their L————ps will contentedly sit down, only with the accusation of the navy, of a Churchill, a Greydon, or a Munden, for so considerable a sum (which all their Lordships can pretend to charge is not an embezzlement) of £678,397 3s 11d will look only like a party quarrel, and shew they take delight in exposing their small mismanagement, when they meekly suffer an O——, a R——, a S——, &c. to go away unpunished, with upwards of thirty millions of the kingdom's money unaccounted for. This, I hope, their L——ps will take care to avoid, like English patriots, and not suffer the government of the nation to be miserably oppressed and beggared.

It cannot enter into my thoughts, but their L——ps will do all things for the good of the nation in general; yet I am somewhat surprised to see their address to the Q—— printed by their authority. I cannot tell what to make of it, it looks so much like the Observator's appealing to the people, designing to expose the smallest miscarriages in government on one side, and let the greatest embezzlements on the other go free. But their L——ps have mightily missed their ends in it, if they intend so; for the address is so seasonably come out, that it will very much open the eyes of the nation; and, if the grievances be not redressed on all sides, it will look like a party address, dissenting from the kingdom's true interest, and so they may become the odium of the nation. But let us hope for better things from their H————s.

Another thing to me seems very odd, and looks just like the stranger and satyr in the fable, that blew both hot and cold in a breath; or, what can be the meaning of settling a grateful reward on his grace the Duke

of Marlborough, for his eminent service done to the publick in general: and yet, at the same time, to repine at his brother Churchill's inconsiderable per annumof £3142. 10s. which their L——ps have caused to be printed at large, in their A———ss to her Majesty? One would think, that what his grace had done might have easily swallowed so small a trifle as his staying at home, without their L———s publick notice thereof. If the nation's grievances are heartily designed to be redressed, I think it would be very convenient their L———ps should join with your honourable house, to call all evil ministers of state to a speedy account.

Secondly, In the next place, to secure the government, and the church of England, as by law established, and not suffer them to be insulted and bullied by the Whiggish enemies of state, both at home and abroad. And,

Lastly, To secure to our merchants their trade; and this, in some measure, will enable you to secure the whole state.

But, if we must tumble into faction, and only accuse one party because the least transgressors, and let the other go free, because the greatest offenders, it is just like Alexander's pirate, that was condemned to be hanged for robbing in a small vessel, whilst he himself, with his great fleets, triumphed in spoiling and ruining of the greatest of kingdoms.

To conclude: I must be bold to say, had the first transgressors been severely punished, when catched in the offence, it would have deterred others from doing the like mischiefs; and all mismanagements and losses, that have since happened to this kingdom, are owing to that H—— of P———, that refused, upon your complaint, to do the nation common J———, when so often importuned thereto by your honourable house.

I am, Sir,

Braintree, Feb. 19, 1705.

Your most devoted servant,

W. L.

And thus I have led you, step by step, through all this commoner of England's observations thereon; and I think he has handled the ministry to purpose.

But, perchance, you may desire to know what effect these observations wrought on their L———ps at that time? Even none at all; for the design, it seems, lay here: 'As soon as this address had brought over the court interest to their party, all matters of complaint were laid aside, and the ministry were as brisk at their old sport of embezzlements and misapplications, as ever, and so would have gone on to the end of the chapter.' Had not some true old English heroes opened the eyes of her Majesty, the whole kingdom had been sunk into an eternal ruin, without redemption; and that occasioned the queen to change the low-church ministry; and this brought to our assistance our deliverers from this slavery, our present new parliament, and occasioned that excellent speech from the throne, at the opening of this session, where her Majesty (though sensibly) complains of the heavy debts of the navy and other offices.

And now, Sir, what if I should let you into some other new embezzlements and misapplications, which I may truly say were occasioned by their l——ps, for want of their seasonable and annual addressing of the Queen.

For, if fame speaks truth, it is reported, that Sir T——— L ———n, T———r of the N—vy, has died indebted to the sailors three years wages. If so, according to the estimate of the navy, it amounts to about 5400000 00 00

which is one article, without doubt, your honourable house is to make good.

And a certain late L—d T———r, they say, has embezzled or misapplied the sum of 2500000 00 00

which embezzlements are grown a new debt on the several offices complained of.

The total of both comes to 7900000 00 00

And for the year ensuing you are to provide no less than 6000000 00 00

To carry on the war against France and Spain, in all 13000000 00 00

a pretty little inconsiderable sum. These you are to raise, and make good as desired. And whether with these sponges, as De Foe says, you will be pleased to wipe out the scores and debts of the nation the low-church ministry have contracted, I think will be very much worth your while to try the experiment of.

It would not be amiss to squeese these low-church sponges heartily, till they drop again to purpose; and, who knows but you may get out of them ten years embezzlements (rather than part with the whole ill-gotten sum for twenty years last past) which comes to about 15875893 17 4½

So that you will clear the nation from the debt of the late L—d T———r, and Sir Th——s L——— n, the T———r of the N—vy, and have in their pockets clear, to begin the next year's war with the sum of 1975893 17 4½

But here lies the greatest difficulty. In whose hands will your honourable house intrust the remaining money, and all that you shall raise for the future, since it is so apparent how difficult it is to bring such ministers of state to account for their embezzlements and mismanagements of the kingdom's publick treasure? This is a matter will require your whole thoughts. For, if that can be but effected to your liking, content, and satisfaction, it will for ever make the queen easy, the funds well looked after, the seamen and the army well paid. And this will be the means to restore the lost credit, which evil ministers of state have been long hammering at to ruin, or at least to bring it to such a low ebb on the government's side, that the said ministry might have new-modelled any scheme of government they had most inclination to, having so often all the publick cash of the nation in their hands, and that they set up the bank with most feloniously, for that end and purpose.

In my humble opinion (not that I am going to direct) it were not amiss, if your honourable house would not suffer one single minister,

or officer of state, to have of the publick money so raised to carry on the war against France and Spain, above fifty thousand pounds a man, and good security given, that he should no ways embezzle or mis-employ the said money, but solely pay it to that publick end it was raised for. But to trust one man with one, two, or three millions at a time, is a temptation to cheat the publick, at least one quarter part of it, if not of the whole sum: And, when you come to look into the man's estate, he has none; or otherwise made it away, on purpose to become a cheat to the nation.

But you may, perchance, object, and say that you cannot find any minister that can give such security; or, if he could, he ought not to do it, for it is an infringement of her Majesty's prerogative; for it is fit and convenient, that, as she is entrusted with all the monies so raised, it is her sole right to appoint such ministers or officers as she can confide in with the said money.

To which I answer, It customarily has been so; but it is also too visible, for upwards of twenty years last past, that all, that have been intrusted with the publick treasure, have made it their business to fleece the government of the publick treasure, to embezzle and misapply the same; and, how hard and difficult it has been to bring such ministers to account, the whole kingdom is very sensible of, and, sure, it is but reasonable to secure the publick treasure at all times; and, if the House of Commons do not put a stop to this great evil, the nation will be utterly beggared at last. And there can be no other expedient found out, that can preserve the credit of the kingdom, but by appointing commissioners of their own, viz, gentlemen of known estates, and to intrust them with fifty thousand pounds a man, and no more, they giving security not to embezzle, or misapply the same; and, if they do, their estates and security to make it good. And, certainly, it is impossible, that any one of these persons should miscarry, in their discharge of the trust reposed in them by the honourable the House of Commons.

But I very much wonder, at this time of day, why the low-church party should stand so tightly for the Queen's prerogative, by saying, That such an expedient, if found out, with be an infringement of the same. Time was, that none were more violent against the prerogative of the crown, than these very people; and now, in a trice, they are highly defending the prerogative. This, at first sight, looks mysterious, but I will unriddle this matter in a trice.

It seems, the prerogative, they stand so tightly for, is to screen themselves, and that they might not be put out of that sweet and old arbitrary way of cheating the soldiers and the navy, and fleecing the kingdom of those few trifling millions, not worth the parliament's taking notice of, which they had only gotten by cunning oversights, and negligences in accounts, by such as, perchance, at first were not able to check them. This makes them stand so violently for the prerogative of the crown, which by no means, they say, ought to be lessened; and it is what her majesty will never consent to.

Now give me leave a little. I think they talk for the Queen, but would act for themselves. Their business is only to dive dexterously, and to take care that no other sharpers should come at the pocket of the

nation but themselves. They have often found it full, and have as often left it empty; yet still they are struggling to continue in their old game, and now are cursed mad that any but themselves should be in the government, and are preparing gibbets for Mordecai. And what do not such ministers deserve, that deprive the queen of the service of the pick-pockets and sharpers of the nation?

These pretended friends to the government have indeed stuck fast to it, but it was like leeches, sucking almost the very heart's blood of the nation; but a little salt from the hands of the parliament will soon shew what it was they adhered so close to the government for.

Are we not almost driven to the very brink of destruction? Our treasures are riotously wasted; our constitution in danger of being subverted; and the nation almost in general corrupted. And all this under a colour of a false pretended zeal for her Majesty's person and government; when some men have arrived to such a height of favour in court, and such a degree of popularity in the city, that they have at last took upon them, with an audacious front, to direct the very monarchy.

They have been able, for many years past, to brand all those who took any care of our constitution, or offered to require any good husbandry in the disposition of the publick treasures, with odious unpopular names, and almost to stir up the mob against them. Thus, had they succeeded, the old English constitution had expired. And since the majority of the nation have, by their choice, sent us up such worthy patriots, it is to be hoped they will effectually take care of the monarchy, the church and state, and set the kingdom out of debt, and see that the army and the navy are well paid; and keep out, for the future, such ravening and devouring wolves, that have brought the credit of the nation to so low an ebb by their misapplications and embezzlements of the kingdom's treasure.

Is it not a strange and wonderful thing, that, while the nation is almost bankrupt, wealthy men should shoot up in several offices, like mushrooms; and, while the government was endangered to be beggared, that all its servants should riot in such wealth and plenty, that the bare handling of a brush in any office was the ready way to a plentiful fortune; as if the publick treasure had been thrown in there only for the officers to brush it into their pockets? These abuses call loudly for reformation; and our representatives, no doubt, will do their utmost endeavour to amend the same.

And, since some people may question to what ends and purposes members of parliament are elected by the people to represent them, I shall presume to give them these following instructions.

The business, therefore, of a House of Commons is, to represent the whole commonalty of England; that is, they are to do all such things, and exercise all such powers for the welfare and safety of the publick, which the whole common people would be supposed to do and exercise, could they meet together to counsel and debate orderly and quietly, and deliberate maturely, for their own common good and safety.

They are to appoint all publick disbursements, the quantity, time, and manner of their payments; the uses to which they are to be dis-

posed, and, if they please, the officers through whose hands it shall pass. If so, now is the time then to appoint such officers of your own, and not suffer the nation any more to be cheated by upstarts, and such as have no visible estates to come at, when they embezzle the kingdom's treasure, as such have done for twenty years last past, without any publick remedy. This requires your publick amendment; for the war has left us very low in purse, the credit of the nation almost eclipsed by the late ministry, our funds anticipated and deficient; and, to compleat all, has left us a new debt of several millions. These considerations will oblige you certainly to prevent the like grand miscarriages for the future, by appointing, as we hope you will, such gentlemen of estates as may give sufficient security to perform that important trust, which will be so very necessary for the kingdom's preservation, and benefit in general.

Secondly, They are to enquire how such sums have been applied; and, if they find any misapplication, to bring the offenders to punishment. And this is a second reason why you ought to appoint officers of your own. For have not your Honourable House endeavoured, for twenty years last past, to bring such evil ministers to account, and how often have been prevented by cunning stratagems and delays of some great persons, whose interest appeared too great for you to cope with in another place.

Thirdly, They are to advise with, and assist the other two sovereign estates in all arduous affairs, especially in making and contriving good laws for the security of our religion, liberties, and properties, of which at this time we stand in great need; for our occasional conformists, if not well looked after, will swallow up our government by this cunning hypocrisy, which is a villainous artifice, on purpose to bring in ruin to the church and state.

Fourthly, They are to revive such good laws as are antiquated, and to repeal them, if the reasons be ceased, and the laws themselves of no longer use and benefit to the publick. And,

Lastly, they are to protect and preserve intire the rights and privileges of the whole people, whom they represent as a third estate of the kingdom. And this loudly calls to you for amendment. What insolencies and affronts have been offered our church and state by those tender-conscienced people, our moderate dissenters? How often have they been for roasting, gutting, dewitting, mobbing, hanging, drawing, and quartering one poor priest of the church of England, because he preached up passive obedience, a doctrine of the church; which it seems did a little too much grate upon the scrupulous consciences of our tender brethren, the most religious dissenters?

I say, this brought on all those affronts and insolencies which our holy church and constitution met with in a late famous trial, of ever-glorious memory, in which her Majesty did not escape their vile tongues in their imperious and rebellious language. This also highly calls for your amendment, that it may never more be in the power of such persons to be so monstrously rude and uncivil as heretofore.

Now, if such offenders are not corrected according to their merits, the Lord have mercy on the nation; for the government, both in church

and state, are in a very dangerous condition, and will not be long before they are brought to destruction; which God of his infinite mercy prevent.

A parallel account of the national expences, from November 3, 1640, to November 1659; and from November 5, 1688, to Michaelmas 1700.

The Long Parliament's Account.

	£	s.	d.
SUBSIDIES, six come to	600000	0	0
Assessments to disband the Scotch and English armies	800000	0	0
Tonnage and poundage, nineteen years	5700000	0	0
Captives, nine years	27000	0	0
Ditto, five years	75000	0	0
Sail of Irish lands	1200000	0	0
Second sail	92500	0	0
Third sail	30000	0	0
Contribution for Irish Protestants	100000	0	0
Second contribution	50000	0	0
Third contribution	30000	0	0
Assessments through England for the British army in Ireland, for five years	1200000	0	0
Twentieth parts of goods, &c. to raise an army for the Earl of Essex, for the defence of England	2745055	0	0
Ditto, second time	2745055	0	0
Weekly assessments towards payment of the said army, three years	5617583	8	0
Weekly meal to raise auxiliaries, six years	608400	0	0
Monthly assessments towards payments of the said army, two years	488064	0	0
Sir William's Waller's army weekly assessment, one year	84258	5	0
The Scots army's weekly assessment, two years	168000	0	0
Brown's army's weekly assessment, one year	38400	0	0
Fairfax's army's monthly assessment at £36366. three years	1127726	4	0
Ditto, at £60000. per month, for two years	1620000	0	0
Ditto, at £90000. per month, for one year, &c.	1890000	0	0

Forces raised on particular Counties, &c.

	£	s.	d.
Exon, for five years, comes to	12000	0	0
Hertford one year, then associated	4800	0	0
Isle of Wight, four years	1900	0	0
Total	27055741	17	0

	£	s.	d.
Brought over	27055741	17	0
Warwick, &c. associated, five years	133650	0	0
Plymouth, four years	28800	0	0
Yarmouth, four years	19200	0	0
Aylsbury, five years	1000	0	0
Buckingham, four years	76800	0	0
Eastern association, five years	1234962	10	0
Dorset and Poole, two years, and then associated	24750	0	0
Kent, &c. associated, five years	270000	0	0
North Wales, &c. five years	38652	0	0
Northton, five years	119200	0	0
Huntington, two years, and then associated	13200	0	0
Southton, four years	115200	0	0
Newport-Pagnel, one year, then associated	49000	0	0
London, &c. five years	5600	0	0
Hull, five years	46600	0	0
Chester, county and city, one year, then associated	6944	0	0
Gloucester, county and city, three years	163400	0	0
Pembroke, &c. associated, three years	20090	0	0
Salop, three years	57000	0	0
Leicester, three years	86400	0	0
Wilts and Malmsbury, one year, then associated	2900	0	0
Western association, four years	509160	0	0
Worcester, &c. three years	51597	12	0
Middlesex, three years	108000	0	0
London, to set up posts and chains	96000	0	0
Lincoln, three years	117600	0	0
Derby, three years	48000	0	0
Northern association, three years	433831	14	0
Rutland, three years	29000	0	0
Surry, three years	44000	0	0
Newark, to be reduced, cost	9916	12	0
Lancaster, two years	72000	0	0
Newport, two years	89904	0	0
County of London to assess for horses and arms	10000	6	0
Provision for maimed soldiers	18180	0	0
Excise for seventeen years	10200000	0	0
Duty on coals, seventeen years	850000	0	0
Duty on currants, seventeen years	51000	0	0

Sequestrations of Delinquents Estates, viz.

Bishops lands, four years	884089	16	7
Deans and chapters land, four years	564740	18	6
Inferior clergy's lands, four years	2077802	1	3
Total	45833853	7	4

	£	s.	d.
Brought over	45833853	7	4
Temporal estates, four years	280000	0	0
Crown lands, four years	280000	0	0
Composition for court of wards, four years	400000	0	0
Deans forest, four years	16000	0	0
Fee-farm rents, four years	1054392	0	0
Tenths of the clergy, four years	400080	0	8
Prince of Wales's income	80000	0	0
Timber for the navy out of delinquents woods	7760	0	0
Postage of letters, fourteen years	301000	0	0
Wine licence, fourteen years	312200	0	0
Composition for court of wards, ten years	1000000	0	0
Income of offices for publick service, fifteen years	850000	0	0
Vintners delinquency	4000	0	0
Compounding with delinquents for their estates	1277226	0	0
Disbanding the army	900000	0	0
Militia of England kept up, thirteen years	3120000	0	0
Oliver's expedition to Ireland	150000	0	0

Sale of Lands, viz.

Bishops lands, at ten years	2420224	11	6½
Deans and chapters lands, ten years	1411852	6	8
Rectory and Glebe lands, twelve years	6203586	3	9
Crown lands, thirteen years	9152000	0	0
Prince of Wales's lands, thirteen years	260000	0	0
Fee-farm rents, eight years	1908784	0	0
New-river water, eight years	8000	0	0
Tenths of the clergy, eight years	1200240	2	0
Lord Craven and other estates, at thirteen years	700000	0	0
Gifford and other estates, at thirteen years	900000	0	0
Sir John Stawell and others, five years	560000	0	0
Forest lands, thirteen years	56000	0	0
Houses and castles of the Kings	600000	0	0
John and William, Peter, and divers others, viz. one hundred seventy-one persons, their estates to pay Prince Palatine of the Rhine £5000. in arrear, and £8000. per ann	85000	0	0
Oliver made Captain General of Fairfax's forces, and the assessment for the armies of England, Scotland, and Ireland, £90000. per month for two years	2160000	0	0
Assessments of £120000. per month for the said army and navy, one year	1440000	0	0
Drums and colours £90000. per ann. for ten years	900000	0	0
Irish delinquents to compound for two years rents	1000000	0	0
Total	87232198	11	11½

	£	s.	d.
Brought over	87232198	11	11½
Oliver voted Protector, and he assessed for the army £120000. and £90000. for three months	630000	0	0
Agreed £60000. per month be the pay of the army for six years	4320000	0	0
To defray the charges of justice £200000. per ann. six years	1200000	0	0
Free gifts to the saints in money	679800	0	0
In places (excluding the army and navy) per ann. seven years	306110	0	0
In estates per ann. for eleven years	189365	0	0
Besides, the House of Commons voted each of their members £4. per week, and count but 256 members, and no more, for fourteen years	745472	0	0
Total	95302945	11	11½

A general abstract of Money raised in England by the Long-Parliament, from November 3, 1640, to November 1659.

Subsidies	600000	0	0
The armies	32780721	13	0
Tonnage and poundage	5700000	0	0
Captives	102000	0	0
Sale of Irish lands	1322500	0	0
Contributions for Irish protestants	180000	0	0
Forces for defence of particular countics	4141088	8	0
Excises	10200000	0	0
Duty on coals	850000	0	0
Ditto on currants	51000	0	0
Sequestrations of estates	6044924	17	0
Postage of letters	301000	0	0
Wine licences	312200	0	0
Composition for court of Wards	1000000	0	0
Offices to publick service	850000	0	0
Vintners delinquency	4000	0	0
Compositions for estates	1277226	0	0
Sale of English lands	25380687	3	11½
Settled out of gentlemen's estates to pay Prince Palatine	85000	0	0
Compound with Irish delinquents	1000000	0	0
Charge of Justice, six years	1200000	0	0
To the House of Commons, 14 years, comes to	745472	0	0
Free gifts to the saints, viz. in money	679800	0	0
in offices	306110	0	0
in estates, per ann.	189365	0	0
Total	95303095	13	11½

A general abstract of the receipts and issues of the publick revenues, taxes, and loans, that have been granted to the late King William, from November 5, 1688, to Michaelmas 1700.

	The Receipts.	£.	s.	d.	q.
Received on	Customs	10997955	6	3	½
	Excise	12105151	19	7	0
	Hearth and letter money, &c.	1769653	1	4	⅔
	Land-tax	17520100	14	5	0
	Poll-tax	2527983	12	9	0
	Promiscuous taxes	7170903	17	9	½
	Divers receipts	466999	1	4	¾
	State of loans	1334860	5	10	¼
	Remained Nov. 5, 88, with which the treasury began	80138	18	3	0
	Total	65987566	17	8	0

	The issues.	£	s.	d.	q.
Issued	To the treasurer of the navy, viz. Lord Faulkland, in King James's time	198068	0	1	0
	To Admiral R——ll in K. W——'s time, treasurer of the navy	16940497	1	10	¼
	To Sir Tho. L———n, treasurer of the navy	818659	5	10	¼
	Total to the navy	17957224	7	9	½
	To the army Lord Ranelagh	21239723	6	11	½
	To the ordnance	2889001	1	6	⅔
	To the civil list	7882391	10	2	⅔
	Divers services	15693555	11	0	0
	Remained at Michaelmas 1700	325671	0	2	0
	Total	65987566	17	8	½

Memorandum. There was issued more than received the sum of two farthings; a very nice account I will assure you.

The total of the Long-Parliament £95303095. 1s. 11½d. Of King William £65987566. 17s. 8d. Of both £161290661. 19s. 7½d. An inconsiderable sum, considering our great deliverance from popery and slavery, and arbitrary government. And yet the saints want to deliver us of as much more, if we please but to be so good-natured as to let them set up a commonwealth.

Editor. The sums in the preceding totals do not exactly answer, but differ from the total very little, in a comparative view, as will be found on the strictest investigation.

On Robert Harley, Esq. being created a peer, see vol. I. p. 1.

KING WILLIAM'S GHOST.

[From a half sheet folio, printed in the year MDCCXI.]

Gentlemen,

THE last time I spoke to you, I told you, you had still one opportunity left, but, if slipped, you should be a miserable people.

I was then near my end, God inspired me, I spoke the decrees of fate.

What successes! What triumphs! have ever since attended your victorious arms! Your resolution to assert your own and Europe's liberties.

But you stand still! A fiend in the likeness of an Imperial eagle dazzles your eyes. In her right pounce the hereditary countries, in her left the dominions of Italy, in her beak Spain and the West Indies.

Be not frighted. Where is her fleet? How remote is she from your shore? Where are her manufactures to supplant yours.

The phantom disappears.

Your lions are, at any time, an overmatch for her disjointed forces.

Your good angel comes forth.

Behold the Gallican cock and her numerous toads *, three hundred thousand veteran soldiers, thirty thousand experienced officers, a mighty fleet, how distant? Seven leagues from your coast.

Tremble!

But no.

Resume your usual courage.

Rush in before Cambray.

The Genius of France sickens.

Push on your bold squadrons, the toads fly!

† Lutetia surrenders.

O blessed day! I have my wishes!

Now pause a little.

Secure the Protestant interest.

Give Austria her due, but recompense her helper.

Let Holland keep all the strong-holds in Flanders, it is your barrier.

Reserve Calais your own.

Restore to Prussia Orange.

Give Portugal Badajox, Gallicia, and Algarve.

To Savoy Briancon, Mount Dauphine, and Fort Barrau.

Erect two bulwarks against France.

Let Anjou ‡ have Navarre, and add to it Guienne.

Lorrain is of the eagle race, his great father was my best friend, give him Luxemburg and Alsace, the three bishopricks Burgundy, Bar, and Champaigne, he will be your friend for ever.

Take for yourselves Panama and Calloa, Havannah, and Porto-Bello.

Burn the toad's fleet, choak Brest and Toulon's ports.

Hang the pretender, he is not of Stuart's blood.

Go home, be happy, rich and glorious.

* Three toads were anciently the arms of France.
† Paris formerly called Lutetia.
‡ Now King of Spain.

A REPRESENTATION

OF

THE PRESENT STATE OF RELIGION,

With Regard to the late excessive Growth of Infidelity, Heresy, and Profaneness: drawn up by the Upper House of Convocation, of the Province of Canterbury, and transmitted to the Lower House for their Approbation.

[Folio, containing five Pages, printed in 1711.]

May it please your Majesty,

WE, the Archbishop, the Bishops, and the Clergy of the province of Canterbury, in Convocation assembled, are deeply sensible of the many blessings and advantages of your gracious and prosperous reign: Amongst which, there is none that more affects us, than the tender care and concern shewn by your Majesty for the flourishing state of religion, and the godly zeal you have expressed against the wickedness of those, who, by loose and profane principles and practices, have endeavoured to undermine and destroy it.

We are thankful to Almighty God, who hath put it into your Royal heart to repress these impious and daring attempts; and, for that end, among others, to order your clergy to be called together, that they might, in synod, humbly offer their counsel and assistance.

It is, on many accounts, our duty, to do the utmost that in us lies, towards promoting so excellent a work. We have, therefore, applied ourselves, with diligence, to consider the matters to us referred; and do now, in obedience to your royal commands, humbly lay before your Majesty,

A Representation of the present State of Religion among us, with regard to the late excessive Growth of Infidelity, Heresy, and Prophaneness.

IT is with the greatest affliction and concern, that we enter upon a work so unpleasant in all respects, were it not for the hopes it gives us of seeing these evils, in some measure, removed; and, therefore, we shall not give your Majesty the uneasiness of a particular relation, either of the blasphemous passages that have been published from the press, or the great impieties that have been committed: But, in discharge of the trust reposed in us, by your Majesty, we think ourselves obliged to lay before you such an account of the progress of infidelity, heresy, and profaneness amongst us, as may let your Majesty see the causes and occasions which have given the greatest rise to them, and the sad consequences with which they are attended.

It is hard to come to the beginning of these great evils, which all times have complained of; and, therefore, to confine our own enquiries, and lessen your Majesty's trouble, as much as we can, we shall look no farther back for the source of them, than that long unnatural Rebellion*, which loosened all the bonds of discipline and order, and overturned the goodly frame of our ecclesiastical and civil constitution.

The hypocrisy, enthusiasm, and variety of wild and monstrous errors which abounded, during those confusions, begat in the minds of many men, too easily carried into extreams, a disregard for the very forms of religion, and proved the occasion of great libertinism, and profaneness, which hath ever since too much prevailed amongst us. The seeds of infidelity and heresy, which were then sown, did soon after appear, and the tares have sprung up in great abundance.

The authority of the present canon of scripture hath been represented, as standing upon a very precarious foundation, and the inspiration of the whole hath been called in question.

The miracles, recorded in scripture, have been disputed and compared to the fabulous relations of those that occur in heathen writers.

All mysteries in religion have been exploded as absurd and useless speculations, and several fundamental articles of our most holy faith have not only been called in question, but rejected.

The Arian and Socinian heresies have been propagated with great boldness; the doctrine of a Trinity of Persons in the Unity of the Godhead, hath been denied and scoffed at; the satisfaction made for the sins of mankind, by the precious blood of Christ, hath been either directly renounced, or very ungratefully lessened; the established creeds of the church have been represented as unwarrantable impositions.

Even at this time, when we are thus met by your Majesty's writ, and exhorted by your gracious letter, to consult of methods for repressing pernicious errors and impieties, a book hath been printed, wherein the Arian doctrine (of which we cannot but declare our utter abhorrence) is avowed and maintained, and the truth of it is threatened to be shewn by large and elaborate proofs, in other treatises from the same hand, which are soon to follow. To this book, the author hath prefixed his name, and hath not been afraid to dedicate it to the Archbishop, Bishops, and Clergy of this province, in Convocation assembled, with invitation to all, to encourage his design by their subscriptions to it, and not without laying the imputation of Antichristianism upon all those who shall not approve it.

The natural immortality of the soul hath, upon different schemes and views, been opposed, as a vulgar error, and the necessity of all human thoughts and actions hath been asserted, to the overturning the foundations of all religion, whether natural or instituted, and to the rendering all notions of good and evil, of rewards and punishments, whether in this life, or the next, groundless and vain.

Others have endeavoured to root out of men's minds all notions of a church, as a society instituted by Christ, with peculiar powers and privileges, and proper officers to administer the word and sacraments;

* Against King Charles the First.

and so to blend and confound the spiritual society with the temporal' as to make every thing in religion, its divine truths, and most sacred ordinances, dependent on the will of the civil magistrate, as deriving solely from him their sanction and authority. Nay, these religious ordinances themselves, even the chief of them, Baptism and the Supper of the Lord, have been spoken of with such a degree of ungodly mockery and scorn, as to fill the hearts of good Christians with horror and astonishment.

The frauds of Pagan and Popish priests have been displayed, in order to represent all priests as imposers upon the credulity of mankind, and draw infamy upon the priesthood in general; and to render the order itself, in what religion soever it was found, equally the object of publick aversion and contempt.

The books, containing the errors and impieties abovementioned, have been the more easily published and dispersed, since the expiration of the Act for restraining the press; and, thro' the greater liberty of printing, which thereon ensued, have the vicious and profane had more opportunities to scatter their papers, for corrupting the manners of men.

Not only several pieces formerly written on the side of infidelity, which might have been forgotten without such a revival, have been collected into volumes, and published again, but mock catechisms, framed in a light manner, have been cried in the streets, to depreciate the excellent summaries of our christian faith, and, as far as possible, to root out of men's minds the sense of those great truths that are contained in them.

This profaneness hath been much increased, by the licentiousness of the stage, where the worst examples have been placed in the best lights, and recommended to imitation; and the various images thus painted to the life, and set out with all manner of advantage, have made such impressions upon the minds of the young and unwary, as are not easy to be effaced: Where the bond of wedlock hath been generally treated as a ridiculous and burdensome yoke, to the great prejudice of society and virtue, and every thing sacred hath been exposed: Where the office of the priesthood hath been made a matter of scorn and reproach; and where, at the opening of a new theatre, the building of churches, was impiously derided, as a vain and useless work, the effect only of superstition and ignorance.

It is indeed for the purpose of the irreligious to discourage the building of churches where they are so much wanted, and where the want of them is, in all appearance, one great occasion of the irreligion of many. For, by this means, vast numbers of souls have, in and about these two populous cities, been excluded from a possibility of attending the publick worship of God, and from all the benefits of christian instruction. And the natural consequence of this hath been a gradual defection from piety and virtue to irreligious ignorance, and all manner of loose and licentious living.

And as the want of churches here, so the want of competent maintenance for the service of many that are in the country, where two or three cures do not often afford enough to support a minister, is, though

not a late, yet a like occasion of profaneness and ignorance there; for, by this means, many parishes have no minister residing among them, and are several Sundays in the year without any service at all; and the ministers, by having so much duty upon them, cannot discharge it as they ought, nor have time for the catechising young persons, which is so necessary a part of christian instruction.

And to the increase of this mischief, both in city and country, have they also contributed, who have taken occasion from the relaxation of those laws which made absence from the established church penal, to withdraw themselves intirely from all religious assemblies, although the very act of exemption, which gave liberty in one respect, equally restrained it in the other.

From these several occasions hath ensued a great neglect of the religious observance of the Lord's Day, too great a part of which is spent, by many, in publick houses, and other diversions, wholly unsuitable to the times, set a-part for the more immediate service of God; tho' we have reason to think, that, through the care of magistrates and others, some reformation hath been made of this matter.

But whatever share any of the causes and occasions abovementioned may have had in that growth of infidelity, heresy, and profaneness amongst us, we cannot but bewail the effect; considering the dishonour it brings on our holy faith, our church, and nation; and the hurt it has done to your Majesty's people, many of whom have been made worse men and worse subjects by the means of it.

It is lamentable to reflect how many souls have been lost by imbibing wicked doctrines from those books which have been scattered for several years through this kingdom; how many more are endangered by too near approaches to infidelity (though they have not as yet actually arrived to it) from a spirit of indifference and neutrality in religion, which hath been infused into their minds by these means.

But what we have further to apprehend from our impieties is, that they have made us obnoxious to the displeasure of Almighty God, who may justly on their account be provoked to visit us with his judgments, by stopping the continued current of success with which he hath hitherto blessed our affairs, and delivering us into the hands of our enemies; by withdrawing the pure light of his gospel from us, and letting in the abomination of popery among us.

For the emissaries from Rome have been all along very watchful to lay hold of these opportunities for the advancement of their cause; to which nothing is so serviceable as scepticism and looseness of life. These, therefore, as well as the errors and divisions amongst us, they have always encouraged to the best of their power, and improved to their own advantage; representing in several books, as well as in their common conversation, the great uncertainty of the christian religion upon protestant principles, and filling men's minds with infinite doubts, the better to make them submit to an infallible guide. They have swarmed in our streets of late years, as they do more particularly at this time, and are very busy in making converts; nor do we doubt but that divers of your Majesty's subjects, either from the scandal taken

at the infidelity, heresy, and profaneness they see, or from sharing the contagion of it, have, by their arts, been perverted.

But, notwithstanding that we have these things to complain of, so much hath been done already toward taking off the causes and effects of these evils, and to prevent the further consequences of them, as to give us great hopes, that, through the blessing of God upon your Majesty's authority and example, and the endeavours of your subjects in their several stations, we shall escape the danger we have so much reason to fear.

For, as books have been published in favour of heresy and downright infidelity; so others have been written from time to time, as occasion required, in defence of the fundamental truths, whether of natural or revealed religion, with great clearness and strength of argument. The vain pleas of the several advocates for infidelity have been particularly considered and refuted, to the silencing, if not the conviction, of some of the principal of them.

A lecture was founded, not many years since, by Mr. Boyle,* in defence of the christian religion against all the adversaries of it; and many excellent and useful sermons have been preached and published upon that occasion.

Societies have been formed for the reformation of manners; funds of charity have been raised for the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts, and of christian knowledge at home, and for the pious education of poor children; great variety of plain and useful discourses have been distributed among the meaner sort for their more easy improvement; and parochial libraries have been set up for the use of ministers in the country, that they might be better provided for the instruction of those committed to their charge.

Authority hath often interposed for the countenancing these excellent designs, and for withstanding the bold attempts that have been made upon our common faith; and, for preventing the increase of irreligion and profaneness, royal injunctions and proclamations have issued, Acts of Parliament have passed, prosecutions at law have been ordered, gracious speeches from the throne have been made, and from thence such bright patterns of piety and virtue have shone forth, as have, no doubt, prevailed upon many, though the influence of them hath not extended so far as might have been expected.

But then the infidelity of some hath been attended with this good consequence in others, that the zeal of devout persons hath thereby been excited to do every thing that in them lay towards resisting and stemming the increase of this great evil; nor have their endeavours been altogether fruitless; our eyes daily see the happy effects of them; divine service and sacraments have of late been oftener celebrated, and better frequented than formerly; the catechising of youth hath been more generally practised, and with greater success; vast sums have been furnished by private contributions to sustain the charge of educating poor children in the pious manner above-mentioned; and many other new and noble institutions of charity have been set on foot.

* To be preached at Bow Church, in Cheapside, London.

Many churches have been repaired and adorned at the expence of the several parishioners and other benefactors; and many chapels opened in the larger parishes, though not sufficient to answer the wants of the inhabitants. Great sums of money have been by publick authority provided and applied for the building, supporting, and adorning other churches; and your Majesty has been graciously pleased, upon our humble address, to recommend to your Parliament to find out means for the building of such as are still wanting; of which from the great satisfaction with which your message was received, and the great progress made upon it, we hope to see the blessed effect; when all, who are religiously disposed, will have the opportunity of giving publick testimony of it, and the careless be left without excuse.

In the mean time, other methods of redressing these mischiefs, may, we humbly conceive, be successfully tried, such as your Majesty's great wisdom and piety, and the foregoing observations, will suggest to you.

We entertain not the least doubt of your Majesty's first resolution to render the laws and proclamations set forth for the suppression of immorality and profaneness useful to that purpose, by an impartial and vigorous execution of them; and to reform the corruptions of the stage, which have been so instrumental in vitiating young and innocent minds, and have given so just offence to all serious and devout christians.

We are intirely persuaded, that your Majesty will, in the most effectual manner, discountenance all such persons as are profligate in their lives, or the known abettors and spreaders of impious opinions; and the repeated assurances which your Majesty, whom God long preserve, hath been pleased to give to your people of your care to transmit the succession of the crown in the protestant line, as established by law, give us great hopes, that our enemies of the Romish communion will, at last, be effectually discouraged from attempting the ruin of that excellent church, of which, under Christ, your Majesty is the chief governor and glorious defender.

From the application of these several means, which, we do not doubt, but your Majesty will use, we promise ourselves very great and durable effects; but that for which we at present in most earnest and most humble manner address ourselves to your Majesty is, that, by your royal interposition, an act may be obtained, for restraining the present excessive and scandalous liberty of printing wicked books at home, and importing the like from abroad; in such manner as to the wisdom of your Majesty and your Parliament shall seem most expedient. For as we take this liberty to have been one chief source and cause of those evils whereof we have spoken, so we question not but the restraint of it would go a great way in the cure of them.

There is another pernicious custom that has very much prevailed amongst us under the false notion of honour, which we beg leave to mention in this place; and that is, the practice of fighting duels, which has so far obtained, that your Majesty hath had many occasions, and some very lately, to see the dismal effects of it.

We do therefore, in all humble duty, beg your Majesty to take the most effectual methods to extinguish those false notions, so contrary to

the laws of God, and so destructive of all society, and to put a stop to this wicked and unchristian practice by such means as your Majesty, in your great wisdom, shall think most proper.

We have also good hope, that all, employed 'in authority under your Majesty,' will, as we pray, 'truly and indifferently minister justice to the punishment of wickedness and vice, and to the maintenance of true religion and virtue;' and wish that some way may be found for the recovery and improvement of christian knowledge and piety in families, which, we fear, is too much neglected.

We likewise hope, that especial care will be taken of the education of young people at the Universities, by providing that tutors make it their business to teach their pupils the principles of the christian religion in the course of their other studies, and endeavour to make them serious in it, with a particular eye to such as are designed for holy orders.

And for ourselves, who are called to this holy function, we beg leave to assure your Majesty, that we will take all possible care of the discharge of our own duty, and do all that in us lies, that the canons of our church may be strictly observed both by ourselves and those committed to our charge.

We have those parts of our discipline which your Majesty hath, in your great goodness, thought fit to recommend to us for farther improvement, under our most serious consideration; and hope, in some measure, to answer the wants of the church, and your Majesty's expectations in referring them to us; as we shall at all times hereafter, as often as your Majesty shall be pleased to require our attendance for these purposes, endeavour to make our synodical meetings subservient to the good order and establishment of this church, the interest and advantage of the christian religion, the satisfaction of your Majesty, and the honour of God.

And our daily and fervent prayer to God shall be, that your Majesty may be the happy instrument of these and many other blessings to this church and state; that you may be as prosperous in your designs against infidelity and vice here at home, as you have been in all your undertakings against the common enemy abroad; and may, by that means, add, what alone is wanting to compleat the glory, and crown the successes of your ever memorable reign.

A PARTICULAR DESCRIPTION

OF THE

FAMOUS TOWN AND CITTADEL OF DUNKIRK,

With all its Fortifications, viz. Rice-bank, Forts, Harbour, Peere, the Bason, the Number of the Ships in the Harbour, and Cannon in each port, as it is now in the possession of the Queen of Great Britain. With a particular Account of the Churches, Cloisters, and Nunneries, their Worship and Ceremonies, and all Things worthy of Observation.

Printed 1712. Quarto, containing Twenty-one Pages.

THE PREFACE.

It was not the author's first intention to have published this to the world, being designed for his own private observation; but the repeated importunities of several of his acquaintance, who had the perusal thereof, have at last prevailed with him to commit it to the press, hoping it will meet with a favourable reception from all who are desirous to know the particulars of that famous place, which hath made so much noise in Europe.

The author is not insensible but it will meet with censure from the captious, and perhaps from the imperfection they may find in not expressing this description in that regularity as the curious may expect. However, what is here related is genuine in every particular, wherein he has studied more of truth, than art or eloquence, and adapted to the comprehension of the weakest capacity; and doubts not but the candid reader will accept of his good intentions, and excuse the omissions that may have escaped in this scrutiny.

AT the entrance into the peere on the right hand next the sea, is a wooden fort, supported with mighty beams and piles drove into the sea. It lies opposite to the other fort, of which I shall make mention hereafter. Here are twenty-four pieces of cannon mounted, whereof six are brass. There are also two very large mortars. There are places for ten pieces of cannon more. It has a communication with the walk on the peere by a gallery. It has a beacon, and in the middle of the fort are the barracks for the soldiers; it is all boarded with prodigious beams of timber, and right against each cannon are placed about forty cannon-balls, besides great numbers upon piles, with great quantities of powder, and a great many carriages for cannon under the piazzas of the barracks. The fort is all raised round above breast-high, where the cannon is, with great pieces of timber; there

are two great gates, and one draw-bridge coming into the fort, which lies a full mile on the peere from the town.

Next to the fort last mentioned, lies the famous Rice Bank, of which I shall be very particular in describing what is worthy of observation. It lies about half-way the peere, and has a communication with the walk on the peere, by a very long gallery, which is railed all along above breast-high: It is supported with great piles drove into the sea. The form of the Rice-bank is round, and is built with stone half-way up, the other half brick: The walls of it are wide enough for a coach, and, where the cannon is planted, are wide enough for six coaches to go a-breast, and the grass as even as a bowling-green. There are mounted twenty-two pieces of cannon, which are prodigious large, and between each two iron cannon is one brass; there are also six large mortars mounted, which are reckoned the largest in the world; there are places for twenty-six pieces of cannon more, and against each cannon are placed about forty cannon balls, besides great numbers upon piles. At the first coming into the Rice-bank is a draw-bridge; then there are four gates at small distances one from the other, all plated over with iron. The entrance into it is but narrow. There is an ascent of fifteen steps into the court-yard, which is very large and spacious, and round it is pitched with stone. In the middle is a very large well of good water, and all round are the barracks for the soldiers, which are built with brick two stories high; there is likewise a noble house for the governor and other officers, and a fine church at one end of the yard is railed in with iron rails; a very prodigious quantity of cannon-ball, and bomb-shells of all sizes, besides the magazines of powder, which are very large. It is incredible to relate the vast magazines of all sorts of warlike stores that are therein. In going up the walls, where the cannon is planted, is an ascent of forty steps, and there are four ways of going up the walls at equal distances. The barracks for the soldiers will contain at least two thousand men. It is all surrounded with the sea, and lies about half a mile from the town; it is impossible to express the strength of it.

Next to the Rice-bank coming into the peere, lies Fort Devett, which lies about a quarter of a mile from the Rice-bank; it has a communication with the walk on the peere, by a long gallery which is railed all along, above breast high, to keep one from falling into the water, supported with great piles drove into the sea. The form of it is triangular, and built with stone half-way up, the other half brick; the walls are wide enough for a coach. At first coming in is a draw-bridge, with two gates at a small distance one from the other. The ascent to the walls where the cannon are planted is twenty steps, and there are mounted ten pieces of iron cannon, and places for twelve more; there are against each cannon above twenty cannon-balls, besides great numbers upon piles. There are barracks for the soldiers; it lies between the cittadel and the Rice-bank, on the right hand, and is all surrounded with the sea, except at low water. At the entrance into the peere, on the left hand next the sea, is a wooden fort, supported with mighty beams and piles drove into the sea; it lies opposite to the other fort. Here are mounted twenty-one pieces of cannon,

whereof six are brass; there are also two very large mortars, and places for twenty pieces of cannon more. It has a communication with the walk on the peere, by a gallery. There is a standard, and in the middle of the fort are the barracks for the soldiers. It is all boarded with prodigious beams of timber, and right against each cannon are placed about thirty or forty cannon-balls ready, as occasion may offer, besides great numbers upon piles, with great quantities of powder, and a great many carriages for cannon under the piazzas of the barracks. The fort is all railed round above breast-high, where the cannon is, with great pieces of timber. There are two gates, and one draw-bridge coming into the fort.

Next to the wooden fort last mentioned, coming into the peere, lies Chateau Gallicere; it lies about half-way the peere, having a communication with the walk on the peere, by a short gallery. It is supported with mighty beams, and piles drove into the sea; it lies near opposite to the Rice-bank. Here are mounted seven pieces of cannon, and there are places for four more. It is all boarded with prodigious beams of timber, and right against each cannon are placed about twenty or thirty cannon-balls. The fort is all railed round above breast high, where the cannon are, with great pieces of timber. There is one gate coming into the fort, and at low water this fort is dry on the sands.

Fort La Bleau lies about half a mile from the wooden fort coming into the peere, on the left hand, in the sea, and is likewise near half a mile from the town. At low water one may go to it on the sands. Going into the fort are twenty-three steps to the first gate, where is a draw-bridge; then there are three gates, then an ascent of twenty-five steps where the cannon is planted, and there are mounted twelve prodigious large iron cannon, and places for seven more. There is a standard and barracks for the soldiers; there are placed about twenty cannon-balls to each cannon, besides great numbers upon piles, with great quantities of powder. The walls are wide enough for a coach; it is built with stone half-way up, the other half brick, the form of it is like a half-moon; at high water it lies near a mile into the sea; in tempestuous weather, notwithstanding the prodigious height of it, the waves beat into it. It is paved all with free-stone.

From the town to the end of the peere's mouth, is a full mile long, which runs into the sea. There are two very fine walks all boarded, the whole length of the peere on each side, and there are prodigious planks of timber and piles drove into the sea, with great iron pins and other iron work, fastened unto the wood, to keep out the sea. The walk is broad enough for two or three to go a-breast, and above half-way it is railed about breast-high, the other half about a quarter of a yard. It must be noted, the outermost walk next the peere, where the ships come in, is railed about breast-high, and is most part of the way so much decayed, that there is no walking; but the other walk is in good repair. The mouth of the peere is wide enough for four or five ships to come in a-breast, and the whole length of the peere the same, and as straight as a line. The peere wants very much repairing, especially the timber work in many places is very much decayed, many great

beams are wanting. There is a vast number of piles drove into the sea, to hinder ships from damaging the peere; and there lie on both sides a great many large ships, and on the ground next the town by the walk lie one hundred and fifty-four iron cannon, which are not mounted, besides a prodigious number of anchors and great quantities of timber.

The cittadel lies on the right hand coming into the town from the peere. At the entrance is a draw-bridge and one gate with a portcullis, or that gate pointed at the end with iron spikes, to drop down with iron chains to keep out the enemy; then there are three gates at a small distance one from the other. At first coming in are four prodigious large barracks for the soldiers, two stories high, two of them a great length, and at the hither end of the two shortest barracks is the cloister, a very noble building. The place about the barracks is very large and spacious, and there is a very large well of extraordinary good water. In going up to the walls is a great ascent, where is planted next the town an English train of artillery of twenty-one pieces of cannon, besides a prodigious number of other cannon; amongst them is one of brass about twelve yards long, reckoned the longest and the largest in the world; all, where the cannon is planted, is undermined, where lie a great many barrels of powder. The cittadel is all surrounded with a prodigious strong high brick wall, and is near two miles in circumference. There are on the walls several places for the centinels, and fine rows of trees where the cannon are planted, and one windmill. There are several magazines of powder, cannon-ball, and bomb-shells, so conveniently situated, that no bombs can any ways affect them; and it is incredible to relate the prodigious quantities of all sorts of warlike stores that are therein; there are likewise a great many tin boats upon carriages. The governor's house is a noble building, and has a fine garden; and the walls are broad enough for four coaches to go a-breast where the cannon are planted.

The bason lies on one side of the park near the cittadel, where are the Protee and the Augustus, two French men of war, and two English men of war, the Blackwall and the Granion (taken this war) and eleven other ships, and three Turkish gallies. The bason is big enough to contain at least twenty-four men of war, the most commodious place that possibly can be in the world. There are on each side the store-houses, which are lately finished, all built with brick, two stories high, very fine buildings. It is incredible to relate the prodigious quantities of warlike stores that are therein relating to shipping, besides a great many anchors of all sizes, which lie on the walk on each side. The bomb-shells and bullets which lie on the walks are incredible. There are next the harbour two great sluices which let in the water as much as they please; this is intirely in the hands of the King of France, where he has soldiers that keep guard, and very few are permitted to go into it.

The park is a place near the bason, where is the magazine of all sorts of provisions for the soldiers of the French King; where the commissary lives, and several other officers belonging to the King of France.

There are lying on the walk next the harbour, near the walls, one hundred and five pieces of cannon belonging to the ships in the har-

bour, which are not mounted, but lie as occasion may serve, besides a great many anchors.

In the harbour and peere of Dunkirk are two hundred and four ships and seven French gallies, most or all of them taken from the English and Dutch, generally large ships. The harbour is the most commodious in the world, being like a half-moon, placed between the town-wall and the cittadel; the walls thereof are so prodigious high, that no winds or weather can any ways affect the ships; and the breadth of the harbour is large enough for four ships to enter a-breast, and depth proportionable at high water. At the end of the harbour lies the bason, being parted by a wooden bridge or gallery, that goes to the cittadel, which I have mentioned.

At coming from the peere into the town is a gate with palisadoes. Then at a small distance is another gate with palisadoes; and at a small distance is a gate with a draw-bridge; and lastly a gate with palisadoes; and near the first gate is Fort-harbour, where may be planted several pieces of cannon. There is a standard prodigious high, and very strong, all built with brick; near it by the walls is the clock-tower, very high, opposite to the cittadel, like the spire of a church, where is a clock and a dial. There are four gates next the harbour, with a draw-bridge to each, with a portcullis, or green gate, pointed at the end with iron spikes to drop down with iron chains; and there are in the walls of the town, next the harbour, several chimnies for making fires to tar the vessels and other occasions for shipping; and there is likewise the image of the Virgin Mary with Jesus in her arms. It has two folding-doors with small iron grates, and a piece of wood to keep off the rain; and there is a lanthorn, where there is a candle burning all night, that is lighted as soon as it is dark every evening.

By the walls of the town next the harbour, in two rows, are one hundred and seven little shops or huts, for the galley-slaves, where they exercise their trades, most handicrafts whatsoever; likewise several shops that sell linnen, woollen, second-hand clothes, stockings, gloves, and most millinary things. They have an iron clog about their leg, where is fastened an iron chain about five or six yards long, which is made fast to their shop or post; so they remain chained all day. When evening comes, their chains are knocked off, but there remains an iron clog about their leg, and they are all put into seven French gallies, which lie in the harbour right-over against their shops, where they remain all night, and a good guard placed over them. In the morning their chains are put on, and there they remain fastened to their shop all day. When any of them are permitted to go into the town, they are chained two by two; the rattling of their chains along the streets, and their dismal condition, is very deplorable, to see men chained together like hounds. There goes always with them an officer to look after them. There are a great many of them that work in the French King's bason on board the ships, and on board the ships in the harbour, and in carrying and cutting of timber, and many other servile labours; and, when they are at their work, they are generally chained together two by two, and when they come from thence, sometimes, twenty or thirty of them together is very dismal to behold. Out of their

trades and labour the King of France has a share; likewise they pay the officers that attend them. There are a great many Turks among them, and most nations, that are put here for great crimes, and never released during life; notwithstanding some of them are worth considerable, and, if money could purchase freedom, it would not be wanting. Their habit is a red waistcoat and a red cap. In time of war these slaves serve on board the French King's gallies, in towing the men of war in a calm, and carrying men to and fro the men of war in a fight; these gallies are very serviceable, and in particular in galling the enemies with their cashee-pieces, which are very large, and at the head of the galley.

The town of Dunkirk it not very large, but contains several noble wide streets, lanes, and alleys. It is pitched with stone laid regular, like the middle of the exchange in London. The houses are generally three stories high, built with brick, much like their buildings in Holland in all respects, only not so neat. Their churches and cloisters are very fine noble buildings, as is likewise the town-house; you ascend to it seven steps; at first coming in is a large spacious hall, and there are several rooms for the publick business of the city. There is consurgeries, a very noble building lately rebuilt; it is the greatest eating-house in the town; joining to it is the prison; these stand in the great street going to the great church; and fronting the town-house is a great guard-house, where the soldiers keep guard night and day; and before the town-house the merchants meet in the nature of an exchange. There are in the town six churches, viz. the Great Church, the Capuchins, the Regulater, the Poire Cleres, the Beneme, and the Descrecks; and four cloisters, the Black Nuns Cloister, the White Nuns, the Penitentia, and the English Nuns Cloister, which is the richest in the town. They are all very noble fine buildings, and fine gardens to many of them. To relate the particulars of every church and cloister would contain more than can be in this volume; however, I shall be very particular in describing what is worthy of observation in the great church, and also a hint in the others, of what is most remarkable.

The east port lies going to the camp; it has three gates with a portcullis, or great gate, pointed at the end with iron spikes, to drop down with iron chains, and four draw bridges, and two gates with palisadoes. There are several sluices, by which they can drown the country for several miles round, which, with the addition of their prodigious outworks, which shoot out at least two miles from the town, render it impregnable by land as well as by sea. It is incredible to relate the strength of the outworks, which with the addition of canals, rivulets, and other work renders it the wonder of all that see it. Upon the walls of the town are several windmills, and fine rows of trees; and the walls are wide enough for four or five coaches to go a-breast; it shoots out with several half-moons, and other works. The walls of the town are prodigious high built with brick, all surrounded with four prodigious wide ditches at small distances one from the other.

The situation of the camp without the town of Dunkirk, which lies near the walls, incamped in a small plain, about four regiments, consisting of four hundred and twenty six tents, and fifty tents for arms (and in the town and cittadel are four regiments more); the magazine of hay

lies near the camp, consisting of ten prodigious large stacks of hay, encompassed with palisadoes, and near by are five fine walks, all with rows of trees, about half a mile in length; one of the walks pitched with stone, the other with gravel; boarded on each side above breast high, the trees stand, and there are several benches placed here and there. On the left hand of the walks is a piece of ground for burials, and most of the graves have a high wooden cross placed at the end.

In the great church are fourteen places of devotion, all round it, with the image of our Saviour upon the cross in full proportion, in three several places, and a great many images of saints in full proportion, against the walls with their names underneath. At each place of devotion is an altar, which is very finely adorned with fine linnen, bordered with curious lace. There is the image of our blessed Saviour upon the cross always standing upon the altar, about a foot and a half high; and there is the Virgin Mary with Jesus in her arms. The altar is likewise adorned with flowers, and a great deal of very fine painting on the walls. There are several low forms for the people to kneel at their devotions, who are continually coming in from morning till night, the most zealous in their way of any people in the world. There are continually burning at the altar wax-candles, besides a great many wax-candles in other places. Their morning prayers, called Mattins, they perform with or without the priest; they kneel before the image of our Saviour, bow themselves several times to the altar, cross themselves with the sign of the cross, tell over their beads, and several other marks of devotion. Their vespers or evening prayers are performed much in the same manner. In the middle of the church is the main place of their devotion, which is parted off; and there is an ascent of three steps with two folding-doors in the front, and on each side the same. At the upper end is the altar, which is very finely adorned with fine linnen, and bordered with curious lace with purple velvet. There is the image of our Saviour upon the cross always standing upon the altar, about two feet high; and there is the Virgin Mary with Jesus in her arms. The altar is likewise adorned with flowers; and there are three books, which lie on the altar, opened ready for the priest, of which I shall make mention hereafter. There are near the altar, on the ground, two prodigious high brass candlesticks above a story high, with wax candles, which are never lighted but on great festival days. It would be endless to relate the vast number of wax candles that are continually burning in several places of the church. When mass is said, the priest, that officiates at the altar, is arrayed, sometimes, in a white surplice *, with a rich mantle † over his shoulders; sometimes with a mantle of black velvet, with silver orris on the back, in the form of a cross; sometimes in another dress, not much unlike the last mentioned. At the first approach to the altar he ascends two or three steps, and bows himself with great reverence three times before the altar, where is the image of our Saviour upon the cross, and then crosses himself with the sign of the cross; then he proceeds in reading in the book ‡ to himself, but at some small intervals he turns himself round to

* Properly called the Albe. † al. Vestment. ‡ Mass-book.

the people, with his hands prostrate, and says some words *; then he takes a large silver cup †, which stands upon the altar, and a little boy, that stands by, gives him out of a phial ‡ a small quantity of wine ||, which he pours into the cup, and he drinks it off § with great devotion; then he takes the cup and wipes it very clean with a linnen cloth, and sets it on the altar; then he proceeds to his devotions. After a small pause he turns himself to the people, and says some words; then he takes the host in his hands **, and a little bell tinkles, and immediately they all fall upon their knees with great devotion (their belief is, that the real body and blood of Christ, as it was born of the Virgin Mary, is in the host so exposed in the hands of the priest after the words of consecration). After a short pause he puts it upon the altar, and proceeds in his devotions, which is not long after, and most of the time the organs are playing, and at going out and coming in all cross themselves with holy water (so called) which stands in several places in the church. There are very fine organs, which stand about the middle of the church, and there are several escutcheons hung upon the walls, and several small bones, being relicks of saints; at going into the church over the doors are three images finely painted. On one side of the church next the street, going into the herb-market, is the image of the Virgin Mary with Jesus in her arms; there is a lanthorn and a candle, which is lighted every evening, and burns all night.

The English nuns cloister is a very noble building, with a fine garden; at going in over the door, is the image of a nun; the place of worship is but small; at the upper end is the altar, with the image of our Saviour upon the cross; the altar is finely adorned in the same manner as in the great church. Where the priest officiates is parted off by low palisadoes; here are no images, except the Virgin Mary with Jesus in her arms. The place is laid with marble, and here are no seats, except a bench next the wall, for all the time of their worship, generally speaking, they are upon their knees: There is parted off above stairs, by very fine iron work, a large place for the English nuns, who, during part of the time of their devotions, sing extremely fine, and the organs at the same time playing make it a very agreeable harmony. There is no seeing them but through these iron works, where they may plainly be seen, and likewise they are sometimes some of them below stairs in a place by themselves. At first coming into the cloister where is a door, which is with wrought iron part of the way, there they may be seen very plain, and spoke with. If any person desires to speak to any nun, here they may, but no other ways than through these iron grates, and must be in the company of the lady abbess, or some other nun. If they are any relation or any acquaintance they may be spoke with, otherwise not; at their first entrance into the cloister, they are there for a year ††; if, in that time,

* Viz. Dominus Vobiscum, or, The Lord be with you. † al. The Chalice.
‡ al. Cruet.
|| And another cruet with water. § After he has communicated in the kind of bread, and not before.
** And raiseth both it and the Chalice at separate times above his head, which is called the Elevation.
†† During which time they are called Novices.

they do not like a religious life, they may come out; otherwise * they are there during life, and never go abroad.

There are in the town six markets; the green or herb market, the wood and corn market, the butter market, the chicken market, the fish market, and flesh market, all spacious commodious places, especially the herb market, which lies near the great church, between the main guard and the poor clercs: It is a very spacious large place, about as big as Covent Garden, with houses all round, which are noble buildings especially the main guard, which has seven gates in front, and by it is placed a gibbet with a ladder ready placed for malefactors; likewise a wooden horse for the soldiers punishment. There are several magazines of powder, near the walls of the town, and fine rows of trees on the walks; and near the walls are the barracks for the soldiers, and officers, which are built with brick two and three stories high, and are noble buildings, and there are other barracks for the soldiers in other places. There is the English hospital and French hospital, which are noble buildings. There is a very large house for the service of the church of England, and there is a school master, and several scholars. There are several conduits of fresh water with pumps; fronting the English cloisters is a very handsome square place all railed in with fine rows of trees. The town wall is prodigious high built, all with brick, and several towers placed next the harbour; and there are four gates next the harbour; at first coming from the peere is Newport gate, the Key-gate, the Crown-gate, and the Cittadel-gate; they have each two great gates with a portcullis, or great gate, pointed at the end with iron spikes to drop down with iron chains, to keep out the enemy, with a draw bridge to each gate, which is pulled up every night. There is Port Royal, which lies southerly; it has two gates with a portcullis or great gate pointed at the end with iron spikes, to drop down with iron chains, and three draw bridges, and two gates with palisadoes, and near by is a magazine of powder, which lies near the water-mill of Port Royal, and just without the town lies Bereville, a small village with a church, and one gate with a draw-bridge; there is a way pitched with stone, which goes to Berg.

The ceremony of burying their dead: First comes a person which carries a prodigious high silver cross, then three men with fine streamers, and twelve priests in white, bareheaded, and three priests in rich habits †, in black velvet, bordered with silver orris over most part of it; one of them with the cross and silver orris on his back; then two capuchins with the habit of their order (which I shall describe hereafter) then comes the corpse covered with black velvet, with the image of our Saviour laid upon the coffin, covered with black crape; then at the head is a large piece of silver not unlike a crown, and one at the feet not quite so large, and six bearers to hold up the pall; then come the relations: so they proceed into the church, the priests singing all the way, with a great many wax candles burning; the corpse is placed in the middle of the church, with eight very large wax candles burning about it; the relations

* They then take upon them the habit of a nun in that order, and take the vows of poverty, chastity, obedience and perpetual inclosure.

† One in a priest's vestment, and the other two in Dalmaticas, representing a deacon and subdeacon attending on the officiating priest.

are seated on each side, then three priests officiating at the altar; after some prayers said, one of the priests goes round the corpse, with a silver censer of holy water, and sprinkles round the corpse, all the time saying some prayers; then he takes another censer, which has perfumes burning in it, and goes round the corpse, saying some prayers and singing; then he takes a large brush and sprinkles the people with holy water; then all the men go up to the altar, each one with a wax candle lighted in his hand, which he receives of a man that stands by for that purpose, and gives it to another man that is there, before he comes to the priest: Then the priest holding in his hand a small gilded dish, and in the other a piece of linnen; then each person goes up to the priest and kisses the bason; then the priest wipes it with the cloth, and then the women in like manner; then they proceed with the corpse to the grave, which is in the church; after saying some small prayers, the corpse is immediately put into the grave, and the first shovel full of earth is put into the grave by the priest, his hand being assisted by the grave digger (the coffin is plain square at the head, and a wooden cross made fast upon the coffin) then the priest takes the censer, and sprinkles holy water into the grave, and says some prayers, and holds the silver cross with our Saviour on it, over the grave which is covered with a black crape hatband; then he takes a brush and sprinkles holy water likewise, and with the same upon the people, who are very eager to receive it on their faces, and so the ceremony ends. If any virgin dies, and is desirous to be carried to the grave by nuns, it is granted, but only the order of black nuns have the privilege of going abroad, and the ceremony is much the same as above mentioned; as one that I saw, who was carried by eight black nuns, who were all dressed in black, with black hoods over their faces.

When any person is dead, immediately there are laid before the door in the street small sheaves of straw in the form of a cross, which lie there night and day, till the person is buried.

The ceremony of exposing the host or wafer, to give the sacrament to the sick: First comes a person with a wax candle in a lanthorn; then several priests in white, bareheaded, and several wax candles burning, carried by several persons; then the priest that officiates under a canopy supported by four men; he carries the host exposed in his hands, which is held up. After this manner they proceed through several streets, to the house of the sick, and, at their coming back, they proceed, in the same manner, singing all the way; and as they go, a little bell tinkles, and all fall upon their knees with great devotion; this bell is to give them notice that the host is coming; immediately all fall upon their knees, men, women, and children, as the host goes by; but the protestants have this privilege, that, if they meet the host in the street, they only put off their hats as the host goes by; all people, that are in their houses, and shops, or in the streets, must kneel as it passes by; the ceremony is performed with great reverence and devotion, and it is incredible to believe the vast concourse of people that throng; and the people at their doors, and at their windows, with candles lighted (if it be in the evening) makes it a very agreeable prospect.

When any person is dead, the corpse is laid in the coffin, with several wax candles lighted, which burn night and day, and the image of our Saviour upon the cross by it, and night and day there are several persons with the corpse; there are friars of the order of St. Francis. The habit of a capuchin is a coarse brown cloth, hanging down to their heels, with a short cloke of the same, and a coul or capouch joining to the cloke; they wear no shirts, nor any linnen, no breeches, no stockings, nor shoes, having sandals or great wooden clogs on their feet, made fast to their feet with straps of leather, their feet and legs always bare; about their middle they are girded with a flaxen cord with knots, and there hang their beads, with the image of our Saviour upon the cross. They lie in no linnen nor beds, but upon the ground with a matt; they never handle any money, and there are amongst them that take no manner of care for the things of this life, but all their time is taken up in devotions, and a religious life; alledging what is mentioned in the scripture, by our Saviour, when, speaking to the Apostles, he says, 'Take no thought for to-morrow, what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink,' viz. They have each day two or three that go about the town with a basket a begging for victuals for them.

The Jesuits founded by Ignatius Loyola, of Biscay, their habit is black, with their uppermost garments down to their heels; they wear hats, shoes, and stockings: They are, as is well known, very learned and judicious men, insinuating themselves into the courts and secrets of all the Roman Catholick princes of Europe.

The nuns habit is black with white hoods and pinners, and a black vail hangs over their faces; their dress is very becoming, and very neat, and very fine. Women the most zealous in their devotions, that possibly any people can be; all the time of their worship (except when they are singing) they are always reading in a book, telling over their beads and other marks of devotion, kneeling all the time; and when they are singing they sand close to the iron grates that their eccho may be the better heard in the church, the most melodious musick in the world, with the organs at the same time playing, which renders it very agreeable.

There is at going into two of the cloisters a wooden cross in the streets, which always remains there, and is about twenty four feet high from the ground; at certain holy days the image of our Saviour in full proportion is put upon the cross, where are two iron bars to fasten the image, and the people, as they pass along, pay their devotion.

The civil government of the town is in the hands of the French King, as is also the bason and the park (of which I have made mention) but the cittadel, Rice-bank, forts, harbour, peere, and in a word all the fortifications with all the outworks (which are two English miles in length from the town) are intirely in the possession of the Queen of Great Britain.

The place at present is very sickly, and many of the inhabitants die, as do likewise great numbers of the common soldiers, and the officers; they are taken with a shivering like an ague.

Provisions are generally very dear, except fish, which is very reasonable, particularly herrings, which are extreme cheap, by the

coming in daily of French fishing boats, from Graveling, Calais, and Dieppe; since the coming of the English provisions are much dearer, and, since the taking of Fort Knock by the Dutch, faggots for firing are much advanced and scarce.

The inhabitants are most Flemings; there are several very eminent French merchants with some Irish inhabitants; they are generally courteous and civil to strangers, and are very industrious people, and all are of the Roman catholick religion; no other is permitted there, except a church to the English. About two leagues from Dunkirk, lies old Mardyke, a small village, and likewise new Mardyke; Graveling lies about four leagues, and from thence four leagues to Calais in France, which compleats the journal.

THE

BR---ISH AMBASSADRESS'S SPEECH

TO THE FRENCH KING.

MS.

The following was a MS. in the Earl's library, and in a few lines exposes the intrigues of the court and the sad condition the church and nation was in, at the latter end of Queen Ann's reign, it may be, better, and more clearly, than has been ever done before.

HAIL tricking monarch! more successful far
In acts of peace, than glorious deeds of war.
As A——'s great ambassadress I come,
With news, that will rejoice both you and Rome.
Ne'er did the F——h affairs so gaily smile,
These hundred years, as now in B————'s isle;
For there the spirit of blind delusion reigns,
And spreads its fury o'er the stupid swains.
The L—s, the C——s, and the priests conspire
To raise your power, and their own ruin higher.
Nay, even the Q——n, with qualms of conscience prest,
Seems to advance your cause above the rest.
Her generous temper can't forget so soon
The royal favours you have always done,
Both to her father and his injur'd son;
And therefore is contriving, every day,
Her mighty debt of gratitude to pay.

For you she has ceas'd the thunder of the war,
Laid up her fleets, and left her channel bare;
For you the fighting Marlborough's disgrac'd,
And in his room a peaceful general * plac'd;
For you she broke her word, her friends betray'd,
With joy look'd on, and saw them † victims made.
That pious princess, when I left her court,
The place where none but friends to you resort,
Bid me go greet you in the kindest words,
That the most sacred tye of love affords:
And tell you that she mourns, with sacred pains,
The mighty loss you've borne these ten campaigns.
And therefore now resolves to give you more
By this last treaty than you had before,
And to its former height raise your declining power.
She knows she has no right the crown to wear,
And fain would leave it to the lawful heir.
In order to effect this grand design,
And baffle all the H———n line,
A set of ministers she lately chose;
To honour and their country equal foes:
Wretches, whose indigence has made 'em bold,
And will betray their native land for gold.
Ox———d's the chief of this abandon'd clan,
Him you must court; for he's the only man.
Give him but gold enough, your work is done,
He'll bribe the S———te, and then all's your own.
D———th and B———ke are friends to you,
Tho' 'tis not in their power much harm to do.
But Ox———d reigns prime minister of state,
Ruling the nation at a mighty rate;
And, like a conjurer with his magick wand,
Does both the P———t and Q——n command;
Keep but that wily trickster still your friend,
He'll crown your wishes with a prosperous end.
Now is your time to push for B———n's crown,
And fix K—g J——s the Third upon the throne.
A powerful fleet prepare, you need no more,
But only land him on his native shore;
They'll soon depose the present reigning thing,
And in her stead proclaim your favourite King.
Thus spoke the gay ambassadress; when strait
Up rose the tyrant from his chair of state;
With love transported, and a joyous air,
Within his trembling arms he clasp'd the fair;
That night, as fame reports, and some have heard,
A pompous bed was instantly prepar'd,

* Duke of Ormond. † Denain.

In which the monarch and heroine lay,
And spent their hours in politicks and play.
The Duke o'erjoy'd, that his Italian dame
Could in so old a heroe raise a flame,
With an ambitious pleasure, as 'tis said,
Led her himself unto the royal bed.

EUROPE A SLAVE,

WHEN THE EMPIRE IS IN CHAINS:

Shewing the deplorable state of Germany, from the Invasion of the French, and the fatal consequence of it to us and all Europe.

This is part of a pamphlet that was published in the year 1713, in 8vo. soon after the conclusion of the peace with France, intended to expose the danger the English nation ran by making a peace so hazardous to ourselves and advantageous to an enemy, whom we had reduced to the last extremity; and pointing out the only means to maintain the balance of power in Europe; very necessary to be perused at this time.

I cannot with any certainty give you the name of the author, who, in my opinion, has written more like a prophet than a bare politician. But I heartily recommend his strong reasoning, and the necessity of supporting the house of Austria, against the power of France, which he supports from facts, confirmed by long experience, both before and since his time. In a word, our author foretold that the Elector of Bavaria, under the protection of France, would succeed Charles the Sixth, in the Imperial throne.

WHAT is it an Englishman can say, that will not now-a-days give offence? If we write against the French, we write against our new allies; if for our late confederates, we are enemies to peace, we delight in war, and, when the Examiner has the power, must be knocked on the head, as he threatens us in several of his late papers. What shall we do? Shall we see the French masters of Germany? Shall we be alarmed with a new war in the bowels of the empire and not have a word to say in favour of a prince, whom, ten years ago, we declared King of Spain and the Indies; whom we took from the arms of a fond father, and sent in the midst of winter storms to fight for a monarchy that was in effect the gift of England and Holland? It is not now for Spain that this unfortunate prince fights, it is for Germany, for his

patrimony, for liberty and not for empire. It is not amazing to meet with Britons and protestants so stupid as to rejoice at the Emperor's distress, whose ruin must inevitably be followed by the loss of the liberties of Europe? When France has suppressed the house of Austria, what will become of all other powers? Can the Dutch maintain their barrier, or England defend herself singly against France and Spain united? Whose turn will be next? The best we can hope for ourselves is to be last destroyed, and, if the French have no enemy on the continent, who will dare to be an enemy to a King who is master of Germany, France, and Spain. What should we not fear from such a neighbour? I will not say the pretender. A King of our own would be too good fortune for us, let him be ever so bad a one; we should soon be a province of France, and have the honour to be governed by a lieutenant general, a lieutenant civil, and a gracious disinterested intendant. Our parliament would be far from being so honourable an assembly as that of Paris; our church, our constitution would have no more a name; we must be of what religion the French please, and instead of a treaty of commerce have no trade at all; which would quickly reduce us to the condition of the first Britons, and make us so wretched that even slavery will be the least part of our misery.

It is in vain now to ask how the French came again so near the Danube, how the Elector of Bavaria once more approaches the plains of Blenheim; and where is the general that drove him from thence out of the empire? It is to no purpose to enquire into the causes of the progress of the French arms in Germany; the Marshal de Villars is there and at the head of a hundred thousand Frenchmen, and what is it not that he may do there, if the rest of Europe is passive? Where is that empire whose power was represented so formidable? Where are the kingdoms that were to ravish the balance from the house of Bourbon? Have we not seen that, in two or three months, France has driven all before her? Is she not ready to restore the Bavarian to the condition he was in, ten years ago, when the Emperor scarce thought himself safe in his palace, and the Imperial scepter was the hope and promise of the conqueror? Will France be content with Strasburgh, when she can be mistress of Vienna? Will Bavaria be satisfied with a new electorate, when he can as easily have the empire, and can he support himself, without the French King, to whom he must always be a creature and subordinate? Let us imagine then, that 'the Emperor Charles is forced to submit; that the Elector of Bavaria is his successor, intirely depending on his protector the most Christian King?' Will Germany be then able to send armies to the relief of the the Dutch? Will the Dutch be able to give assistance to Britain, and where then will be our defence? will not all our hopes lie in that King's goodness and moderation? Whatever opinion I have of this *Bona fide*, or his keeping his word with us, better than with any body else, I shall not now declare myself. I have lived long enough to have seen a reflection on his most Christian Majesty's conduct called Sedition, which, one could not have believed, would ever have been, when the Duke of Marlborough was where the Marshal de Villars is now. I must confess however, that, notwithstanding the Examiner brags of our new alliance with the most powerful

monarch in the world, I dread that power of his as much as when we might freely speak the truth of him, and every one called him the Common Enemy. I know the respect due to crowned heads, at least I am not to be taught by a faction, who in one libel created five or six of those sacred heads as a company of beggars and scoundrels, though King William and her present Majesty had been above twenty years in the most strict and necessary alliance with them, for their mutual defence, against the puissant monarch, our present friend.

I wish the respect due to him was prescribed to us, that we might know what homage we owe to a King *, that has all his life time been endeavouring to destroy us. For my part, I cannot help wishing him as ill now as ever I did, knowing that Europe cannot be safe, while France is in prosperity: To which, though we are at peace with her, I cannot think it our duty any more than our interest to contribute. How far those powers will contribute to it that suffer the house of Austria to be ruined, I shall not determine, but leave it to the reader, who will not want light in so plain a matter as that is. What France would do, were she mistress of Germany, any one may imagine by what she did in the year 1683, and the following year, when she expected the empire would be over-run by the Turks and Hungarians. A book was published at Paris by authority, and dedicated to the King himself; intituled, 'The just Pretences of the King of France to the empire.' In which treatise, this was laid down for a ground, 'That the dominions of sovereign princes have been always the dominions and conquests of their estates, and that the dominions and conquests of crowns can be neither alienated nor prescribed.' From whence, the author draws but these two conclusion:

First, "That the greatest part of Germany is the patrimony and ancient inheritance of the French princes.

Secondly, "That Charlemain did possess Germany as King of France, and not as Emperor."

If the French court was pleased with this assertion, when they had only possessed themselves of a few places on the frontiers, what will they say when their armies are triumphing in the heart of Germany, and nothing can stop their march to the gates of its capital? The Earl of Danby, when he was lord treasurer, at the same time that he lay under the suspicion of taking French money, was so well apprised of the ambitious designs of France, especially upon the empire, that he set an author at work, to lay them open; which was done with equal truth and boldness, in a book called, *Christianissimus Christiandus*, reprinted in 1701, and again in the State tracts, wherein, among other things, is said: "If this is believed in France, what may not her scribes persuade their master? May they not as well prove and persuade him, that he wears the titles of all other princes in the pummel of his sword? If one may judge of what is to come by what is past, all Europe will have cause enough to stand upon their guard, and take the alarm to prevent

* Of France.

the machinations of the French ministry, whose sole business is to blow up the glory of their master to a mighty bubble, &c." Another author, who wrote some time after, has this expression: "Germany is a fat morsel which the French King has long been preparing to devour;' and was he ever in a fairer way! Where are the Prussians and other troops, that used to strengthen the Imperial armies? Are they not disarmed by the peace of Utrecht? Where are his Imperial Majesty's allies? Are not the Electors Palatine, of Mentz and Treves, surrounded by the arms of France? Are not the circles of Swabia and Franconia exposed to their ravages? What can hinder the Elector of Bavaria's returning to Munich; and, supposing his most Christian Majesty would be content with his Restoration only, is it for the interest of Europe to have power always ready and able to assist the French within a hundred miles of Vienna? Where nothing else is to be feared from the successes of France in the empire, it would be enough to raise in us the most terrible apprehensions. I shall not impose my own sentiments on the reader, on so important a subject, but communicate those of a person of great worth and distinction, in a treatise published on that elector's declaring for France: "The advantage, says he, accruing to the French King, by having the Elector of Bavaria in his interest, is so great, that it is not at first sight to be easily seen or conceived. But this is plain, that he is one of the greatest princes of the empire; that he is capable of leading an army, and of raising a considerable force of his own; that the situation of his dominions is such, as enables him to invade the paternal inheritance of the house of Austria on the one side, and to give disturbance to the circles of Franconia, Swabia, and the Upper Rhine, on the other; that he is capable of depriving the Emperor of one suffrage in the diet, and of giving the King of France another. And that by the palatinate of Bavaria, on the north, and by the duchy and electorate of Bavaria, on the south, it is in his power to block up the diet of the empire at Ratisbon, or oblige them to remove at his pleasure; he gave us very lately a proof of what he is capable to do in this matter, by entertaining the deputy of a circle of Burgundy at a house of his just opposite to Ratisbon, when that deputy was ordered to quit the diet and the dominions of the empire; and by his numerous army, and great sums of French gold, which he received, not under the disgraceful name of a bribe, but under the specious pretence of being governor of the Spanish Netherlands, he seems capable of opening the French King's passage to the Danube, that he may meet his most dear and natural ally, the Grand Seignior, before the walls of Vienna." This treatise was written before the last war broke out, and how the Elector of Bavaria made good what the author says of him, in the course of it, is too well known to need repetition. And this then is the prince, who, we are told, has taken post to put himself at the head of the French army, now almost in the bowels of Germany, and more numerous, and more in heart, than that which, at the expence of so much blood, the victorious Duke of Marlborough drove from the Danube to the Rhine, after it had made the Imperial diadem shake on the head of the Emperor Leopold. Do not we all remember how great was our concern for the fate of Germany, when the Duke of Marlborough was marching to its deliverance? The

French army was then in Bavaria, and what can hinder its being there again? Where have the German Princes two hundred batallions and two hundred and fifty squadrons to oppose them? Have they not done as much as they ever will do already, and to what purpose have been their boasted efforts but to shew their impotency? If we should again hear of an elector of Bavaria, and a Marshal of France, at the head of an hundred thousand men, on the banks of the Danube, and that at a time when the maritime powers have tied up the hands and sent home their soldiers, to whom must the distressed Emperor fly for refuge? Can the King of Poland help him, when he is alarmed with the approach of an army of Infidels? Can the King of Prussia assist him after a treaty so solemnly and so lately signed, German faith being of quite another kind than was the Punick of old? And what difference there is between Fides Punica and Fides Gallica, let the history of the last century determine. Will the Elector of Hanover and the house of Luxemburgh be able to send him sufficient forces, when the Swedes are so near at hand, and so willing to fall upon them at the first opportunity? Of what advantage will the alliance of the Elector Palatine be to his Imperial Majesty, when he himself and what forces he has in his territories are shut up in garisons, too weak to defend themselves, whenever they shall be attacked? Will it not be easy for the French to involve the electorate of Cologne and country of Liege in new troubles, by means of that elector, their fast friend? And what can hinder the Bavarians on the other side returning to the obedience of their abdicated sovereign, for whom, it is well known, they have preserved an inviolable affection? Is this terrible scene a distant one? Are all these fears visionary? What have the Germans to hope in but God and the winter? And when their strength is ruined, the Elector of Bavaria returned with a French army, to revenge the disgrace of an almost ten years' banishment; what advantage will it be to Charles the Sixth, to have the name of Emperor, and how long will they permit him to wear it?

About the year 1705, the French emissaries in Holland dispersed a project of peace, in one article of which they insert, that, 'If France had obtained the victory over the allies at Hochstet, that would have served for no other end but to engage her in an abyss of designs and enterprises one after another, &c." What would that abyss of designs and enterprises have been? Is is not plain? Could it have been any thing else but setting up the Bavarian or a prince of her own, as Emperor, the depriving of the German princes and others of their rights and liberties, and establishing an arbitrary power over all Europe under the new restored title of the Western Empire? Will France be in a worse condition to undertake such an abyss of designs, when she has only the Emperor Charles to cope with, than when she had a most powerful alliance formed against her, of the most puissant monarchies and states in Christendom? For my part, this melancholy prospect fills me with both pity and terror: Pity for the unfortunate state of a late ally, and terror for our own perilous one afterwards. Whether we can, or whether we ought to stir a step in his favour, is no business of mine; I only ease my own mind of communicating my apprehensions, and shall be glad to find them imaginary and chimerical. However, we seem to

have forgot what was the general opinion ten or twelve years ago, that, next to the Dutch, the Emperor's and our interests were most inseparable, and that, as a constant maxim of English politicks, was depended upon by all our neighbours.

These things are not new, we have heard them over and over, they are as certain and fixed as truth; and yet, how dexterous have some men been, to make us as indifferent to every thing abroad, as if we were not at all concerned in what happened there? That wise and warlike King, Henry the Eighth, had quite other notions, and held it as an unalterable maxim of government to hold the balance even between the houses of Austria and Valois. I have seen an answer to the before-mentioned project of peace, written by a German, wherein is a paragraph, which shews what foreigners think of our interest and policy in this particular; it is as follows: "As to the particular interest of the crown of England, all Europe knows well enough, that it consists in the restoring of a balance, which is the only thing that can make her happy abroad. King Henry the Eighth made this balance his maxim, and maintained it, as has been already said, against France, at a time when she was not near so formidable as she is now become since the treaties of Munster, and the Pyrenees, and that too in favour of Charles the Fifth, the only Emperor of the house of Austria, who could give umbrage to his neighbours. Now, if the power of France was capable of giving umbrage to England, at a time when she was confined within her natural bounds, how much more ought she to give them umbrage at this time, considering the great increase of her power since, and yet still more, if she be left in possession of *half* the Spanish monarchy? To this, if we add the infinite advantages she has over all her neighbouring powers, as has been observed already, it is certain that there is cause enough, not only to alarm the English nation, but the remotest people of Europe. Matters being thus, it is very probable, that the crown of England will never agree to any other treaty, except the Restitution of the Balance, as above-mentioned, be the preliminary conditions, &c." It is sometimes very dangerous for authors to pretend to tell what princes and states will do, their interest changing with events. But here this writer is not out in his foresight, for, by the late treaty, the kingdoms of France and Spain are so effectually divided, that the house of Bourbon is not to be the better for the acquisition of such part of the Spanish monarchy, as has been yielded to a branch of it. But, not to enter into that debate, France, as we find by woeful experience, is of herself more than a match for the Emperor and empire, which now lies so much at his mercy; and where shall we find the balance so necessary for their liberty of Europe, when it ceases to be in the house of Austria? If there must be a power to counter-balance that of France, it can be *no where else*, but in that Imperial house, for three reasons:

The first is, That to counter-balance the power of France an hereditary and monarchical power is necessary, that it may be always in a condition to act, because, as all the world have seen, it is easy for France to embroil republicks, elective dominions, or any other where the royal authority is more limited.

The second is, That the same power ought to extend to all the places where France can attack her, and to have an essential interest every where to expose the growth of her power.

The third is, That this faculty to act, and the power, which directs it, require a temperate government, mixed with uprightness and honesty to ascertain by that means the peace and confidence of its neighbours.

Now those conditions are not to be found altogether any where else but in the house of Austria, and with this advantage more, that she can never give any umbrage to her neighbours, both because of the known constitution of her government, and because, being exposed to many attacks, her dominions being so dispersed, she is not able to maintain herself, but by the assistance of others, and especially that of the maritime powers. Without this balance well established, it is a meer illusion that the united provinces, as France has more than once insinuated, can always be the most firm bulwark of the liberty and independency of the sovereigns of christendom; even tho' we suppose them in a constant alliance with England; but who can promise that such an alliance and good understanding will always last? For, as the abovementioned author expresses himself, 'if France engaged them in war together *, and to weaken one another, when they should have maintained the balance between her and the house of Austria; how many ways may she find to divide them, if once the peace were concluded? Nay, suppose a good union should be preserved, is it likely that the balance should be maintained by them? We know well enough, that according to the constitution of their government, they can neither continue standing armies, nor flatter themselves always to prevail with their people to undertake a war †, when France thinks fit to renew one.' Which is very right, and our neighbours know as much of us, as we do of ourselves. If, as it has been proved, the balance of power can only be maintained by preserving an equality, between the houses of Austria and Bourbon, Where, for God's sake, is that equality now? Throwing the Spanish monarchy out of the scales, and allowing that King Philip is no more to be looked upon as a Frenchman, but as a Castilian, which I will always allow, was it for no other reason but that the late general peace makes him so ‡.

That it is a general one, I do not dispute, there being a difference between general and universal, as was made appear, in a speech in the last parliament. But it is certain, that the Emperor is at war, that the empire is invaded by the most powerful army, it ever saw; that one of her chief bulwarks has been ravished from her; that her lines of defence are demolished; and that she is threatened to be a prey to a cruel and insolent invader. This is certain, and that instead of being the better for the grand alliance, she is exposed to the revenge of the once common enemy, for all the losses, routs, and disgraces he met with from the

* In the reign of King Charles the Second.

† Which has been the case for many years past; while France has been striving, with all its power and policy, to destroy the house of Austria.

‡ But their present union against England and the house of Austria proves the contrary.

united allies. What, says the author of the fable, of the lion's share: "If the French scatter their treasures in all the courts of Europe; if they amuse one part, and draw the other into their interest; if they imbroil people on all sides, only for the sake of imbroiling; if they maintain great armies, which exhaust their country: In a word, if they move heaven and hell, to make as many enemies to the Emperor as they can, and to seduce his allies, no man ought to wonder: For this is a master-game; and, if they succeed, they will be reimbursed with interest, and become absolute arbitrators of Europe. The greatest business of France is to triumph over her rival, which cannot fail, if she be permitted to tear up the foundations of her power, by dismembering the dominions of the Spanish monarchy; for, so soon as the house of Austria shall cease to be the balance of her power, no other bank will be able to put a stop to her rapidity and violence." These are the sentiments of all Europe, that only the empire*, supported by her confederates, can prevent the common slavery; for when her liberty is lost, what nation will dare boast of independency? What sovereign dare assert the rights of his crown? There will never be wanting pretences to quarrel, when success has animated those dispirited armies, that instead of skulking behind lines and trenches, are now defying the conqueror. What shall I say of pretences, are there not thousands living in Holland, that saw her cities in flames, and her citizens massacred, for the ill satisfaction of France, as may be seen in her manifesto of 1672? Has it not been given for a reason of war, that such or such territories lay convenient; and were not the Swedes themselves once told, that she did not think fit to stand to a treaty, she had made with them? As for us, while the pretender to the crown of our rightful sovereign lives, never will she want pretences, whatever want we may be in of alliances. When I reflect on her Majesty's wonderful moderation in giving peace to an enemy her arms had reduced to the necessity of imploring her mercy, notwithstanding the presumptous attempt of sending her competitor† to insult her dominions; when I consider that nothing but that moderation, so worthy all her Majesty's other royal virtues, could, I will not say, have given Spain to a prince of the Bourbon race, but have preserved France herself; how can one, without a sort of indignation, hear her demanding of Genoa, how she dares buy Final, and of Holland, how she dares keep Traerback? All which, however, is little in comparison to the devastation her arms have committted in a country, where, a few years since, the British name was in such esteem and glory. It is not for us, who, by two happy treaties of peace and commerce, have disarmed ourselves, and thrown off the burthen of an expensive, though a victorious war, to take arms again, when any of our neighbours may desire us. Peace is too valuable a blessing to be abandoned, on the first alarm that is given us. But whether it is for us, by all other offices, to endeavour to save that country, which we once saved by the sword, is a subject for the consideration of others; and that our offices, when they are employed in earnest, will be effectual, one may be assured, by the great deference his most Christian Majesty

* Or rather the Emperor, who was then Charles the Sixth, and head of the house of Austria.
† The Pretender.

owes to our sovereign's councils, or by the power she still has, to oblige him to it. When the armies of France have possessed themselves of Friburgh, and got footing on the other side of the Rhine; when they no longer subsist at her own expence, but are maintained by their pillages and contributions in Germany, what can we expect will be the issue of another campaign? What the defence of a divided, plundered, and an impoverished empire? It will be as easy for the French to give her a new master * as to threaten it; and who then will be able to set bounds to their ambition, or avoid subjection to an universal monarchy? We are often put in mind of the danger Europe was in, of having one master in the reign of Charles the Fifth, who was King of Spain, and Emperor of Germany. But, considering how powerful the princes of Germany then were, what separate interests they had, and how disjointed were that prince's dominions; what was that danger to the hazard Europe must be in, when the vast empire of Spain and the Indies, the mighty kingdom of France, are in one house, and Germany depending on it like a province, as it must do, whenever the house of Austria loses that power, which alone can preserve the independency of all other powers in Christendom?

I am far from sounding a charge, or weakening the strong ties of the late peace; I know not either what will, or what should be done. I only see what is done, and make those reflexions that are naturally born of the subject. It is for other heads, than mine, to deliberate effectually of these matters, so as to prevent the mischievous consequences by proper methods. However, this I may say without vanity, and this every man may without presumption pretend to: That I know, if the Swabians, Franconians, and Austrians are depressed, the Saxons, Prussians, and Hanoverians will quickly have the same fate; Germany will have but one master; that master be intirely French, and what will follow then, one may venture to foresee without much penetration. One may perceive how exactly the faction, that ever was in the French interest in England, correspond in their affections with their good friends of France. In the Post-boy of the twenty-ninth of September, are we entertained with this hopeful prospect of affairs from all quarters.

From Madrid we are told, "That the Duke de Popoli had ordered a detachment to Torellas, to mortify the inhabitants for harbouring the Miquelets."

From Warsaw, "That the Poles had received the disagreeable news, that forty thousand Turks, and a good number of Tartars, were arrived at Chocksin, with one hundred and forty pieces of cannon; the Tartars, having sounded the Dienster, have found three places fordable in it, so that it was feared they would yet lay siege to Caminiec this harvest."

From Rotweil, "That the French advance a-pace towards Hornberg and St. George, to which last place their army is extended; some say that the Elector of Bavaria is with them."

From Strasburgh, "That the Marshal de Villars had forced the enemies lines near Friburgh; and killed and taken above one thousand

* As they have done in the election of the Duke of Bavaria to the empire by force of arms.

Germans; that the Marshal de Bezons had passed the Rhine with twenty-five thousand men near Fort Lewis, and was marching towards Offenburgh, to join the troops that are passed near that place; that Friburgh was invested, and abundance of ammunition carrying to the army from our magazines."

From Schafhausen, "That the Germans have been much alarmed for some days past by the French passing the Rhine, and advancing towards Friburgh, in order to besiege that place; that a great many men from those parts fled thither with their effects, and that it was the general opinion that the French had a design also against Villengen."

From Frankfort, "That, in all probability, the French design to besiege Friburgh, to attack the Germans middle line and Villengen at the same time, and afterwards to make an irruption into Swabia, in order to take "Winter quarters there." This news-monger adds, "We have not yet the particulars of the loss of the Germans, and, perhaps, never shall."

Is not this one of the most happy postures of affairs, that the enemies of our constitution have been blessed with since the campaign of the Dauphin, when the Palatinate was turned into a heap of ruins, and a sea of blood? On one hand, the Turks are invading Poland, on another the French wintering in Swabia, while the Spaniards are chastising the rebels of Catalonia. What joy does it give this wretch, and his abettors? You see I have not put my invention to the rack, the fact is before you; and you will easily know what judgment to make of those men, who, out of complacency to a new friend, so merrily give up an old one to destruction.

I am apt to think that it is for an old grudge against the Germans, that these men rejoice so at their present disasters. It is well known the German princes were in the secret of the Prince of Orange's expedition to relieve us; that the Emperor Leopold not only refused to assist King James, when he was in France, but told him plainly, that he deserved no assistance from him, or any other prince in Christendom, in a letter * he wrote him of the ninth of April, 1689, which that King's friends, and the friends to France, could never forgive either in him, or his posterity. His Imperial Majesty upbraids King James with his hearkening to French councils, with suffering the infractions of the treaty of Nimeguen of which he was guarantee, and many other such offences, which are too hard for the ears of those, who look upon King James and King Lewis, as the only given of God. I shall give the reader a passage or two of that letter, that we may see what an enemy the Germans have all along had to do with. His Imperial Majesty having represented to King James, how his ambassador Count Caunitz had often shewn him what would be the ill effects of his affection to France, and the like, proceeds thus: 'We also caused it to be laid before you, that our religion has not suffered more by any one, than by the French themselves, because they not only think it lawful for them to join their treacherous arms with the sworn enemies of the holy cross, to the intire ruin of us, and the whole Christian world; to destroy the designs we

* See a copy of this letter on page 18 of this collection.

had formed for the glory of God, and to hinder the progress it pleased his almighty arms to bless us with, but also to add, in the empire itself, perjury to perjury, and perfidy to perfidy; to exhaust, by unheard-of exactions, the cities that surrendered to them by composition against articles agreed to, and signed by the Dauphin; after which, they have ruined, rased, and burnt the palaces of princes, that had all along been spared in the most bloody wars; plundered churches, carried into slavery, after the fashion of barbarians, those that voluntarily yielded to them; and acted as out of wantonness, even in Catholick countries, other dreadful examples of cruelty and inhumanity, which surpass even the tyranny of the Turks.' Such are the Emperor's expressions as faithful as I could translate them; such the enemies that, as the Post-boy promises his friends, are to have their winter quarters in the heart of Germany; such and perhaps worse may be the terrors they will spread, and the destruction they will make, with the hopes of which the faction, he flatters, are so delighted. And to what purpose, may the readers say, is your putting us in mind of all this misery? Can we prevent it? We are as well informed of the necessity of saving the empire from the domination of France. Tell us which way, is it to be done, but by the Emperor's accepting of the terms the French will condescend to grant him; that is, the leaving Strasburgh in their custody, and Germany exposed to the continual insults of her irreconcileable enemy. I do not believe there is a man in England, that, ask him coolly, What he thinks would become of us, were the Germans subdued by the French? could answer the question, without trembling. But then the well-wishers to our constitution, and to peace, put that time afar off, and flatter themselves some lucky or unlucky hit, on this side, or that, may interfere and save the empire, Alas! Does her safety depend on her luck? Has she been warring above twenty years, and won so many victories, to have her liberty depend on her fortune? Or indeed is it in fortune's power to do that for her alone, which was with so much difficulty and danger done for her by her confederates?

The clemency of our sovereign gave peace to France; and there is no doubt but her generosity can again give a deliverance to Germany. France is not already in so flourishing a condition, that she dares be ungrateful to a prince, who has so sensibly obliged her; and her Majesty's interposition cannot but be effectual, when her royal wisdom thinks fit. In the mean while, it is with the utmost abhorrence that one see Britons espousing the quarrel of the French, and abandoning a barrier to them, which is in some measure their own: For there is not one of the allies, whose interest it is not to maintain the present settlements in Great Britain, and consequently, the stronger any one of them is, the stronger are we; and, the weaker, the more does it add to our weakness.

Since the foregoing pages were written, we hear that the Marshals de Villars and de Bezons are passed the Rhine with one hundred and sixty thousand men, and have at once laid siege to Friburgh and Villengen, which they doubt notto be masters of, in a few days; that they raise contributions for thirty miles about, and, coming after a plentiful harvest into Germany, have such abundance of provisions, in their

camp, that, if their armies were in the most fruitful province of France, they could not fare better; that those two conquests will open them a way to Ulm, a town consisting of timber buildings, which two or three bombs will reduce either to ashes or obedience; that Prince Eugene is forced to give way to this superior power, and is not strong enough to hinder the French from advancing to Bavaria; and that the court of France are so far from thinking of peace, that they have resolved to raise fifty thousand men more this winter, so that, by the next campaign, they may have, with the forces that are to take up their quarters in Germany, with the army that may join them from Catalonia and Rousillon, and with the reinforcement of their new levies, two hundred thousand men on the frontiers of Bavaria to take possession of Vienna, the capital of the empire, to keep it themselves, or to give it to whom they please. Nor are these views visionary, if nothing is done on this side in favour of the Emperor. I would ask the most sanguine friend to the house of Austria, What can stop the French in their career? What town take them a month's time to conquer? And what power deliver the Germans from a French yoke?

After which, the pretender will have no need to turn protestant, he may keep his religion; and his chaplain Lesley may change his too; we may not stand upon niceties. If Dunkirk should happen not to be intirely demolished, who shall demand its demolition? If King Philip has a mind to Port-Mahon and Gibralter, who shall detain them? If Portugal has a word to say for herself, will she not be told of the usurpation of the house of Braganza? If Holland should pretend to meddle with other folks matters, she will be remembered of the Prince of Orange's rebellion; and that the seven provinces themselves are part of the succession of Burgundy. We know what is the moderation of France, when she is at liberty to act as she pleases; and when we have no friend to help us abroad; and what friend can we have when the empire is in chains? What will it avail us to have treaties of peace and commerce? To have acquired so much glory, in the late war; to have many good laws to secure our religion and liberties? What will it avail the Dutch to have so extended a barrier, to have garisons in so many strong towns?

It is in the memory of many of them, that, in the campaign of 1667, the French King over-ran Flanders, and, in two or three months, took as many, and as strong towns, as have been yielded to them by their last treaty; yet the French were so far from being masters of Germany, that they were not in possession of Alsace. Strasburgh was between them and the empire, and the Germans could, at any time, come to the relief of Flanders, then under the dominion of the house of Austria. If it be objected that we should not fright ourselves with these fears, that they are remote, and that the French do not intend to conquer Germany, but only to oblige the Emperor to come into the peace: All that I must say is, that it does not seem to be prudent and politick, to rely wholly on the good disposition of a nation, whom we have been beating for ten years together; which certainly must put them out of humour with us, and we may depend upon it, we shall pay for it, whenever they can make us; and they will never be able to make us as long as there is any power in Europe besides us, of which they stand in fear.

A SATYR

On the Earl of Oxford, Lord Bolingbr—k, Mr. Moor, and Mr. Prior.

MS.

OH! the wretched peace-makers,
Bob, Harry, Arthur, Matt.*
Who've lost our trade,
Our friends betray'd,
And all to serve a chamber-maid.†

Oh! the wretched damn'd sham peace,
That must our rents and stock decrease,
Must starve our poor,
And open the door,
To let in a Popish Son of a Wh—

Marlborough the Great,
Our foes did defeat;
May they still by him be bang'd;
May the Skip ‡ be stript,
And the Drawer || whipt,
But Bob and Harry hang'd.

VERSES

SPOKE TO THE

LADY HENRIETTA-CAVENDISH HOLLES HARLEY,

In the Library of St. John's College, Cambridge, November the 9th, Ann. 1719. By Mr. PRIOR.

MADAM,

SINCE ANNA visited our Muses seat,
(Around her tomb let weeping angels wait)
Hail THOU, the brightest of thy sex, and best,
Most gracious neighbour, and most welcome guest.

* Oxford, Bolingbrook, Moor, Prior. † Massam. ‡ Moor. || Prior.

Not HARLEY's self to Cam and Isis dear,
In virtues and in arts great OXFORD's heir,
Not he such present honours shall receive,
As to his Consort we aspire to give.

Writings of men our thought to-day neglects,
To pay due homage to the softer sex:
Plato and Tully we forbear to read,
And their great followers whom this house has bred,
To study lessons from thy morals given,
And shining characters, impress'd by Heaven.
Science in books no longer we pursue,
Minerva's self in HARRIET's face we view;
For, when with beauty we can virtue join,
We paint the semblance of a form divine.

Their pious incense let our neighbours bring,
To the kind mem'ry of some bounteous King;
With grateful hand, due altars let them raise
To some good knight's, or holy prelate's praise;
We tune our voices to a nobler theme,
Your eyes we bless, your praises we proclaim,
St. John's was founded in a woman's name:
Enjoin'd by statute, to the fair we bow;
In spight of time, we keep our ancient vow;
What Margaret Tudor was, is Harriet Harley now.

AN EPITAPH

ON BONA FIDE,

THE FRENCH KING LEWIS XIV. MS.

HERE lies an old man, of seventy-seven,
Who dy'd as he liv'd, yet hoped for Heaven:
In faith and good works (those two saving things)
He out-did all potentates, princes, and kings;
There's Utrecht, and Reswick, and Spanish Partition,
Old Renunciation, and new Demolition.
And, for his good works, no man did the like,
They began at Landau, and did end at Mardyke.
Then, as to his sins, the Jesuits make good,
That he got remission by shedding much blood.
Some thought him immortal, some honest and just,
Yet he rotted and dy'd in the month of August,
As did his good sister, now moulder'd to dust.

To Jacks and Nonjurors such deaths are sad stories,
For old Bona Fide was head of the Tories;
And, as he lay dying on royal state bed,
Remembring best friends, 'tis whisper'd he said,
O Robin, of Radnor, take care of thy head.
O James Duke of Ormond, my Irish dear joy,
I bequeath thee to Villars, when he wants a decoy.
O high mettled Harry, go cool thy lewd fire,
By Maintenon's leave, with the nuns of St. Cyr.
O bold Charles of Sweden, expect a defeat,
O Turk in Morea, expect a retreat.
O Philip of Spain, more tractable prove,
O Duke of Lorrain, the Pretender remove.
O Clement of Rome, thy church bull recall,
And, if Worcester says true, prepare for thy fall,
For George of Great Britain will manage ye all.

AN AUTHENTICK RELATION

OF THE MANY

HARDSHIPS AND SUFFERINGS OF A DUTCH SAILOR,

Who was put on Shore on the uninhabited Isle of Ascension, by order of the Commodore of a Squadron of Dutch Ships. With a remarkable Account of his Converse with Apparitions and evil Spirits, during his residence on the Island. And a particular Diary of his Transactions from the fifth of May, to the fourteenth of October, on which day he perished in a miserable condition. Taken from the Original Journal found in his Tent by some Sailors, who landed from on board the Compton, Captain Morson, Commander, in January, 1725-6.

Octavo, containing twenty-eight Pages.

TO THE READER.

As the following Journal carries all possible marks of truth and sincerity in it; so we have thought fit to publish it exactly as it was wrote, by the miserable wretch, who is the subject of it, without adding any borrowed descriptions of places, coasts, &c. which is too frequently done in pieces of this nature, in order to increase their bulk. The detestable crime, for which the Dutch Commodore thought fit to abandon and leave this Sailor on a desert island, is pretty plainly pointed out, in the Journal. The miseries and hardships he lingered under, for more than five months, were so unusually terrible, that the bare reading his account of them must make the hardest heart melt with compassion. Tormented with excessive thirst; in want of

almost every thing necessary to defend him from the inclemency of the weather; left to the severe upbraidings and reflexions of a guilty conscience; harrassed by the blasphemous conversations of evil spirits, haunted by apparitions, even tumbled up and down in his tent by demons; and, at the same time, not one person upon the island from whom to seek consolation or advice: these are such calamities, as no mortal could ever long support himself under. But at the same time the fatal catastrophe of this man recommends to us the preserving that wall of brass (as the poet calls it) which will be a comfort to us under all misfortunes, viz. a conscience free from guilt.'

——— **Hic murus aheneus esto,**
Nil conscire sibi, nulla pallescere culpa.

Saturday, May 5.

BY order of the commodore and captains of the Dutch fleet, I was set on shore on the island of Ascension, which gave me a great deal of dissatisfaction, but I hope Almighty God will be my protection. They put on shore with me a cask of water, two buckets, and an old frying-pan, &c. I made my tent on the beach near a rock, wherein I put some of my clothes.

May the 6th, I went upon the hills to see if I could discover any thing on the other side of the island that was more commodious for my living, and to see if there were any thing green; but to my great sorrow found nothing at all worth mentioning. I sincerely wished that some accident would befall me, to finish these my miserable days. In the evening I walked to my tent again, but could not very well find the way. I walked very melancholy along the strand, praying to God Almighty to put a period to my days, or help me out of this desolate island. I went back again to my tent, and secured it the best I could with stones and a tarpaulin from the weather. About four, or five o'clock, I killed three birds called boobies; I skinned and salted them, and put them into the sun to dry, being the first thing I killed upon the island. The same night I caught two more, which I served as before.

The 7th, in the morning, I went to my water-cask, it being half a league from my tent. I first put a peg in, but lost much water by that; so got him upon his head, and took the head out with a great deal of trouble. I made a white flag, which I put upon my piece, having nothing else, and set it upon a hill near the sea. I had no powder nor shot, which rendered my gun useless. That night I put more stones about my tent.

The 8th, in the morning, I took down my flag again, and set it upon a a hill, on the other side of the island. In the way I found a turtle, and killed him with the butt-end of my musquet; and so went back again to my tent, and sat me down very weary.

I trust in God Almighty, that he will deliver me some time or other by some ship that may touch here. This night I moved my tent on

the other side of the rock, being afraid that it would fall on my head, and by that means endanger my life: I would by no means be accessary to my own death, still hoping that God will preserve me to see better days. On the whole island I cannot find a better place than where I now am, and that I must be contented in my condition. I thank God I am now in good health. In the evening I killed some more boobies, which I served as the former, and in the morning did the same.

The 9th, in the morning, I went to look for the turtle which I killed yesterday. I carried my hatchet, and cut him up on the back, for he was so big that I could not turn him. I cut off some of the flesh from the fore-fin, and brought it to my tent, and put it in salt, and dried it in the sun. I began again to make a bulwark of stones round my tent, and secured it from the weather with my tarpaulin.

The 10th, in the morning, I took four or five onions, a few pease, and calavances, and went to the south-side of the island, to see if I could find a proper place to set them. I looked carefully on the strand, to see if I could discover the tracts of any beasts, or water, or any thing else that might be serviceable; but found nothing but a little purslain, on the other side of the island, which I eat for refreshment, being very dry, and could find no water, and but a little of it in my cask; walking back, eat what I had before reserved. When I was half-way back, found some more greens, but knew not whether they were good to eat.

The 11th, in the morning, went into the country again, and found some roots; the skin somewhat resembling potatoes, but could not think they were good to eat. I made a diligent search for a greater discovery, but found nothing else. I sat me down very disconsolate, almost dead with thirst, and afterwards went to my tent. On the other side of the island there is a sandy bay, by the biggest hill. This evening boiled a little rice, being the first time: I was somewhat out of order.

The 12th, in the morning, boiled a little more rice, of which I eat some. After I had prayed, I went again to the country to see if I could discover any ships, but to my great sorrow saw none; so went back again to my tent, and then walked along the beach, and found nothing but some shells of fish. I kept constantly walking about the island, that being all my hopes; then went to my tent, and read till I was weary, and afterwards mended my clothes. This afternoon put the onions, pease, and calavances in the ground, just by my tent, to see if they would produce any more; for, as it was, I could not afford water to boil them.

The 13th, in the morning, went to see if I could find any sea-fowls eggs, but found none. At my walking back, I found a small turtle just by my tent: I took some of its eggs, and flesh, and boiled with my rice for my dinner, and buried the rest in the sand, that it might not infect me; its eggs I buried in the sand likewise. Afterwards I found some nests of fowls eggs, of which I boiled in the evening, and it was very good diet. I melted some of the turtle's fat to make oil, and in the night burnt of it, having nothing for a lamp but a saucer.

The 14th, in the morning, after I had prayed, I took my usual walk, but found nothing new; so I returned again to my tent, and sat down, and mended my banyan-coat, and writ my journal.

The 15th, before I took my walk, I eat some boiled rice, and afterwards proceeded: But got nothing but my usual game, viz. boobies. I read till I was weary, and then betook myself to my repose.

The 16th, I looked out, as the day past; caught no boobies.

The 17th, I was very much dejected that I had found no sustenance; and a booby, that I had kept alive seven or eight days, now died.

The 18th, after my usual custom of praying, I caught two boobies.

The 19th, nothing worthy of note. The 20th, caught one booby. The 21st, nothing at all.

The 22d, after breakfast, went to the other side of the island, to see if I could discover any thing; but went back as I came. At four in the afternoon took my line, and fished on the rock for three or four hours, but to no purpose. I then took a melancholy walk to my flag, but much to my concern could descry nothing At my return to my tent, much to my surprise, I found it all of a smoke. After a serious consideration, I thought that I had left my tinder-box a fire on my quilt; but the smoke smothered me so much, that I could not enter before I had brought a bucket of water, and quenched it. I return God Almighty my hearty thanks that all my things were not burnt. I have lost nothing by it but a banyan, shirt, a corner of my quilt, and my bible singed. I intreat God Almighty to give me the patience of holy Job, to bear with my sufferings.

The 23d, all this day was remaking what was burnt yesterday.

The 24th, I walked to my flag, and returned again, with catching but one booby; afterwards mended my clothes, and broiled a booby on the embers.

The 25th, after my breakfast, went to my usual employment, and catched several sea-fowls sitting on their eggs. Then returned home with my spoil, and dried them. After my dinner went upon a search for more fowls, of which I caught many, and did not forget to look out for ships; but returned without any discovery. Boiled some of my eggs, and was disappointed by finding young ones in many of them.

The 26th, I looked out as before, but no fowls. The 27th, nothing worthy of note.

The 28th, I went to the west-side of the island, along the strand, and mounted the precipice of a high hill, which was so steep, that I have reason to thank my God that I did not break my neck down.

The 29th, nothing remarkable. The 30th, as before. The 31st, was forced to feed on the provision which I had before salted.

From the 1st of June, to the 4th, it would be needless to write how often my eyes are cast on the sea, to look for shipping, and every little atom in the sky I took for a sail; then look till my eyes dazzle, and immediately the object disappears. When I was put on shore, the Captain told me it was the time of year for shipping to pass this way; which makes me look out the more diligently.

The 5th, 6th, and 7th, I never neglected taking my usual walks, but to no purpose.

The 8th, my water was so much reduced, that I had but two quarts left, and that so thick as obliged me to strain it through a handkerchief. I then too late began to dig, and, after I had dug seven feet deep, found no moisture; the place where I began was in the middle of the island. I then came back again to my tent, and began a new well just by my tent, but to no purpose, having digged a fathom deep. It is impossible to express my concern, first in not seeing any ships to convey me off the island, and then in finding no sustenance on it.

The 9th, found nothing; passed away the day in meditations on a future state.

The 10th, with the very last of my water boiled some rice; having but very little hopes of any thing but perishing, I commended my soul to Almighty God, intreating him that he will have mercy on it; but, not caring to give over all hopes while I could yet walk, I went to the other side of the island to see for some water. Having heard talk, that there was a well of water on it, I walked up and down the hills, thinking not to leave any place secret from me. After four hours tedious walking, began to grow very thirsty, and the heat of the sun, withal, made my life a greater burden than I was able to bear; but was resolved to proceed as long as I could stand. Walking among the rocks, God of his great bounty led me to a place where some water run out of a hollow place in the rock; it is impossible to express my great joy and satisfaction in finding of it, and thought I should have drank till I burst. I sat me down for some time by it, then drank again, and walked home to my tent, having no vessel to carry any along with me.

The 11th, in the morning, after I had returned God Almighty my hearty thanks, I took my tea kettle with some rice in it, and some wood along with me to the place where the water was, and there boiled and eat it.

The 12th, I boiled some rice to break my fast, and afterwards with much trouble carried two buckets of water to my tent. I often think I am possessed with things, that I really want; but, when I come to search, find it only a shadow. My shoes being worn out, the rocks cut my feet to pieces; and I am often afraid of tumbling, and by that means endanger the breaking my buckets, which I cannot be without.

The 13th, I went to look out for wood, but found none but a little weeds somewhat like birch; brought it to my tent, and boiled some rice with it for my dinner. Afterwards went and looked out for shipping, but to no purpose; it makes me very melancholy to think that I have no hopes of getting off of this unhappy island.

The 14th, took my tea kettle with some rice, and went into the country where the water was. Afterwards returned again to my tent, and mended my clothes, and passed away the rest of the day in reading.

The 15th, all the day employed in getting of sea-fowls eggs and birch.

The 16th, to no purpose looked out for ships; and in the night was surprised by a noise round my tent, of cursing, and swearing, and the most blasphemous conversations that I ever heard. My concern was so great, that I thought I should have died with the fright. I did nothing but offer up my prayers to the Almighty to protect me in this miserable circumstance; but my fright rendered me in a very bad condition of

praying, I trembling to that degree, that I could not compose my thoughts; and any body would have believed that the devil had moved his quarters, and was coming to keep hell on Ascension. I was certain that there was no human creature on the island, but myself, having not seen the foot steps of any man but my own; and so much libidinous talk was impossible to be expressed by any body but devils. And to my greater surprise was certain, that I was very well acquainted with one of the voices, it bearing an affinity to an intimate acquaintance of mine: and I really thought that I was sometimes touched by an invisible spirit. I made my application to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost for forgiveness of my sins, and that they would protect me from these evil spirits. It was three o'clock in the morning before they ceased tormenting me, and then, being very weary, I fell to sleep. In the morning I awoke about seven o'clock, and returned God Almighty my hearty and sincere thanks for his last night's protection of me, but still heard some shrieks near my tent, but could see nothing. I took my prayer-book, and read the prayers proper for a man in my condition, and at the same time heard a voice, crying, Awake. I cannot afford paper enough to set down every particular of this unhappy day.

The 17th, I fetched home two buckets of water, and dreaded night's coming on, and interceded with God Almighty, that I might not be troubled again with those evil spirits; and I hope God Almighty heard my prayers, for I was not perplexed with them this night. Before I came upon this miserable island, I was of the Protestant religion, and used to laugh at the Romans, when they talked to me of apparitions; but to my great sorrow now find smarting reasons to the contrary, and shall henceforth embrace their opinions. This day an apparition appeared to me in the similitude of a man, whom I perfectly knew; he conversed with me like a human creature, and touched me so sensibly of the sins of my past life (of which I have a sincere and hearty repentance) and was such a terrible shock to me, that I wished it would kill me.

The 18th, after my devotions went to look out, and carried my hatchet with me. On the strand, the other side of the island, I found a tree, which I believe Providence had cast a-shore for me. I cut it in two pieces, the whole being too big for me to carry. I put one half on my shoulders, and, when I was half way home, set it down and rested myself on it. During which time, the apparition appeared to me again; his name I am afraid to utter, fearing the event. He haunts me so often, that I begin to grow accustomed to him. After I had rested myself, I carried it home, and then went back and fetched the other half.

The 19th, in the morning went to my colours, to see if I could discover any ships. Last night nor this day I have not seen any thing, and I trust in God I shall be no more troubled with them.

The 20th, this night, contrary to my expectation, was so prodigiously perplexed with spirits, and tumbled up and down in my tent to that degree, that in the morning my flesh was like a mummy; and the person, that I was formerly acquainted with, spoke to me several times this night; but I cannot think he would do me any harm, for when, he was in this world, we were as great as two own brothers. He was a soldier

at Batavia. It is impossible for a man to survive so many misfortunes, I not being able to keep a light; but the saucer that contains it is jumbled about and broke; and, if God in his infinite goodness does not help me, I must inevitably perish. I hope this my punishment in this world may suffice for my most heinous crime of making use of my fellow-creature to satisfy my desire, whom the Almighty Creator had ordained another sex for. I only desire to live to make an atonement for my sins, which I believe my comrade is damned for. I spent all the day in meditations, and prayers, and eat nothing. My strength decays, and my life is become a great burden to me.

The 21st, in the morning, I lifted up my hands to heaven, and offered up my prayers, and went to my flag; and in the way looked for provisions to asswage my raging hunger, but found none, so was forced to be satisfied with salted fowls.

The 22d, my water being expended, took my bucket and went for more: but the way was so troublesome, and the rocks so sharp to my bare feet, that it took me best part of the day to bring it home. And in the afternoon I went to the proper place for fowls eggs, of which I found some; they were speckled like some of our Holland's birds eggs.

The 23d, looked out for ships, and passed away the rest of the day in prayers.

The 24th, 25th, 26th, and 27th, I never neglected looking out for ships, and victuals; then read and prayed, and humbled myself before God, and desired that he would have mercy on me, and deliver me off of this miserable island; and afterwards came and took my bedding, and some other necessaries, and went to the middle of the island, where I fixed a new habitation in a concave place of a rock, it being much nearer the water than the other place. The other day, got two days water out of this same place, but now there is not a drop here. I fetched a few eggs, and boiled them in my tea-kettle; then went to the south side of the island, where there is a large hill of sand, and a hill of rocks where I found some more purslain, and some eggs, which I gathered up, and put in my sack. I fried both together, and eat them with a good appetite. Upon the strand I found a brush, and returned, fearing I should be benighted, and so not be able to find my new abode in the rocks. Before I got there, I was almost famished with thirst, and my skin blistered with the violent heat of the sun.

The 29th, I went upon the hills, and to no purpose looked out for ships; and afterwards, walking on the strand, I discovered a piece of wood sticking in the strand, which I at first took for a tree, but when I came to it, I found it was a cross. I embraced it in my arms, and prayed to God Almighty to deliver me. I believe there was a man buried there from some ship. I returned with much trouble to my cave in the rock, and, coming down a hill, my feet were so sore with the rocks, that I thought I should have broke my neck. When I got home, I reposed myself a little, and walked out again, and found a piece of broken glass bottle. Afterwards found a deep pit in the sand, which I descended into, thinking there might be water in it. I raked the sand about a foot deeper than it was before, and found some brackish water, so that my trouble was all in vain. Afterwards, as I was rambling up

and down, I found some scattered wood, which I made up in a bundle, and, bringing it home to my cave, heard a noise as if there had been copper-smiths at work. Afterwards I went again to the strand, where I got some greens, and eggs, which I eat with bread, and drank the water I had left in my cave.

The 30th, here has been so much dry weather, to my sorrow, that both at the cave, and the other place, where there used to be water enough, there is now not one drop, and I am as much in want of it, as I have been since my coming to this miserable island.

July the 1st, the water was dried up in every place where I used before to get it, so that I was near dead with thirst.

The 2d, I offered up my prayers to God to deliver me, and that he would preserve me, as he had aforetime done Moses, and the children of Israel, by causing water to flow out of a rock. But, that none of my own endeavours might be wanting, I went to make a diligent search, and in the way saw a matter of fifty goats upon a hill, and afterwards about twenty or thirty more. I pursued them with the utmost of my ability, but they were far too swift for me, and I looked carefully where they were for water, believing that there might be some there; and I found a deep pit, being five or six fathom to the bottom, which I descended, but it was quite dry. I suppose in the rains there is water here, by the goats coming to it now.

The 3d, I prayed earnestly, and afterwards went to look for water. It is a great wonder to me how the goats do to live in the dry seasons, seeing that water is so scarce now. I should have been famished before this time, had it not been for a reserve of about a gallon of water which I had before put up, thinking not to expend it till the last necessity; but now was forced to drink of it to asswage my extreme thirst. I afterwards went to the strand, but discovered nothing of service to me. Then walked to the country a different way from any I had been yet; and upon a hill saw, I am sure, at least, three or four hundred goats great and small, which I run after, but they were too nimble for me. It is surprising to me, seeing that there are so many goats upon the island, that I should discover none before; but I believe they sculk in the rocks, and, when the water is dried up, they come abroad for more. I found two gallons of water in a place of a rock.

The 4th, I moved my things from the cave, and went to another part of the island to settle my abode, being sure that there was no water on this side of the island. I prayed to God, and then searched for water, but to no purpose.

The 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th, I delayed no time to look for water, unless when I prayed.

The 9th, as I walked upon the strand, I heard again a very dismal noise of cursing and swearing in my own language. During the time of this noise, I never in all my life saw so many fowls together, they looking like a cloud, and intercepting between me and the sky, deprived me of some of its light.

The 10th, I went upon a very steep hill to look for shipping, but saw none. Upon the hill, I found a piece of wood which I brought

down along with me to prop up my new habitation; and coming down again, found another piece, which I brought down likewise.

The 11th, I carried all the wood from my tent into the country, and likewise some of my clothes.

The 12th, nothing remarkable. The 13th, 14th, and 15th, looked for water, but found none. The 16th, found some fowls eggs, which I brought home and eat; used my water very sparingly. The 17th, nothing. The 18th, as before. The 19th, nothing remarkable. The 20th, nothing worthy of note. The 21st, having no hopes of any thing but perishing, I committed my soul to God, praying that he will have mercy on it. Have now very little hopes of shipping. I boiled some rice and eggs.

The 22d, 23d, 24th, 25th, 26th, 27th, 28th, 29th, 30th, and 31st, my heart is so full that my pen cannot utter it. I now and then find a little water which the goats have left me. I always scoop it up, to the last drop, and use it very sparingly.

August the 1st, 2d, and 3d, I walked out with my bucket in my hand, and found a very little water, which I brought home.

The 4th, I found some water in a hollow place of a rock, and rolled my cask there, and scooped it all out as clean as I could; this rejoiced me very much. I then walked along the strand, and found a piece of a broken oar. Afterwards found three or four short thick pieces of wood like billets, and a little farther saw somewhat like a house, and, having before heard that the Portuguese formerly inhabited this island, made me go to it, to see what it was; but found it only a white hollow rock, and in the concavity there were some nails, and broken glass bottles. This was of very little use to me, so took up my bundle of wood and marched home.

The 5th, nothing remarkable.

The 6th, went to my tent on the beach, and saw three or four of the pease and calivances which I before set in the ground were come up; which was at first a great satisfaction to me, but, when I looked nearer, found that the vermin had eat all the rest, which soon palled my former joy. I return God Almighty my hearty thanks that he has thus long preserved me.

The 7th, these three months there has not been above half an hour's rain upon the island, and I cannot find a drop of water more upon the whole island than what is now in my cask; and if God Almighty of his great goodness does not send rain to replenish my small stock, I must inevitably perish.

The 8th, 9th, and 10th, searched carefully, but found no water. Have employed myself in praying, and interceding with God to have mercy on my soul.

The 11th, went to my tent on the strand, and again heard such a terrible noise, as though there had been a hundred copper-smiths at work. I was resolved to go upon the hill to see if I could discover any thing; and saw a cloud of birds, which I believe made the noise that just now surprised me. It was a great satisfaction to me, only to think I was so deceived.

The 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, and 17th, went about every part of

the island to look for water; but to my great concern found none; and I gauged my cask that I had, and found there was not above six gallons remaining, which made me boil nothing, and drink very sparingly.

The 18th and 19th, could find no water, and was out late on my search, so that the sun set when I was on the contrary side of the island from my cave, and could not find my way home; so was forced to sleep between two rocks, and there was such a quantity of rats there, that I thought they would have eat me. I wished twenty times that I was on the sand on the beach.

The 20th, not a drop of water to be found. I prayed to God that he would send rain, and I took my spade, and dug a well two fathom deep, but to no purpose. I then looked up to the heavens all around me, to see if I could see if the sky overcast, that might give me some hopes of rain; but all, to my sorrow, was very clear.

The 21st, went rambling about the island with my scoop with me, to look for water, but could not find the least drop, and my water almost gone at home; and was so prodigious dry, that I was forced to make water in my scoop, and drink it, thinking it was better than salt water, being so extreme thirsty, that my lips were glewed together.

22d, after my prayers, went again to look for water, and on the strand I found a turtle, which I killed, and drank near a gallon of his blood. I took some of its eggs and fat, and fried them. Its blood, and my own water, did not contribute much to abating of my thirst; for all I had drank near a gallon of the turtle's blood, was forced again to drink my own water.

The 23d, no hopes of finding any water, and I took some of the blood of the turtle, which I killed yesterday, after it had settled all night, and my own water together, and boiled with some tea in it. It was somewhat better than raw blood. At four in the afternoon, all the fresh water that I had left in the world I put in my tea-kettle, to bring it down to my tent; shall be forced to live there now, to be near the turtles, having nothing else to subsist on. But was taken so violently with the flux, drinking the turtle's blood, that I could not walk three steps. I cannot say but I was glad of it, hoping that it will put an end to my misery and days at once. With a great deal of trouble I got to my tent by dark.

The 24th, I was still much troubled with the flux, but was forced to bottle some tea, of the former ingredients.

The 25th, I was so dry and sick together, that I drank my very last water, being but a pint. Afterwards I went to look for fowls eggs, to see if they would quench my extreme thirst.

The 26th and 27th, I thought of little else but death, and prayed earnestly for an admittance into heaven. The fowls eggs had no effect, so was forced again to boil tea of my urine, and settled blood, there being plenty of turtles on the island.

The 28th, at three in the morning, went out to catch a turtle, and found one, which I killed with my hatchet, and filled a bucket with his blood; he had likewise a great deal of water in his bladder, which I drank all out, and was much better than his blood; but it soon rose in my stomach, and I cast it up again. I cut off some of its flesh, and

carried it to my tent. Afterwards, being very dry, I boiled some tea; but, my stomach being weak, it required somewhat more nourishing; and this was very bitter, and I soon brought it up again. I boiled some more, and let it stand.

The 29th, I could not sleep all night, being so dry, and my head grows dizzy, that I thought I should have run mad. I went again and searched in all the pits, but found them dry; the deepest of them I dug seven feet deeper, but at last found no moisture.

The 30th, I prayed very earnestly most part of the day, and then laid down in my tent, and wished that it would rain, or that I should die before I rose. In the afternoon got out of my tent, but was so weak that I could not walk. I was forced to take some of the eggs of the turtle, that I killed two days past, not finding one now, and eat of them. The flesh stunk, but the eggs did not: my head was swelled, and so dizzy, that I knew not what I did. But I was in such agony with thirst, that it is impossible for any body to express it. I could not see any turtles, so caught five boobies, and drank the blood of them.

August 1st, I was walking, or, more properly speaking, crawling on the sand, for I could not walk three steps together. I saw a living turtle. I was not able to carry my bucket, but cut off his head with my razor, and lay all along and sucked his blood as it run out; and afterwards got my hand into him, and got out the bladder, which I carried home with me, and put the water out into my kettle. Afterwards I took my hatchet, and went to cut him up, to get its eggs; and in cutting the shell broke the helve of it. This was still an addition to my misfortunes, but I got out some of its eggs, and carried them home, and fried them, and afterwards drank some boiled piss mixed with tea; which, though it was so very nauseous, revived me much. I made a virtue of necessity, and in my deplorable condition thought it good.

September 1st, I killed another turtle, but never was any poor creature so mangled, having broke my hatchet, and raking among his intrails, broke the gall; which made the blood so bitter, that after I had boiled it, I could hardly drink it, but was forced to get it down. I thought of nothing but the other world, and soon brought up again what I had before drank; and was so extreme dry, that I drank a quart of salt water, but could not contain it. I was so very ill after it, that I expected immediate death, and prepared myself in the best manner I could for it; and I hope ths Lord will have mercy on my soul. After it was dark, I saw a turtle crawling towards my tent, which I killed, and drank about two quarts of his blood; all the rest that I could catch I reserved, and then endeavoured to go to sleep.

The 3d, all the day was employed in fixing a helve to my hatchet. I was somewhat better than yesterday, and lived upon the turtle that I killed last night.

The 4th, drank the last of the blood, which was well settled, and a little sour. The 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th, I lived upon turtles blood and eggs; but my strength decays so, that it will be impossible I should live long. I resign myself wholly to Providence, being hardly able to kill a turtle. The 9th, 10th, and 11th, I am so much decayed, that I am a perfect skeleton, and cannot write the particulars, my hand shakes

so. The 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, and 17th, lived as before. I am in a declining condition. The 18th, 19th, 20th, 21st, 22d, 23d, 24th, 25th, 26th, 27th, 28th, 29th, 30th. October the 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th, and 6th, all as before.

The 7th, my wood is all gone, so that I am forced to eat raw flesh and salted fowls. I cannot live long, and I hope the Lord will have mercy on my soul. The 8th, drank my own urine, and eat raw flesh.

The 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, and 14th, all as before.

ADVICE TO A YOUNG CLERGYMAN,

How to conduct himself in the common offices of life, in a letter from a late Right Reverend Prelate.

Octavo, containing twenty-five pages.

THE PREFACE.

This letter of advice to a young clergyman was written by a very eminent prelate, some years ago, and has remained in private hands ever since.

Though the rules laid down therein were prescribed for private use, probably without any intent to be made publick; yet they seem to be so singularly serviceable as to challenge universal attention and regard, since there are scarce any to whom they may not be advantageous.

Though the great name and reputation of the author would be a sufficient recommendation, if it were judged proper to communicate it; yet I am persuaded it will make its way without it, as all young clergymen will find, the observance of these maxims, which were drawn from experience, will highly conduce to the promotion of their spiritual interests. With this view only it is made publick, nor will it be the publisher's fault, if it does not answer the end proposed.

Dear Sir,

I RECEIVED your very obliging and respectful letter; by which you inform me, that you are lately entered into holy orders. I am very glad of it; and I pray God to bless you in all things, both in temporal and eternal happiness.

The respect which I bear to your father's memory, and for whom I

had, while living, the most intire friendship, accompanied with my best wishes for the welfare of all who stand in any degree of relation towards him, have determined me to give you, what, if rightly accepted and observed, will be, I am fully satisfied, the best present I can possibly make you; I mean, a little good advice for the due regulation of your future conduct in life. Not that I think you stand remarkably in need of it, or that I am over-fond of exercising that authority which my office may peculiarly claim, or that privilege which old age doth often usurp of documenting our juniors, but only that I may, in the most proper manner I can think of, testify my affection to a son of Dr. N——, and, in some sort, repay my obligations to my dear departed friend; and, in so doing, I shall not touch upon any of the fundamentals of our faith, or of morality; for in all these, I am well persuaded, your father's example, your religious education, and your own learning, and good abilities, will be sufficient at all times to direct you. But my cautions shall at present only regard some smaller incidents; which, tho' of the greatest importance, seem to be so trivial, that many young men never think of them, till they find themselves entangled in those very circumstances, and, for want of a timely reflexion, are greatly embarrassed and perplexed how to proceed; and, for want of proper direction, often act wrong. As to which points, if I can give you a previous admonition, I shall, I believe, do you, what I intended, a real service.

And, First, Let me beg you to be very timid and circumspect, never to contract too strict an intimacy with any of those persons who are of the same vocation whereunto we also are called. For although we ought most intimately, and most sincerely, to affect and regard each the other, and to be closely united, not only on a religious principle, as we are all of us servants of one master, but also on a prudential account; because, if we were friends one to another, with something more than a professed sincerity (of which kind only there is no lack), we might, in that case, the better be enabled to make a stand against the common enemies of us and our religion. Yet, so unhappy is the state of things among us at present, and, I much fear me, it will continue so, that we are become our own greatest enemies; and not only the laity separates and divides itself from among us, but we also, thus weakened, grow weaker, by sub-divisions and unchristian disputings, among ourselves; reducing every affection into self-love, and turning the breath of charity into the blast of envy.

Another reason which may justly be offered in support of this reservedness of behaviour is, that it will be a means to forward your preferment; though it is generally conceived to be a means of frustrating it; the error of which opinion will manifestly appear, if you will but consider, that a friendship with a young clergyman will oft-times, if not always, betray you:—He has the same views, the same expectations and pursuits with yourself; a rivalship cancels every obligation. But he is your friend, you will say? As he is such, then he best knows your interest, can soonest trace the spring it flows from, and easiest direct it into his own channel. Thus your friend, only by being too much so, becomes your competitor; and, if he succeeds, so far will hebe from making you amends, or remembering the means of his

success, the worldling must of necessity avoid you, that the sight of you may not upbraid him. It is better far to fear this to be true, than to find it so.

For these reasons, therefore (and more reasons might be given) although I would desire you should be courteous and affable to all, I would not have you plunge yourself too deeply into engagements with any; for a friendship with the brotherhood will cause you many disappointments in expecting their assistance, and many difficulties in affording them yours. To be prudent therefore, and to avoid both these inconveniencies, keept hem under a proper reserve, and at a due distance, for your own sake.

But it is not thus that you are to proceed with regard to the laity. Maintain but innocency in your life, and decency in your conduct, you cannot be too open, too unreserved, too chearful, amongst them. There is a most grievous fault, which almost all persons, who have had a university education, fall more or less into, which is, pedantry. The young man who has plunged into Greek, and, perhaps, paddled in Hebrew, cannot bear common names for common things. Sublime expressions, which travel hard towards nonsense, are sure always to delight him; and, when he discovers, that those whom his vanity calls the lower classes of mankind (such as mechanicks, and persons bred to trade, who have, perhaps, much more general knowledge, and are at least ten times more useful, than himself) do not understand him, and, of consequence, do not admire him (for the world is become in these latter ages so refractorily wise, they will not pay an implicit admiration to any thing), he begins to despise them for what is really no fault at all, or most certainly no fault of theirs, shuns their company, which he ought to seek, and loses their interest, which he ought to preserve.

But, is not the dislike mutual? Is not the vain contempt returned? And let us examine fairly, which has the most justification on its side. If a pedant, with an air of pride and superiority (for pride eternally mixes itself with pedantry) comes into company with tradesmen, who are talking nothing better than good sense, and in no better style or language than plain English, when it comes to his turn to speak, or perhaps before, for it is great odds his learning will not be checked by good breeding, he pours forth a torrent of rough sounds, which none but himself (nor perhaps himself) understands, such as my weak head would not be able to bear, which aches but to think of him; and all this violence is committed only to make them gape wide with admiration of his learning. But, let the subject be changed, let trade, navigation, commerce, agriculture, mechanism, or manufacture, become the topick, this man of letters is struck dumb, can give no opinion when he is consulted, no satisfactory answer to any question proposed, knows not the situation, climate, produce, or practice of any foreign countries, nor can judge, with any tolerable exactness, of the true interests of his own. So learned he is, he knows not how he came by his own gown and cassock, other than that he paid for it, and wears it; so wise he is, that he is totally at a loss in all the ordinary occurrences of life, and finds that his Greek and Hebrew would have been of much greater use three thousand years ago, but that he cannot now tell how best to make his way in the world he is to travel through. Yet this is the man who

claims a right to have all the discourse to himself, and, with a lazy pride, contemns unlearned industry. —Yet, which of these appears to the most advantage, you shall determine; for I have done with him.

Perhaps you will think me a little too severe in my censure, and say, Is learning then of no use? Learning is undoubtedly and abundantly useful, but it should be properly and cautiously applied, not merely to draw applause from the ignorant, but rather to convey useful instruction. Now, the misfortune is, that when we launch out into life, and come from the university with the reputation of being well read, we are too apt to entertain a mistaken notion, that our studies are quite finished; whereas, on the contrary, we have yet our greatest exercise to go through, the study of mankind, which speculation cannot ever arrive at, and which is attainable only by associating with, and mixing among them. Now this I take to be so far from being blameable, that it is, in my opinion, our indispensable duty; for I have always thought, that our good conduct, and sober and pious behaviour in life, is of more real service to religion, than all wordy exhortations to virtue whatever, and that innocent complacency is highly preferable to a monastick austerity. We do well, when we allure men to the practice of their duty, by making it appear in the most desirable light; but far otherwise do we act, when we banish the practice of religion by masking it with terror. It is not our business to retire from the world, but to live well in it, and labour by example, not by precept only, to reform it. And it is always, without exception, our own fault, if we are not agreeably received by the laity; our company and conversation courted and desired, and our persons and characters respected and regarded. And, believe me, by cultivating a sincere friendship with them, you shall be overpaid for all the learning they may steal from you, besides temporal advantages.

I hope what I have said, on these subjects, will be sufficient to convince you, how necessary it is to act in the manner, in which I have taken the freedom to advise you, with respect to the clergy and laity; I know, for my own part, I have long been convinced of it.

The next point in which I think I ought to caution you more particularly is, with respect to the general choice of your subjects in your discourses from the pulpit; and, in all your sermons, let me request you, at all times, strictly to avoid all manner of political reflexions. Do not torture scriptural history, as the fashion is, for modern application. Draw no observations upon government, not even in defence of the administration; and, for the following reasons: It is not part of your duty to do it, and therefore it is your duty not to do it; for you are to keep to the practice of your duty. Secondly, All discourses of such a nature tend to irritate and inflame, whereas our whole study is to be employed in uniting each to the other in Christian charity. Thirdly, It is wrong with regard to your own private interest; for, whichsoever side you choose, you would do well to remember there is another side, who will call you servile or seditious. And a fourth reason may be offered, which is, That although you should employ your eloquence on that side which is, in the usual phrase, called the safest (I mean, the now prevailing party) yet you know not of a certainty, that you shall get into good preferment thereby (which I take to be the only motive of

all who engage in state-controversy, and must be your motive, should you also engage in it;) and, should you fail therein while their power holds, and the tables turn, which, from the perpetual fluctuation of human affairs, it is highly probable will happen before you arrive at my time of life, you will then remain for ever obnoxious to the party which may chance to become uppermost, and that too, perhaps, without any real dislike, either of their principles or practices. Thus it is a great hazard, whether you can rave yourself into good preferment under one administration; and, if you do obtain it for a while, you will be inevitably shipwrecked in the first storm; such a terrible self-splitter is full-blown zeal.

Another thing, which is peculiarly requisite for your conduct from the pulpit, is the framing and adapting your discourses in such manner as may best suit with your audience. Measure, as much as may be, the line of their understandings. Do not any more go out of their depth, than beyond your own. Preach not on mysteries to metaphysicians, nor preach metaphysicks to farmers. Nothing has done more real disservice to religion, than an incautious choice of our subjects from the pulpit, and an inaccurate manner of treating them; insomuch that it remains a question, Whether persecution has ever done half so much injury to it, as all the various wrong methods made use of to dofend it.

But, above all things, let me deter you from too curious an examination of those sacred mysteries which are the objects of our faith, but are not within the narrow limits of our understanding. I have trembled to hear a young preacher, with too much warmth in his head, as well as in his heart, state all the objections which infidelity has ever been able, with all its wicked industry, to make against our religion, only to shew his own ingenuity in answering them. But, how grievous is his offence, if any of his auditors, who had never heard, till that hour, any one of these objections made, and probably, never might have had their peace disturbed by hearing them made, should not think his answers full and satisfactory! Beware, therefore, I beseech you, in quiet minds, never to raise doubts, nor start difficulties, merely for the merit of solving them. Religion can support itself; be you careful not to injure it.

Nor need you be at any great loss to find out proper heads of discourse to enlarge upon, while there are the extensive and important volumes of morality lying at all times open before you. These are the best subjects you can possibly make choice of upon many accounts. They are proper at all times, are well received in all places, are readily understood by all persons, and easily composed by you; so that, by constantly pursuing this method, you will receive more approbation with less pains. The excessive applauses which the most famous preachers of the last century have, from time to time, been rewarded with, have often, if not always, flowed more from a rhetorical display of moral virtue, than from their labours to establish the evidences of our belief. The most admired and most celebrated preacher, now living, owed his rise intirely to a happy and persuasive manner of inforcing our practical duty; for, although he is now arrived at almost

the highest degree of dignity in the church, yet has he scarcely ever been remembered to have chosen a subject which was not wholly employed on our moral obligations to each other. These he has always insisted on as the most certain rule of discharging our duty to God. Want of charity, has, indeed, imputed to him a doubt or disbelief of the great mysteries of our faith; but I will not even harbour in my breast so rash a suspicion, which his whole life is a confutation of; for he is a good man, which he could hardly be, unless he were also, what I am fully persuaded he is, a good christian. Your will forgive me therefore, that I do recommend his practice to your imitation; for I should not deserve to be forgiven, if I were to offer you my own.

I shall close this article in a very few words. If you should be so lucky to rise in the church (do not wonder that I call it luck; for merit alone will not raise you, though you have as much as any young man I know; but strong interest, fair opportunity, and good recommendation, will justle all virtues, graces, and accomplishments whatever; should you therefore, I repeat it, by any kind hit, become eminent) do not, I beseech you, be, or affect to be, rigidly severe against any sectaries or set of men, merely on account of difference in opinion. If all who fear God, and work righteousness, are accepted of him, do not anathematise or reject those, whom it is our duty to hope, that God hath not rejected. Moreover, although we ought to be stedfast in our faith, yet I cannot but think it a truly religious and highly commendable fear, when we forbear to censure others, only for differing in opinion from us, from an awful apprehension of its being possible they are in the right, and that we ourselves may be mistaken. For, consider a little, we have revelation, so have they; we have reason, so have they. Many things we differ in, yet very few of them are of the essentials to salvation; and those which are so, must wait their determination from infinite wisdom. Therefore, in the first place, with regard to yourself, be sober, be careful, be vigilant, be not blown about with every wind of doctrine, but labour incessantly to confirm and strengthen those who do well. And, in the next place, with regard to others, be meek, be patient, be merciful; remember, that your adversary is your brother, and be not bitter against him, but at all times avoid that zeal which is not according to knowledge.

I am not now much ashamed to own, especially as it may be for your advantage, that, in the two next points in which I am about to caution you, I have often wished for advice at your time of life, and therefore hope, mine may now be of service to you. They are these: What respect you ought prudently to pay to others, and how much respect you may justly claim to yourself.

The respect you are to pay to others, may, in the general, be governed by the degree of respect paid to them by the rest of mankind; for the world doth generally judge right in this particular; and, when I am informed, that merit is without a due reverence paid to it, I must know that merit well, before I can be at all induced to believe it; for, in such a circumstance, I do generally suspect, that mankind have found a sufficient reason to delay paying that debt of respect, which, without such a reason, they seem to me to be always ready enough to pay. And,

therefore, as on the one side you will be right in not being the last to regard those who have the concurrent good opinion of mankind, although, possibly, you do not know all the footsteps by which they made their way; so, on the other side, do not entertain, of a sudden, too high an opinion of the appearance of infant merit, while it remains under obscurity, lest, when it comes forth into the face of day, there should prove black spots in it, which cannot bear the light, and which, while you stand too near, may throw a shade on your judgment at least, if it does not in some sort darken your integrity. In fine, there is a happy medium. Praise no man much, especially if he praises you, lest it should seem like a plot to play one another off to the world; nor censure any man greatly, lest you be thought to envy him.

Another method of forming a judgment, what degree of respect you are to pay to others, is to consider, what degree of good they can do to you. For though they may happen to be under general disesteem, yet, if they can and will do you a particular benefit, they have an undoubted right to your particular regard, nor can you easily, in such a case, shew them too much; for all mankind are but too desirous of receiving homage from each other, though the major part of them are too indolent to exert those good qualities, which are necessary to obtain it. If you pay them no more respect than they deserve, all men will think you pay them too little; but, if you pay them fifty times more than they merit, no man will think you pay him too much Err, therefore, for their satisfaction, and your own sake, on the right side. Give my Lord his title; or, if he likes to have it so, even call him his grace; and his lordship's grace shall, in return, say, you have much learning and good sense, and deserve promotion. Pay him but homage, he shall admire you, without knowing why, yet ought you to know, that he admires you for that homage he receives from you.

You will object, perhaps, that this is an undue method of applying to the passions of men. Yet, if you are to deal with men, you must deal with them not as being what they should be, but as they are, creatures hurried away with their passions and vanities, and labour to make them serve to your own interest. All men have their frailties, but an ardent desire of respect is the great frailty of all men. There is a vein of pride winds itself through all nature. The meanest pant for that homage, which the great ones receive, and are anxious to find out something a degree below themselves, from whom they also may have a right to exact the like. I would be glad to tell you, that nothing of this kind prevails among the clergy, did not every hour's experience prove it otherwise; for I fear me, should you ask the laity concerning all of us in general, or the inferior clergy concerning the dignified brethren in particular, their answers would not excuse us. Would they not say, that we require them to bow to a priest, and kneel to a bishop? nay, perhaps, assert, that we were so watchful for respect from them, as to make it a religious obligation, which they were bound to perform?

But are there no persons who think it a meanness to stoop thus far, and pay mankind more respect than they deserve? Are there none who, with an open roughness, and highly to be applauded sincerity, bring men down to the low level of their real merit? Yes, some such there are;

but they are those whom success in life, or independency of fortune, have set at liberty, to act as they please, or they are those who rail at seeing others do, what they have themselves done before in vain. But if you would know better than themselves whether these railers at over-doing respect are truly in earnest, or only actuated by pique and resentment; ply them closely with that very respect they pretend to detest, admire their superior understandings, revere their uprightness, commend their Stoick virtue, promise to imitate their example; and I will venture to assert, you shall be well received by them for doing that to them, which they will not permit you to do to others. For the thing is, in applying your respect to himself, every man thinks you apply it right.

But I must say no more on this subject, lest, when I have the favour of a visit from you, you should turn the weapons I have lent you, against myself.

As to the respect which you may justly claim to yourself, it is the hardest thing of all to give advice in. For hardly any one of us thinks he has enough, which is the reason why he has so little. But as you now have a right to require, that I propose some rule for you to go by, let it be this, to demand only so much respect as you really deserve. Now this, you will say, leaves you as it found you, since you cannot easily form a judgment of your own deserts. If that be the case, then let the world form a judgment for you, and it is highly probable it will be a favourable one. Think you deserve no more, or rather less, than you do really receive; for this will be a certain method to raise you that very respect you want to have shewn to you, and will at the same time preserve humility in yourself. The truth of the fact is really just thus; it is our contending so apparently for so much respect, which very often, if not always, deprives us intirely of it. Men have ceased from worshiping images. Tho' they revere the priesthood, they abhor priestcraft. They will not, they ought not to regard us merely for our habits, but to inquire what manner of spirit we are of. Nothing can make a proud man more odious, unless it be, that he is a proud priest; and believe me, from experience I speak it, if we would have any uncommon deference and regard shewn us from the laity, we must always take it by courtesy, and not as matter of right; for they are at all times ready to give us a proper respect, if we do not insist on it as a debt, which they are obliged to pay us.

It is but too often the case, that, instead of the homage we so ardently desire, we are forced to bear raillery, nay even some degree of ridicule itself, especially from our superiors in fortune, on whom we have a dependence or expectation, and to whom it would be the highest imprudence to discover any resentment. Now to be able to sustain this trial with decency and good humour, and to make it seem easy to us, when it is, perhaps, far otherwise, though it is very difficult, is a very valuable and profitable accomplishment; and the great secret seems to be this, by laughing with them, or rather beginning the laugh for them against yourself, which will in a great measure relieve you from being laughed at by them. Whatever is superior to ridicule, will not hurt you. Whatever cannot stand it, deserves it. Then why not laugh? If a young clergyman be too voracious an epicure, bows very awkwardly,

behaves very slovenly, or talks most pedantically, may we not join in banter of the man, without any affront to the order? Or is it absolutely necessary to suppose every spiritual person to have no earthly failing? There seems to be, more especially with every young man amongus, so strong an attachment to the interests of the church (to give it no worse a construction) that he labours to make us believe, that it receives a wound, when himself is attacked in his own private capacity, on occurrences which no way affect it. His person, his dress, his actions, his errors, are all to be sacred, because he is a divine. Why, what a farce is this? Can we be supposed meek, patient, long-suffering, and ready to bear all kinds of persecution, when we cannot even sustain a little raillery with any tolerable serenity of temper?

Endow yourself therefore, I request you, with so much patience, as to bear the frailties incident to your humanity, without the low subterfuge of sheltering yourself in your divinity; nor ever imagine, that your profession of religion, is, or ought to be a protection for your faults.

I do remember a nobleman, who, before a very numerous assembly, told a worthy divine, who was solliciting him for a living then vacant, and in his lordship's diposal, "No, no, Doctor, talk no more of it; but pr'ythee, man, learn to dance." The Doctor, not at all abashed, smilingly replied, "He should be incorrigible not to improve, with his lordship for an instructor, who had long taught him to dance attendance. Have I so, Doctor? says the Earl. Then even take the living, and my daughter Sophy shall teach you to turn your toes out." The company laughed, but the doctor had most reason. I wish you the same self-subduing spirit, and that a like reward may attend it.

Another thing, which I must exhort you to, is this, in whatsoever state of life you are, therewith to be content. Avarice and oppression are the two most shocking crimes, which degenerated nature can be guilty of; yet are they often, and I fear with two much reason, imputed to the clergy. Nor can it at all excuse or extenuate our offence, that it hath been so from time before us, and may be so after us. Every man is undoubtedly under a moral obligation to provide for himself and his family, by all prudent and honest means; for, if we sow unto them spiritual things, it is meet that we partake of their temporal things. But this does not extend so far as to injure, oppress, be rigid, tortious, and violent. And I am most usually inclined to believe, that he among us who litigates for tythes, or duties, must be himself chiefly in fault; for I have proved it myself, that the man who will not pay you sixpence, which he is convinced you have a right to exact, will give you ten times the sum, if you will accept it in the manner he thinks fit to give it you, and will spend forty times as much to keep you from it, if you refuse. Now, suppose Christian forbearance laid intirely out of the case, which way, think you, ought human policy to take? Whenever, therefore, you are in this disagreeable circumstance, examine yourself with great strictness, and be always the first to propose the mediation of friends, arbitration, or any other compromise, remembering, that to the spiritual man belongeth peace, and that he ought no more to make use of the law than of a sword, neither of which are justifiable except only for self defence.

The only thing which remains for me to mention to you, and which necessarily follows christian forbearance, is christian charity. I had rather be employed in one act of benevolence, than expound the whole apocalypse. There is nothing so much mistaken as charity. Some confine it to an ostentatious alms-giving, where the act pays itself. Some place it in giving all men a good character, which makes their good word of no value to any man, and which seems to me to flow rather from an abject servility of spirit, than from any religious motive. Yet, sure, to part with the superfluities of life, which we know not how otherwise to employ, or to blow off our praises on others, when they cost nothing, and are nothing worth, cannot deserve to wear the name of charity. That virtue rises to a higher pitch; it streams with every bleeding wound, and sighs with every aking heart: is delighted to be employed, and places all its good in procuring happiness to others; had rather remove distress, than build palaces; and says to the unhappy, mine is your misery, for ye are my children. This is, or this ought to be, the distinguishing characteristick of the servants of Christ, without which knowledge and learning are a reproach, and all pretences to piety, and solemn austerity, impious and pharisaical.

I have now gone through the whole, in which I thought it might be necessary to give you advice. And although it may seem, that I have not directed you in any important articles, yet I should wish you to keep my letter by you, to refer to occasionally; and I dare venture to say, that in the course of your life you will find the usefulness of it in every particular.

It is not in weightier matters that we are often the most embarrassed; there we are always on our guard, or can have present directions for our conduct, from pious and learned authors. But little inconveniences, by being as little attended to, oftentimes become the most difficult; for he, who despiseth small things, shall perish by little and little.

If this will not amount to a full excuse, let my sincere friendship for you supply the rest; for you may be assured, I would not have written so freely and unreservedly to any person, for whom I had not the most affectionate regard.

I shall be, assure yourself, exceeding glad to see you at all times at ———, where you will be certain of finding me, having taken up a resolution, though not a common one, of spending the remainder of my days in my own diocese.

Nov. 1730.

THE

TRAVELS OF THREE ENGLISH GENTLEMEN,

FROM VENICE TO HAMBURGH,

Being the grand Tour of Germany, in the year 1734.

MS. Never before published.

The Gentleman, who drew up the following piece, is a person of curiosity; and, when he first went abroad, as well as during his residence in foreign parts, was a member of the Royal Society, and of the University of Oxford. The observations it contains, many of which are intirely new, are related with the utmost fidelity. It may, therefore, be considered, as a supplement to the ingenious Dr. Brown's Travels in Germany; and will likewise serve to supply various omissions, and illustrate several obscure passages, of other modern relations, with which gentlemen of erudition, who have visited the countries herein mentioned, have entertained the public.

SECT. I.

A Journey from Venice to Gorizia, or Goritia, the capital of a county of the same name, in the Dutchy of Carniola.

THE War breaking out between France and her allies and the house of Austria, towards the close of the year 1733, we took for granted, that the maritime powers could not avoid concerning themselves in that quarrel; and, therefore, laid aside all thoughts of returning to England through France, as we had proposed, when at Rome. This induced us to make the grand tour of Germany; and, in order thereto, to meet at Venice, the beginning of February, 1734. Here, according to agreement, we arrived; and having seen all the principal curiosities, and the conclusion of the carnival, we went by water, with our baggage, and two post-chaises, to Mestre, February the twenty-seventh, O. S. 1733; or March the tenth, N. S. 1734. Mestre is a small town or village, about five miles almost west of Venice, and the place where the Barcas, bound from that capital to the Venetian territories in Italy, and particularly those with gentlemen for Germany, frequently land their passengers and effects. The padrone of the Barca, whom we paid according to agreement, upon our landing, was a man of some politeness and address, though very desirous of imposing upon us; but this is not to be wondered at, since it exactly corresponds with the general disposition of the Italians.

The Vetturino, who supplied us with six horses from Venice to Gorizia, for twelve zecchins, or sequins, each consisting of twenty-two Venetian lire, or livres, furnished us with two very good postiglioni. These conducted us first to Treviso, Trivigi, or Trevigio, for it goes by all these names, a post and half from Mestre, through the villages of Mojana, La Croce, and La Frascar. Mojana has a handsome church, with a pretty high tower; and, as our postiglioni informed us, is famous for the fineness and whiteness of its bread It is about four Italian miles from Mestre. La Croce and La Frascar are not considerable enough to deserve any particular notice. The country between Venice and Treviso is a plain, and, even at this time of the year, covered with a beautiful verdure. We entered Treviso, February the twenty-seventh, about sixteen hours,* according to the Italian computation of time.

Treviso, or Trivigi, as it is called by Leandro Alberti, is a city of considerable note, as being of great antiquity, and the principal place, unless we will have † Venice itself to stand in this territory, of the Marca Trevisana. However, scarce any traces of its former grandeur are now to be seen. It is seated upon the river Sile, Silo, or Silio, the Silis of Pliny (Lib. iii. cap. 18) which runs through the town; and, according to that author, has its source in the neighbouring mountains, called, by him, Montes Tarvisani. The first writers of authority that mention this city are Procopius (Lib ii. Bell. Goth.) and Paulus Diaconus (Lib. iv. cap. 3.) though the Montes Tarvisani of Pliny (Lib. iii. cap. 18.) seem to intimate, that these mountains received their denomination from Tarvisium, the ancient Roman name of Trevisa, and, consequently, to imply, that this place existed in Pliny's time. Nay, that it was a Roman municipium, in early ages, evidently appears from stones dug up near it, with Roman inscriptions upon them, viz. MVN TAR. and DECVRION. Upon the declension of the Western Empire, it became subject to the Ostrogoths, whose fifth King, Totila, was born here. Afterwards Alboinus, King of the Lombards, having made himself master of Aquileia, and other cities in that neighbourhood, resolved to pillage and lay in ashes Trevigi, because its citizens had not been early enough in their submission to him. But Felix, the Bishop, found means to prevent the execution of so barbarous a design. The Lombard Marquisses, or Governors, whose business it was to keep every thing quiet on the frontiers, for a considerable time, made this the place of their residence; and from them it passed to the Emperors and Kings of Italy, in common with the other Italian towns. Afterwards, one Ezzelinus, a cruel tyrant, possessed himself of it; though the Emperors, as should seem, soon recovered it. The Emperor Henry VI. made one Ricciardo da Camino, a person of great wealth and popularity here, Vicar of Trevigi, reserving to himself the sovereignty of the Marca Trevisana. In succeeding ages, the Carraresi were Lords of the town and district; after them the Scaligeri, or Signori della

* The Italians compute their time from sun-set to sun-set, and, therefore, their greatest number of hours is twenty-four. † Buno, in his Notes upon Cluverius's Introduction to Geography, is clearly of this opinion, as our readers will find, by consulting him there. See Buno's Notes upon Cluverius, Lib. III. cap. xxxiv. pag. 277. Ed. Amst. and Lond. 1697.

Scala; and, last of all, the Venetians, by virtue of a treaty concluded between them, the Scaligeri, and Giovanni Galeazzo Visconti, first Duke of Milan, in 1388. The Emperor Maximilian besieged it ineffectually in 1509. The district of Treviso abounds with all the necessaries of life; and, particularly, with corn, wine, animals, &c. The wine it produces is excellent, and the bread extremely white and fine. There are, likewise, here, many delightful fountains, whose pure limpid water appears as agreeable to the eye, as it is grateful to the taste. The noble families of Treviso are so numerous, that we must beg leave to refer our readers to the Italian* writers, for a catalogue of them, which the narrow limits, we have prescribed ourselves, will not permit us to insert here. The principal churches are those of San Nicolo, Honesto, Giesu, the Domo, San Martin, San Paulo, and Santa Margarita. Among the great personages born here, may be ranked Pope Benedict XI. and Ponticus Virunius, who died in 1520.

Having staid some hours here, where, in truth, few curious objects present themselves to a traveller's view, we continued our route. About five in the afternoon, we passed the river Piave, directing our march towards Conegliano, or Conigliano, a post and half from Treviso. Dr. Brown thinks the Piave to be the Anassum of the ancients; but Father Hardouin looks upon the modern Stella as the antient Anassum. Be that as it will, the Piave has a fine bridge over it at Belluno, to whose district both Conegliano and Sacil appertain. This district is an extremely fertile country, diversified with little hills, vallies, mountains, and woods. It also abounds with game of all kinds, as well as veins of gold, silver, iron, and vitriol. Conegliano, though a large village, has nothing, at present, more remarkable, than being situated on the post-road. We lay this night at Colimbrigo, in an house belonging to an English merchant, settled at Venice; which obliged us to deviate a little from the direct road to Gorizia. From thence, the next morning, we proceeded to Conegliano, where we met with nothing remarkable. This place stands on the river Mottegano, whose source is on a hill, near the town of Ceneda. The people of Treviso, though subject to the Venetians, seemed extremely incensed against the French, and their allies, for seizing upon the Milaneze, and so unjustly attacking the House of Austria.

The next place, in the road to Gorizia, where fresh horses are to be taken, is Sacil, a post and half distant from Conegliano. This village, which stands on the Livenza, at present makes no figure, but was formerly a bishop's see, and under the patriarch of Aquileia. Pordenon, a post from Sacil, is, at present, likewise very obscure. Between Pordenon and Codroipo we passed the Tajamento, or, as the natives call it, Tagliamento, a river of some note, on account of the swiftness and rapidity of its stream. The Tagliamento we take to be the Tilaventum Majus of Pliny, and the Τιλαύεμπος of Ptolemy. From Pordenon to Codroipo is one post. Codroipo is a large village, and has a pleasant situation. Many of the women, in these parts, have a very masculine air, quite void of that softness so natural to their sex. We found the

* See the Theatre delle Cittá d' Italia of Signior Francesco Bartelli, printed at Padua, in 1629.

Italian here, for the most part, very corrupt, and sometimes scarce intelligible.

From Codroipo we went to Palma, Palmada, or Palma Nova, a fortress belonging to the most serene Republic of Venice, and two posts distant from Codroipo. This fortress, which is seated in * Friuli, was built by the Venetians, in 1593 and 1594. It was intended to repress the courses of the Turks, who sometimes, before the erection of it, committed, on the coast of the Adriatic, dreadful depredations, and, in the reign of Mohammed the Great, A. D. 1477, made an incursion as far as Treviso. The Doge Pascale Ciconia, who then presided over the Venetian State, likewise imagined, that it might serve as a barrier to the Venetian territories, on that side, against any attempts of the House of Austria. The plans of this fortezza, given us by Signior Francisco Bertelli, in 1629, and Dr. Brown, in 1669, do, in the main, agree; neither is the present face of it much different from these plans. It is, perhaps, one of the largest regular fortifications in Europe. The town, exclusive of the fortification, forms a circle, whose diameter is six hundred paces. There are near seven hundred pieces of cannon in the place. For a particular description of it, the curious may have recourse to the above-mentioned Signior Bertelli and Dr. Brown.

To oblige our curious readers, we shall here give them the original names of the bastions of Palma, viz.

San Fortunato.	San Stefano.
Santo Hermagora.	Santa Maria.
Santa Croce.	San Clemente.
San Lorenzo.	Santa Eufemia.
Santa Giustina.	

We staid some time at Palma, to refresh ourselves, and to learn the strength, and other particulars, of the place. In answer to some of our queries, we were told, that the fortezza was garisoned only by ten companies of Venetian foot, three of Sclavonians, and a small body of horse; and that General Mocenigo commanded there. The cattle of this country, as well as those of Carniola and Carinthia, are, in many parts, extremely small. The habits of the women, and particularly their hats or caps, betwixt Palma and Gorizia, differ considerably from those used in any other part of Italy.

Between Palma and Gorizia, which are distant two posts, taking a sort of detour, we passed through Strasoldo, Villes, and Gradisca. Strasoldo is a little village with a tower, not far from the river Lisonzo, or Lisonczo, and probably gave a title to the Counts of Strasoldo, one of which family, if we mistake not, was an Imperial General, employed by the Emperor Leopold against the Hungarian malecontents, in the year 1680. Villes is likewise a small village, seated almost in the midway, between Strasoldo and Gradisca. But Gradisca † is a pretty con-

* The Latin name of Friuli is Forum Julii; which some take to be derived from that of its principal city, so called from Julius Cæsar, who led a body of his troops through this country against the Helvetians. Be that as it will, the city of Friuli, or Forum Julii, now the Cividad di Friuli, a place strong by its situation, was destroyed by Cancanus, King of Bavaria, according to Paulus Diaconus; or, as others will have it, Cagana the Parthian. Pliny calls the people of Friuli Forojulienses Transpadani, to distinguish them from the Forojulienses Cispadani, seated in Umbria, and tells us that their territory produced excellent wine.

† Gradisca is supposed, by Claverius, to be the same place with the Ad undecimum Lapidem of the antient Romans.

siderable town, situated not far from the conflux of the Wibach, or Vipaco, and Lisonczo. It is the first fortezza in the Dutchy of Carniola, about eight miles from Palma, and four or five from Gorizia. Some authors have erroneously placed both Gradisca and Gorizia in Friuli. The fortifications of the former place seem to be in a ruinous condition; but the Imperialists are now repairing them. The garison, according to the natives, does not exceed two hundred men. Here we crossed the Lisonczo, a pretty celebrated river. About twenty-three hours, or an hour before sun set, Feb. 28, O. S. we arrived at Gorizia, betwixt which town and Venice, the number of posts stands thus:

From Venice to Mestre, five miles.
From Mestre to Treviso, a post and half.
From Treviso to Conegliano, a post and half.
From Conegliano to Sacil, a post and half.
From Sacil to Pordenon, one post.
From Pordenon to Codroipo, one post.
From Codroipo to Palma, two posts.
From Palma to Gorizia, two posts.

As, therefore, these posts are reckoned, one with another, to be something above six miles each, the distance between Venice and Goritia may be fixed roundly at seventy-two or seventy-four miles. According to the Italians, Goritia is, at least, seventy-six or eighty Italian miles from Venice.

Gorizia, or Goritia, called by the Germans Gorz, or Gortz, is a large town, capital of a county of the same name, and subject to the Emperor. It stands on the river Lisonczo, partly on an eminence, and partly on a plain, about fourteen German miles N. W. of Laubach, the metropolis of Carniola. The streets are long and narrow, and the houses, for the most part, mean. It consists of two parts, the upper and lower town. The castle, with the upper town, is situated upon a hill, which commands the lower town. We found the fortezza in a bad condition, and defended only by a garison of three hundred men. Count Rabata, the commandant, has a fine house, which seems to be a part of, or at least adjoining to, the castle, built in an oval form. The Wendish, or Sclavonian tongue, reaches no farther west than this place. The languages spoken here are the Italian, the German, the Sclavonian, and an odd corruption of Latin, inclining to the French. The burghers use this last, and therefore are, with great difficulty, understood by the Venetians, and other Italians. The Italian spoken here is the Friulian dialect. All the proceedings of the courts of judicature, and the edicts of the Emperor, are published in the German tongue.* Some learned men take Goritia to be the antient Noreia; but as this notion depends upon a supposition, that the antient Noreia first changed its name into Noritia, and afterwards Goritia, which is very precarious, not to say improbable, it seems to deserve no great credit. Besides, there is no need to have recourse to such a notion, in order to discover the etymon of the word Gorizia, or to investigate the origin of this city.

* The Venetians besieged and took Goritia in 1508, but the Emperor Maximilian I. recovered it in 1509. In 1616, a body of Venetian troops attempted to surprise it, but were obliged to retreat without executing their design.

For, the word Gorizia is undoubtedly of Slavic, or Sclavonic, extraction. In the Slavic language, which is spoken here, Gora signifies a hill, and Goriza, a little hill, or eminence, such as that occupied by the castle of Gorizia, where Count Rabata lives, and the upper, or antient town. And indeed the antient town seems to have been the only part of the place, built by the antient Slavi; the other being modern, void of all fortifications, and seated in a plain, commanded by the aforesaid hill. As to the present face of Goritia, it has a famous parochial church, over which a mitred Archdeacon presides; a convent of Minorites; another of Capucins; a nunnery, belonging to the virgins of Santa Ursula; another to those of Santa Clara; a college of Jesuits, founded by the Emperor Ferdinand II. with a noble gymnasium, where youth is not only instructed in the literæ humaniores, but likewise in the principles of moral theology, and the Aristotelian philosophy, appertaining to it. To which likewise may be added a convent of Carmelites, on a neighbouring hill. The Jesuits college seems to be the best building in Goritia. We could not forbear observing, that, though the houses here are, for the most part, mean, and the streets narrow, a considerable number of coaches, and persons of distinction, were moving about the town. The principal, if not only piazza, in Goritia, is the Piazza di Traunt, where the Jesuits college stands. We put up at the Aquila Negra, or Black Eagle, which is reckoned by foreigners, and particularly English gentlemen, the best inn here. The landlord was a very chearful, pleasant man, mortally hated the French, and spoke Italian, with such elegance and propriety, together with so fine a pronunciation, that he might justly be said to have La Lingua Toscana in Bocca Romana. One of us told him, that the French would soon demolish the Emperor; to which he replied, with great warmth, 'Aspetta un poco, Signiore mio, adesso adesso saranno ben bastonati i Francesi da nostro Carlo. i. e. Have a little patience, my good Sir, the French will soon be well drubbed by our Charles.' The lodging here was not extraordinary; but in return, our bill in the morning was pretty moderate. We shall hereafter have an opportunity of saying something of the Dutchy of Carniola.

SECT. II.

A Journey from Goritia to Laubach, or Lubiana, the Metropolis of Carniola.

HAVING seen every thing remarkable in Goritia, we made the necessary dispositions for leaving that place; and, amongst other things, agreed with the post-master, for three horses to each of our post-chaises, and two more for two English servants that attended us. We had besides these a Swiss; but he rode with one of us, for the most part, in a post-chaise. It is worthy observation, that a gentleman, who travels in his own chaise, is obliged to take the same number of post-horses through the empire, that he sets out with from Goritia. So that, if

the post-master there insists upon his having four horses, he will be saddled with that number, every post, throughout the empire; if three only, then three will afterwards suffice. Though there are instances of four horses being imposed upon a traveller, who had before but three, when the roads render it necessary. But, in such a case, when they become better, the fourth horse is taken off. From Goritia to Vienna, we paid fifteen grosse, that is, forty-five creutzers, or karantani, a horse per post, and eight grosse per post to each of our postiglioni. In order to meet with the better entertainment this lent season, we gave a Venetian physician a zecchin, to certify, under his hand, that we were all in a sickly condition, and could not live without flesh; though our countenances rendered this very improbable. However, as it happened, we had no need of such a certificate; the inns all along the road, without producing it, not scrupling to supply us with whatever provisions we desired. The wine in Goritia, which is white, is of quite a different taste from any we met with in Italy; but bears some remembrance to that of the Rhine and the Mozelle. The meat is good, and the cookery sufficiently elegant, though different both from the French and the Italian.

All points relating to our journey being settled, and the horses ready, we took our leave of Goritia, March 2, O. S. early in the morning; and set out for Laubach, or, as the Italians call it, Lubiana. About nine o'clock we reached Czerniza, a small town, or village, which terminates the first post. Though this post must be allowed a long one, the country, through which we passed, being a plain, appeared agreeable enough; but the road in some parts was very rough. It deserves to be here remarked, that the gentleman who wrote this account, though he tried several times, could not pronounce the word Czerniza as our postiglioni, who were natives of Carniola, did. This was owing to the power of Cz, which an Englishman's organs of speech will not permit him exactly to utter. It seems to be a sound of a middle nature betwixt those of S H and C H, in the English words shoe and cherry. The Sclavonians, Hungarians, Bohemians, and Moravians begin several of their proper names with Cz, as Czerna, Czaslaw, Czacki, Czernin, Czechorod, &c. in some of which they pronounce it not very differently from the people of Carniola. The complex, or compound, consonant Cz properly belongs to the Hungarians, who have a character equivalent to it in their old Hunnic, or Hunno-Scythian, alphabet. This we learn from the famous * Matthias Belius, in his curious treatise, intituled, *De vetere Literatura* Hunno-Scythica *Exercitatio;* to whom, for farther satisfaction on this head, we refer our ingenious and inquisitive readers.

From Czerniza we went to Pipaco, a considerable village, where fresh post-horses are taken in. The Italians call this village Pipaco, and Vipaco, the Carnioleze Vipava, and the Germans Wipach. It was formerly a large and populous city, subject to its own prince, or, at least, possessed by a family who derived their surname from it. Afterwards it came into the possession of Count Osterwicz, whose family was one of the noblest in Carinthia. In 1487, the Emperor Frederic IV.

* Vid. Matt. Bel. de vet. Lit. Hunno-Scythic. Exercit. p. 34. Ed. Lipsiæ, 1718.

made a present of it to Leonard Count Herberstein; and with that family it remained for some time. The Turks pillaged Wipach, and all the adjacent country, in 1478; and the Venetians took it by surprize, in 1508. It stands upon a river of the same name, which first issues from a neighbouring craggy mountain. This river is the celebrated Frigidus of the antients, taken notice of by Peutinger's table, the Itinerary of Antoninus, and Claudian. It has been rendered famous by a great victory obtained, in a most wonderful, and even miraculous, manner, over the tyrant Eugenius, by the Emperor Theodosius, A. C. 394. This victory has been minutely described by Ruffinus, Orosius, Socrates, Sozomen, Jornandes, and Claudian; the last of which authors, in his description of it, breaks out into the following most beautiful exclamation:

O nimium dilecte Deo, cui fundit ab antris
Æolus armatas hyemes, cui militat æther,
Et conjurati veniunt in classica venti!
Alpinæ rubuere nives, & *Frigidus* amnis
Mutatis fumavit aquis, turbaque cadentum
Staret, ni rapidus juvisset flumina sanguis.

It is seated at the southern foot of the Carnian Alps, or, as the natives term them, the Czalin Mountains. Count Lanthieri has a fine palace here. All the adjacent country is famous for the pleasant and generous wine it produces. Between Czerniza and Pipaco, which are distant about two German miles, we passed through a village, and crossed a little river. The village stood on the river. The name of the former, our postiglione informed us, was Aiduschna, or Adushna, and of the latter Fouble. Besides Adushna and the Fouble, nothing meriting our attention occurred this post.

The next post-town, or village, we came to was called Resderda, which made no very great figure. The road was rough and mountainous, and the post pretty long.

From Resderda to Planino is one post, two German miles long. The Germans and Carnioleze call Planino Plania. It stands upon the river Alben, about a German mile from Logatiz, or Logitsch. As this last place is a post from Vernich, Planino must be a post and half, or at least a very long post, from that village, as will appear to every person who consults the map of Carniola. Here we staid an hour, to refresh ourselves and our servants, having all of us been pretty much fatigued by the badness of the road, the two last posts. We met in this place, though a village of no great note, a glass of very good wine, which not a little raised our drooping spirits. The wheels of the post-chaises had considerably suffered, so that we were obliged to have them greased here, which cost us ten grosse, or half a florin. We took a post chaise for our two English servants at Resderda, and another here; which having done, we immediately proceeded on our journey.

Nothing remarkable occurred betwixt Planino and Vernich, the next place that furnished us with post horses and a chaise for our servants. The Carnioleze and German name of Vernich is Franicz. The town

stands upon the river Franicz, and not far from its source. Vernich, the Italian name of Franicz, confirms what we have before observed in relation to the power of the complex Carniolian consonant cz. Vernich is a small town, or village, eminent for nothing, as far as we could learn, but being situate on the post road. We staid about half an hour here; and then, after having had our wheels greased again, set out for Laubach, or Lubiana. We paid our servants postiglione, the two preceding posts, 20 creutzers, or karantani, per post.

The road is excessively bad from Vernich to Lubiana. Therefore some passengers chuse to go by water from the former to the latter of these places; which they may easily do, by means of the rivers Franicz and Laubach. The post between Vernich and Lubiana consists at least of three German miles. We entered Laubach about an hour before sun set; and found the landlord of the Black Horse, where we put up, very obliging and agreeable. From what has been observed, our readers will easily collect the number of posts between Goritia and Laubach to be as follow:

From Goritia to Czerniza, one post, three German miles.
From Czerniza to Pipaco, or Wipach, one post.
From Wipach to Resderda, one post.
From Resderda to Planino, or Plania, one post.
From Plania to Franicz, or Vernich, one long post.
From Vernich, or Franicz, to Laubach, three German miles.

Laubach, the metropolis of Carniola, in Latin *Labacum*, is called by the natives Lublana, by the Germans Laybach and Laubach, and by the Italians Lubiana. It stands upon a river of the same name, in N. lat. 46 deg. 10 min. and long. 38 deg. 40 min. about 27 German miles south of Gratz, the capital of Stiria. It is surrounded by a wall, has six gates, and is divided into two parts by the river Laubach, that runs through it. That river moves so slowly here, that its motion is scarce discernable, till it comes to a descent a little farther, down which it rushes with great rapidity into the Save. It seems to be the Nauportus of Pliny and Strabo. According to the German writers, who have probability on their side, Laubach occupies the same spot of ground that the antient Æmona, Hæmonia, or Hemona, did; though it cannot be said to have put on the form of a city till the year 1416. The inhabitants then erected a slight sort of wall round it, which was afterwards strengthened and improved by the Emperor Frederic IV. in 1475, to secure it against the insults and excursions of the Turks. This being afterwards demolished, the city remained without a wall from the year 1520, to the year 1553, when the citizens built a new one much stronger than the former, adding to it several bulwarks, and ditches excavated within, still extant; which made it look like a regular fortification. The greatest part of the expence of this necessary work was defrayed by Ferdinand I. King of the Romans. There is appertaining to the city a ducal castle, or palace, of great extent, seated on the top of a hill, covered with a wood that is always green. This Fortezza is a place of considerable strength, being fortified by a single solid wall towards the east, and with a triple one in some other parts, which, at present, eems very antique. That the ancient Æmona either stood

where the modern Laubach at present does, or at a very small distance from the spot taken up by it, may be collected from several stones, with Latin inscriptions upon them, dug up at Laubach. If we admit the former notion, Laubach may vye with most cities of Europe, in point of antiquity; since, according to Zosimus and Sozomen, Æmona was built by the Argonauts, in their return from their Asiatic expedition. In this case, Laubach will be, at least, four hundred years older than Rome.

As for the churches here, if we include those in the suburbs, they are thirteen in number 1. The cathedral church of St. Nicholas, said to have been built long before the year 1386, by some sailors and fishermen; which is probable enough, since being burnt down that year, it was afterwards rebuilt and adorned with many altars. 2. The church of the Blessed Virgin Mary, annexed to the house of the knights of the Teutonic order, built in the form of a cross, and supposed to stand upon the ruins of the walls of the antient Æmona. 3. The church of the Minorites, called the church of the glorious assumption of the Blessed Virgin. The foundations of this were first laid in the year 1403, upon the ruins of another built in 1073. 4. The church of the Jesuits, founded in the year 1596, a large account of which has been given by the Baron Valvasor. Before the front of it is a beautiful and spacious area, on one side of which stands the Jesuits College, and on the other side their Gymnasium, where all kinds of polite literature are cultivated, as likewise moral theology. The scholars here are divided into seven schools. This Gymnasium has a very large Auditorium, which is graced with a noble Theatre. We were told, that the schools are always extremely full of scholars; and that the Jesuits took care of their education. Opposite to the Jesuits church there is a brazen colossus of the immaculate virgin standing on a marble base, the four corners of which are adorned by the statues of Joseph, St. Leopold, St. Ignatius, and St. Francis Xavier. 5. The church of St James, which is large, but not of a very high antiquity. 6. The little church of St. Elizabeth ,adjoining to the hospital, which must be very antient, since it was destroyed by fire in 1386. 7. The church of St. Frideline, which the common people call the church of St. Lawrence, because on that saint's day they annually celebrate its dedication with great solemnity. 8. The church of St. Florian, built by the charitable contributions of pious persons since the year 1660, when a great part of the city was laid in ashes. 9. The church of St. George, within, and appertaining to, the castle or citadel. 10. The church and convent of the Austin Friars in the suburbs, consecrated in the year 1669. 11. The church of St. Joseph, together with the convent of discalceated friars, built by the Prince of Eggenberg in 1657. The church and convent of the Capuchins, founded and endowed by Ferdinand II, when Archduke of Austria. At the foundation of this church and monastery, *Anno* 1607, Thomas Chron, Bishop of Laubach, laid the first stone. The building was finished the summer following, and consecrated with great solemnity, 20,000 men, under 500 banners, from all parts of Carniola, Stiria, and Carinthia, attending that ceremony. 13. The church of St. Peter, one of the oldest in this place, and very large. There is extant a list of all the pastors of

this church, from the year 1385, to the present time. It will be proper likewise to observe here, that there is in Laubach a religious house, or nunnery, belonging to the virgins of Santa Clara, founded by one Michael Hiller, in 1648.

Laubach has likewise other elegant edifices, that deserve the attention of every curious traveller; the principal of which are the following: 1. The *Domus Provincialis*, *Comitium*, or province-house, where the states of the province meet, and have their *Comitia*. The states consist of four orders: The first or ecclesiastical, composed of the bishops of Laubach, Freisingen, Brixen, Pedena, and Trieste, besides some heads of religious houses, and canons of the cathedral church; the second made up of princes, counts, and barons; the third formed of knights, or, as some of the German writers stile them, provincials; and the fourth consisting of the judges of ducal cities. 2. The Town-hall, built in 1484, in the room of another erected in the old market-place, about the year 1297. 3. Three noble armories; the two first, belonging to the Emperor and the province, stand upon the hill where the castle is seated, separate from all other buildings; but the third, appertaining to the citizens, has its situation in the town. 4. The houses of several of the *Carniolian* nobility residing here, which are built in a very elegant taste. Here is likewise a printing-press, from whence many curious and learned pieces have been sent out into the world. Laubach was made a bishopric by the Emperor Frederic IV. in 1461, who first invested with the episcopal dignity there Sigismund de Lamberg, constituting, at the same time, for his assistance and the support of his dignity, a provost, a dean, and ten canons. The following year Pope Pius II. declared this see, made up of several districts formerly belonging to those of Saltzburg and Aquileia, free from all patriarchal and archiepiscopal jurisdiction. From the foundation of this see to the beginning of the present century, Laubach has had thirteen bishops princes of the holy Roman empire.

Laubach has produced many learned men, and among the rest Joannes Ludovicus Schönleben, S. T. D. Apostolic Prothonotary, who published an ingenious piece, intitled *Carniola Antiqua et Nova*, being an essay towards a natural, civil, and ecclesiastical history of Carniola, in 1681; and Joannes Weichardus Valvasor, who printed another curious piece intitled *Gloria Carniolæ Explicata*, being a great improvement of the former, in 1689. Both these pieces were printed at Laubach, and do honour to the place. Many ancient Latin inscriptions are found at Laubach, as above observed, and in the neighbourhood of that city. Some of these have been described by Lazius; but a much greater number of Schönleben, who frequently censures Lazius, and rectifies his mistakes. The principal tongue spoken here is the Carniolian, which is a dialect of the Sclavonic; though the German and Italian are very well understood. It is no wonder the Carniolian complex consonant cz should be of Hungarian extraction, since the Avares and Huns, the progenitors of the Hungarians, were formerly in possession of this country. The wine here is generous and good, and exactly answers the character Valvasor gives of the wine of Carniola.

Our landlord here was a chearful agreeable person, and a man of very good sense and understanding. He talked Italian with great

fluency, and Latin tolerably well. In these languages the gentleman who penned this account conversed with him, and asked him many questions relating to the Dutchy of Carniola. To all of which he gave very satisfactory answers, containing, amongst many others, the following particulars:

Carniola, called by the natives Krainska des Kela, at different times went under different names. This was occasioned by the various nations that inhabited it, who had various appellations. The principal of these were the Aborigines, Japydes, Taurisci, Pannones, Norici, Romani, Vandali, Gothi, Hunni, Avares, Longobardi, Slavi, Franci, &c. The air in general is good, as appears from the great number of old people to be met with in every part of this province; most of whom, that are near an hundred years of age, are hearty, robust, and strong. However, in the several parts of it, the air varies extremely, insomuch that in some of them peaches and grapes are ripe, when cherries are scarce so in others. These last are sometimes gathered about Michaelmas-day. Neither is the distance betwixt the places where peaches, grapes, and cherries arrive at maturity, about the same time, frequently greater than three German miles, tho' this tract is generally covered with woods. As a farther argument of the salubrity of the air in general here, it may also be observed, that many of the antient people abovementioned seem not to be above fifty or sixty years old; and that there are more births than burials every year in Carniola. The peasants are noted for their vast strength, though they live in a very sparing abstemious manner. The soil in many parts is so fertile, that it produces two crops a year; and the wine, though fine-flavoured and generous, as limpid as water itself. The poorest people in Carniola drink a liquor made of juniper-berries, of which here are incredible quantities, of a scarlet colour, such as those that grow in Istria. Some of these berries are however black, like those in most other countries. The weather here is often very tempestuous; and the Carnioleze have, almost every day in summer, thunder and lightning, which, with the violent storms of hail not seldom attending them, destroy annually a fifth part of the corn and fruits of the earth. This havock the vulgar attribute to the malevolence of witches and wizards, without enquiring into the natural cause. All persons of taste and learning in Carniola have in high esteem the piece of Baron Valvasor, intitled *Gloria Ducatus Carniolæ*, which, they say, is wrote with the utmost truth, accuracy, and exactness. According to him, in the year 1689, Carniola contained twenty-one cities, thirty-nine towns, above four-thousand villages, and two-hundred fifty-four castles; not including those places, called in the Carniolian language Tabor, being the ruins of fortifications, raised in the mountains, for the security of the country against foreign invaders. The same ingenious gentleman informs us, that this dutchy is divided into five parts, Carniola Superior, Carniola Inferior, Carniola Media, Carniola Interior, and Portio Istrensis, or that part of Istria annexed to it. Each of these he likewise tells us is governed by a proper officer. Here are also several baths, called by the people of the country *Toplitz*; as likewise a sort of beacons on the mountains, consisting of heaps of wood piled on one another, to give

notice of the approach of any enemy, and particularly of the Turks, who formerly made irruptions into this province. The fires lighted here were preceded, or attended, by the explosion of several mortars placed upon the aforesaid heaps of wood, in order the more effectually and expeditiously to alarm the country, and draw together the people, either to defend themselves, or make their escape from the enemy. These places are stiled by the Carnioleze Kreutt, or Creutzfeuer. This region is very mountainous, and therefore more capable of affording such early intelligence to the natives of an enemy's approach. The established religion here is the Roman Catholic, though the Usgoki, or Usgoks, observe the rites and ceremonies of the Greek church. The men among the Usgoks esteem it honourable to defer the consummation of marriage four or five years; which they frequently do. Some of them attain to an extreme old age, of which Valvasor mentions one, who died a little before the year 1689, aged 124 years. But he was much younger than a Turk, who died in the castle of Perussich about 1684, and compleated his 190th year. Usgok in the Sclavonian language signifies a fugitive, or deserter, this people having fled from Turkey into Carniola near two-hundred years ago. Carniola is watered by several rivers, and some of note, of which the principal is the Save. These abound with fish of various kinds, particularly pikes, or jacks, and river crabs. Of the former several weigh twenty, thirty, and even forty pounds; and of the latter many are fifteen or sixteen inches long. They also produce a fish called Pfrillen, so extremely small, that twenty or thirty of them may be swallowed at once; and trouts of a purple colour, often twenty-five pounds weight. As for the woods in this province, they are large and numerous, and harbour a great variety of animals; of which at present we shall mention only two or three species. There are some vipers here as thick as a lusty man's arm, though not above three spans long. Scorpions are found under the large stones in these woods, and particularly those on the Carnian Alps, in such vast numbers, that incredible quantities of them are exported from hence into foreign countries. The bramble-bushes also are frequently in a manner covered with a small lucid worm, about an inch and half long, and as thick as a goose-quill, emitting light in the night time from its whole body, and not from one particular part only, as glow-worms do. There is, besides, an animal that lives in woods, particularly those consisting chiefly of beech trees, peculiar to this country, called by the Germans Pilich, or Bilch, and by the Carnioleze Pouh. It is a little bigger than a dormouse, of an ash colour, and not unlike a squirrel. It lives under ground all the winter season, and has no other nourishment, whilst in that situation, than what it receives by licking a certain stone. But, in summer, some thousands of these animals issue frequently out of one hole. The vulgar think that they are drove out from thence in these numbers by the devil to feed, who for this purpose makes use either of the sound of a whip or a whistle; and that chiefly on sabbath days, and other holidays, in the evening. It is likewise said, that this infernal shepherd, at their first appearance, makes an incision in one of their ears, in order to mark them. Be that as it will, it is certain such an incision is visible in every one of these creatures, after

it has been some time out of its hole; whereas all the young ones taken in the hole, though full grown and advult, have nothing of that kind discernible upon them. Most of the Carnioleze use them for food, the fat with which they abound, when rightly seasoned with salt, rendering them very elegant and delicious; but several will not touch them, on account of the vulgar notion above mentioned. They likewise make use of their skins or furs to line the garments which they wear in cold weather. They cover these with a preparation made of chalk or lime, in such a manner, that they appear full of black spots, and extremely beautiful. And of these furs they sell vast numbers to the Dalmatians, Turks, Croats, and neighbouring Germans. The bears, stags, and wild boars, in the woods of Carniola, are said to be larger than those met with in any other part of Europe; and the eagles, many of which birds are found here, according to some, are of such an enormous size, that they will carry in their talons through the air a full grown sheep. There are likewise here numerous flocks of pigeons that lie concealed, all the winter, in the caverns of the mountains, but at the first appearance of the spring fly from thence by myriads, and disperse themselves all over the country. Many of the stones called by naturalists *glossopetræ* are produced in four districts of Carniola, as well as the island of Malta, of different sizes, the smallest weighing about the eighth part of an ounce, and the largest ten ounces. Considerable quantities also of petrified cockles, oysters, &c. occur in several places. Valvasor relates, that there are in this region thirteen sorts of marble, of different colours, some of which are finely variegated; but several of the natives increase this number. Many of the glossopetræ abovementioned perfectly resemble a viper's tongue, and some of them, especially the largest, are esteemed as great curiosities. The iron mines here it will be sufficient just to mention; amongst those of quicksilver, or mercury, the most famous is that at Idria, described by Dr. Pope, Dr. Brown, and Baron Valvasor, which was first discovered in the year 1497. For a description of the famous Lake of Circkniz, or Circknitz, the Palus Lugea of Strabo, we shall beg leave to refer * our curious readers to M. Schönleben, and Baron Valvasor; and in the mean time observe, that the subterraneous fountains and rivers in the neighbourhood of the place, together with the stormy and tempestuous weather abovementioned, will enable us to account sufficiently for the wonderful phænomena of that lake. Sometimes it has been known to appear and disappear several times in a year; and at other times, though rarely, to remain one, two, three, four, or even five years together, as in the year 1655, &c. The town, from which it derives its name, stands about six German miles from Laubach, and was plundered four times by the Turks, between the years 1522 and 1560.

We must not omit observing here, that our landlord seemed to pay some regard to what Baron Valvasor has related of the Vampyres, said to infest some parts of this country. These Vampyres are supposed to be the bodies of deceased persons, animated by evil spirits, which come out of the graves, in the night time, suck the blood of many of the living,

* See likewise Philos. Transact. Num. 191. where a full and ample account of this surprising Lake is given.

and thereby destroy them. Such a notion will, probably, be looked upon as fabulous and exploded, by many people in England; however, it is not only countenanced by Baron Valvasor, and many Carnioleze noblemen, gentlemen, &c. as we were informed, but likewise actually embraced by some writers of good authority. M. Jo. Henr. Zopfius, director of the Gymnafium of * Essen, a person of great erudition, has published a dissertation upon them, which is extremely learned and curious, from whence we shall beg leave to transcribe the following paragraph: "The Vampyres, which come out of the graves in the "night-time, rush upon people sleeping in their beds, suck out all their "blood, and destroy them. They attack men, women, and children, "sparing neither age nor sex. The people attacked by them complain "of suffocation, and a great interception of spirits; after which, they "soon expire. Some of them, being asked, at the point of death, what "is the matter with them, say they suffer in the manner just related "from people lately dead, or rather the spectres of those people; upon "which, their bodies, from the description given of them, by the sick "person, being dug out of the graves, appear in all parts, as the nos-"trils, cheeks, breast, mouth, &c. turgid and full of blood. Their "countenances are fresh and ruddy; and their nails, as well as hair, "very much grown. And, though they have been much longer dead "than many other bodies, which are perfectly putrified, not the least "mark of corruption is visible upon them. Those who are destroyed "by them, after their death, become Vampyres; so that, to prevent "so spreading an evil, it is found requisite to drive a stake through "the dead body, from whence, on this occasion, the blood flows as if "the person was alive. Sometimes the body is dug out of the grave, "and burnt to ashes; upon which, all disturbances cease. The Hun-"garians call these spectres Pamgri, and the Servians Vampyres; but "the etymon, or reason of these names, is not known." Vid. Dissert. de Vampyris Serviensibus quam Suprem. Numin. Auspic. Præsid. M. Joan. Henr. Zopfio Gymnas. Assind. Direct. publicè defend. &c. Christ. Frid. Van Dalen Emmericens. &c. p. 6, 7. Duisburgi ad Rhenum, Typis Johannis Sas, Academiæ Typographi, Anno MDCCXXXIII.

These spectres are reported to have infested several districts of Servia, and the bannat of Temeswaer, in the year 1725, and for seven or eight years afterwards, particularly those of Mevadia, or Meadia, and Parakin, near the Morava. In 1732, we had a relation of some of their feats in the neighbourhood of Cassovia; and the publick prints took notice of the tragedies they acted in the bannat of Temeswaer, in the year 1738. Father Gabriel Rzaczynski, in his natural history of the kingdom of Poland, and the great duchy of Lithuania, published at Sendomir, in 1721, affirms, that in Russia, Poland, and the great

* Essen is an Imperial city in the dutchy of Bergue, that enjoys many privileges granted it by the Emperor Charles V. in 1523. Here is a noble and rich nunnery, founded by St. Altrid, Bishop of Hildersheim, about the year 877: to which at present belongs the greatest part of the town, together with several large manours in the neighbourhood. The revenues were at first settled for the maintenance of fifty-two nuns and twenty canons; but these numbers have since been retrenched. Some time since, scarce any girls were admitted into the nunnery, but the daughters of barons, and other superior nobility. These ladies are at liberty to marry, when they please. Here is also a fine Gymnasium for the liberal education of youth.

dutchy of Lithuania, dead bodies, actuated by infernal spirits, sometimes enter people's houses in the night, fall upon men, women, and children, and attempt to suffocate them; and that of such diabolical facts his countrymen have several very authentic relations. The Poles call a man's body thus informed Upier, and that of a woman Upierzyca, i. e. a winged or feathered creature; which name seems to be deduced from the surprising lightness and activity of these incarnate demons. If we remember right, an account of them also, from Poland, is to be met with, in some of the news-papers for 1693, perfectly agreeing with those of the Servian Vampyres given us by M. Zopfius. In fine, the notion of such pestiferous beings has prevailed from time immemorial over a great part of Hungary, Servia, Carniola, Poland, &c. as is * evinced by several authors in conjunction with the aforesaid M. Zopfius. To which we shall beg leave to add, that the antient Greeks also seem to have been firmly persuaded, that dead bodies were sometimes acted by evil spirits, as appears from a fragment of Phlegon†. Neither is this opinion, however it may be ridiculed by many people, altogether without foundation; since the Supreme Being *may* make wicked spirits his instruments of punishment here, as well as plagues, wars, famines, &c. and, that he *actually has* done so, is sufficiently apparent from ‡ scripture, to omit what has been said on this head by some of the most eminent profane authors.

Before we take leave of the city of Laubach, it will be proper to observe, that, though the bulk of the people there speak the Carniolian or Sclavonian tongue, and have some customs peculiar to themselves, they agree in most points with the other Germans. All the people of fashion and distinction speak German fluently and purely.—Laubach was taken by Ottocar, King of Bohemia, in 1269; and attacked ineffectually by the Turks in 1472 and 1484. Albert, Archduke of Austria, likewise failed in his attempt upon it, in 1441. The streets are not very broad, nor the houses grand; though, every thing considered, it may be esteemed a fine city. Here we lay, for the first time, betwixt two feather beds; which threw the writer of this account into so violent a sweat, that he had scarce any rest all night, and found himself extremely faint the next morning. Many of the Germans, however, like this sort of lodging; though it is very disagreeable, for the most part, to gentlemen of other nations.

* Many authors might here be produced, but we shall content ourselves with the two following. P. Gengell, S. I. in Evers. Atheism. & P. Gabr. Rzaczynski, in Hist. Nat Curios. Regn. Polon. magn. Ducat. Lituan. annexarumque Provinciar. in Tract. 20 divis. p. 365. Sandomiriæ, 1721.

† Phlegon. Trallian. de Reb. admirabil. cap. 1.

‡ See Calmet's Dissertation upon good and bad Angels, prefixed to his Comment. on St. Luke; as also his Biblical Dictionary, at the words Angels, Demon, Devil, Diabolus, Satan, &c. Many texts might be produced on this occasion; but the following will be sufficient to prove what is here advanced. Psalm lxxviii. v. 49. Job, chap. i. Matth. chap. xii. v. 22—32. Mark, chap. iii. v. 22—31. Luke, chap. xi. v. 14—31. Chap. xiii. v. 16. Acts, chap. xix. v. 13—17.

A Journey from Laubach, or Lubiana, to Gratz, the Metropolis of the Dutchy of Stiria.

MS.

NEVER BEFORE PUBLISHED.

SECT. III.

THE post-horses we took at Laubach carried us to a village called by the * natives, Puetpoiz, and by the Germans, Podbetsch. This seems to be the Popetsch of Mercator; and if so, that author has placed it too near the Save. About a German mile from Laubach, we passed the Save, at Porator, over a very large wooden bridge. Porator is a place of so little note, that it is not to be met with in any of the maps of Carniola. About half a German mile from Porator we also passed the river Feistricz, which has its source in a neighbouring ridge of mountains that seems to separate Carniola from Carinthia. These mountains we take to be the same with those called by Baron Valvasor the mountains of Feistricz, which, according to him, are the highest in Carniola. Some of them he affirms to be ten thousand two hundred and seventy-four geometrical feet high. The most famous mountains of Carniola taken notice of by the antients were Carvanca, Carusadius, Cetius, Ocra, Albius, Phlygadius, Alpius, and Picis, whose respective situations are determined with great accuracy by Valvasor. Cetius in particular, according to him, is a long chain of mountains extending from Laubach to Vienna; though the distance between these two cities is above fifty German miles, of which Mount Kalenberg is a part. The country between Laubach and Podbetsch was pleasant enough, several species of flowers appearing in some parts of it, as forerunners of the spring. It may not be improper to observe on this occasion, that a vast variety of flowers is found in Carniola; that region producing at least thirty-five different species of anemone's, eighteen or twenty of ranunculus's, and above seventy of hyacinths. We paid for passing the Save and the Feistricz about half a florin. Podbetsch is near two German miles and a half from Laubach, and a place that makes no great figure. Here we staid about an hour, greased our chaises wheels, took fresh horses, and then set out for San Osgualdo, the next post-town.

Nothing curious or remarkable presented itself to our view this post. We were drawn up the hill of San Osgualdo, which is very high and steep, by oxen. This cost us fifteen grosse, and pretty much fatigued us. The Emperor's postiglioni here, as well as in the other hereditary dominions of the House of Austria, have strings going over their shoulders, to which their horns are fastened, striped with black and yellow. They are all in this country extremely strong and hail

* Carniola belonged to Sclavonia, before it was annexed to the dominions of the House of Austria; and even at this day the language of that country is a dialect of the Sclavonian, and the Carnioleze in almost all points resemble the Sclavonians much more than the Germans. For which reason we here distinguish between the Carnioleze and the Germans.

young men. Not only the postiglioni, but almost all the men in a lower station, wear fur-caps, like the Croats and Sclavonians, and not unlike the Hungarians, Russians, and Poles. Nay a great part of the poorer Carniolian women likewise wear such caps. San Osgualdo is a poor inconsiderable place, and stands on the borders of the county of Cilley. After having staid here about an hour, we set out, with fresh horses, for Franz.

Not far from Franz, we saw an obelisk, or column, standing on the left hand of the highway, with two Latin inscriptions upon it. This, we were told, served for a boundary to Carniola and Stiria, on that side. The inscriptions being long, we did not take them down in writing. But, from the beginning of one of them, it appeared, that the obelisk was erected, in order to notify to passengers when, and by whom, these roads were repaired, and brought to that perfection in which travellers now find them. Jo. Casp, Count Cobentzel, governor of Carniola, first began this important work; which was finished by Wolfgang Weichard Count Gallenberg, a succeeding governor. Several other great officers of Carniola are likewise mentioned in this inscription, viz. Orpheus Count Strasoldo, who is styled *Prætor et Locum tenens*, Francis Anthony Count Aversperg Marshal, Ernest Ferdinand Count Saurau, called *Dep. Præs. Geor. Xav. de Marotti*, Bishop of Pedena, &c. As we did not read the whole inscription, we cannot say any thing more particular about it; but we are of opinion, that this column, or obelisk, was erected in the year 1728, when the Emperor Charles VI visited Gratz, Laubach, Goritia, Fiume, and Trieste; for then the roads of Stiria, Carniola, &c. were rendered more commodious than ever they had been before, and that chiefly at the expence of the Oriental company of Vienna.

Franz, or Franiz, stands upon the river Soano, Saan, or Saana, two short German miles from San Osgualdo. It appertains to the county of Cilley, which some make a part of Stiria *. At Franz there is a sort of turnpike, for passing through which, with our three post chaises, and two single horses, we paid three grosse. After a short stay here, we departed for Cilley, or, as the Italians call it, Cila.

From Franz to Cilley is a very long post, at least three German miles. Between these two places is a village called Saxenfeld, where there is a bridge over the Soano. The country between Franz and Cilley is a fine beautiful plain, and the road here good. Before we leave Cilley, though it does not at present make any considerable figure, our readers will expect a short description and history of a place that has been so remarkable in antient times.

Cilley, or Cilly, the Celeia of Pliny, and the Celia of Ptolemy, is a very antient town, seated not far from the conflux of the Saan and the Save. Pliny and Ptolemy fix its situation in Noricum. It stands at a small distance from the borders of Sclavonia. In some antient inscriptions, published by Velserus, it is stiled Celeia Claudia, probably from Claudius successor to Caligula. In others, published by the same author, it is called a *Municipium*, and in one produced by Panvinius it has the title of Colonia. It is famous for the birth and martyrdom of

* Some Italian writers make the county of Cilley a part of Cariuthia; but this runs counter to the general opinion of the German geographers. See Il Viaggio in Pratica, da Gio. Maria Vidari, p. 168. In Venezia, 1730. Presso Luigi Pavino.

St. Maximilian, in the year 284, according to Schönleben, or, as Megiser will have it, 288. On the place where he was buried, stands at present, a little out of the town, the church of St. Maximilian. Cilley was formerly a bishopric, but at present it is only a parish and archdeaconry, subject to the patriarch of Aquileia. The city was destroyed by the Bavarians, but, in the year 850, rebuilt by one Bruno, or Brino, who was expelled from Moravia, and obtained from Louis Duke of Bavaria a large tract of ground bordering upon the Saan and the Save. This tract was afterwards dignified with the title of the county of Cilley, according to Megiser; who relates, that another Louis of Bavaria created Fridericus à Sanneck Count of Cilley, in 1339. The same author gives us a series of the counts of Cilley, from the above-mentioned Fridericus à Sanneck to Udalricus, who lived in 1457. This Udalricus, according to Megiser, bearing an implacable hatred to Ladislaus and Matthias Corvinus, the sons of the famous John Huniades, who died in 1456, wrote a letter to George despot of Servia, his father-in-law, promising therein, that, upon his arrival at Belgrade with King Ladislaus, he would present him with two bowls to play with, meaning the heads of the two Corvini. This letter was intercepted by a servant of King Ladislaus, and delivered to him at church, on St. Martin's day, who thereupon immediately called Udalricus, being then at his court, to him, and taxed him with treason. This incensing Udalricus, he drew his sword, and wounded the King both in the hand and the head; who likewise drawing, a combat ensued. But the Hungarian guard coming up, Udalricus was dispatched, though for some time he defended himself very bravely. Udalricus dying without issue, as soon as the Emperor Frederic IV. heard of his death, he seized upon Cilley, which fell to him by a former pact or convention with the counts of that name, and annexed it to Stiria. In this town, which at present does not seem to consist of above eighty or a hundred houses, and six hundred inhabitants, there is a fine convent of the Minorites, in whose church the old counts of Cilley are buried. At a small distance from the town, there is a castle, commonly called Ober-Cilley. Many monuments of antiquity are shewn here. Considerable quantities of Roman coins are dug up also at Ober-Cilley, as well as several remains of human bodies of an enormous size. We shall conclude our account of this place with observing, that the Turks were repulsed in an excursion they made as far as Cilley, with great loss, by Georgius ab Herberstein, in 1492 *.

From Cilley, or Cila, we went to Gonavitz, or Gonawicz, about fourteen German miles S. of Gratz. Here is a castle, and in it a most extraordinary fountain, or spring, which, according to Merianus †, never either rises or falls. In the severest winter it is hot, and in the most burning summer cold. The Turks penetrated as far as Gonawicz, in the year 1473. Gonawicz is situated at the foot of a mountain, in a fine fertile country, and seems to be near as big as Cilley. It is at least three German miles distant from that place. Here we staid all night, and found the air extremely piercing. It has two churches, and a tolerable

* Plin. Lib. iii. cap. 22. Ptol. Geogr. Lib. ii. cap. 13. Velser. in Monum. pereg. Schönleb. in Carn. Anti. app. cap. 5. sect. 2. & alib. Megiser. in Ann. Carin. Lib. ix. cap. 8. & alib.

† Merianus in Topogr. Stir.

pretty piazza in the middle of it. Gonawicz, as well as Cilley, is very clean, and stands in a fine open country. Our provisions here were good; but we had a bill of a very considerable length handed to us in the morning, before we set out. The lodging we met with at Gonawicz was very indifferent.

The post between Gonawicz and Feistricz is a short one, and the road good. Feistricz is denominated by the Germans Windisch Feistricz or Windisch Veistricz, in order to distinguish it from another place so called in Carniola, and stands upon a river of the same name. This river has its source near the village of Frauenheim, about a German mile almost W. of Feistricz, and empties itself into the Drave, a little to the E. of the bridge thrown over that river at Pettaw. Feistricz may be considered as a tolerable good town, and consists of one long street. The houses are clean, and the church handsome enough. The English gentlemen formerly frequented the Bear Inn here; but they have of late used the inn opposite to it, which has a much better character. After we had rested ourselves about an hour at Feistricz, we departed from thence, and continued our march towards Marburg, where we proposed to dine.

Before we arrived at Marburgh, which is near three German miles N. E. of Windisch Feistricz, we passed the Drave, over a fine large bridge contiguous to that town. Marburg, or Marchburg, is a city of the Lower Stiria, seated on the northern bank of the Drave, and nine German miles S. of Gratz. It consists of some hundred of houses, and above two thousand inhabitants, as we collected from what we observed of it. The houses, as well as the inhabitants, are extremely clean and neat. This city was formerly governed by counts of its own, till Ottocar III. Marquiss of Stiria * obtained it of Bernard Count of Marburg. It was seized upon by Soliman the Magnificent, Emperor of the Turks, in the year 1532; but he soon abandoned it, and retired with his forces to Belgrade. The wine here is good, and the glasses the natives drink it out of large; from whence we concluded that the people of Marburg were hard drinkers. We were confirmed in this notion by a custom they, as well as many of the other Germans, closely adhere to, which take as follows. When any company call for wine at an inn, or tavern, it is immediately brought them, and the drawer, or waiter, fills every one of them a bumper; and the moment that is drank off, he fills another; and continues this practice till the wine is all gone. We were served in this manner, and upon our letting the waiter know, that we did not desire so much attendance, but would rather be left at liberty to help ourselves; he replied, that it was the custom of the country to put forward the glass in this manner, and therefore he begged we would be served as other gentlemen were. There are several churches here, and the streets are clean and well paved. The two best inns in Marburg are the Spread Eagle and the Golden Deer.

Between Marburg and Ehrnhausen, the next post town, the country is very mountainous. This may be deemed a long and tedious post, consisting of three German miles. We paid eight grosse for being drawn up a hill by oxen. Ehrnhausen stands upon the river Muer, about six

* See Schönleben and Lazius.

or seven German miles from the borders of Hungary; but is a place of no great note. We staid but a short time here, having two very long posts to Gratz, where we proposed to lie this night.

The next place that supplied us with post horses is called Wildan, or, as many of the Stirians pronounce it, Wildon. It is full three German miles N. of Ehrnhausen, and stands upon an eminence, as doth Ehrnhausen, near the conflux of the Kainach at the Muer. The villages between Ehrnhausen and Wildan are Gamblich, Wagna, Seccau near the conflux of the Lasnicz the Sulm and the Muer, Leibnicz, and Freybichl. There is a bridge over the Muer and Wildan; besides which we know nothing of the place very remarkable. The tract on the western bank of the Muer, between Ehrnhausen and Wildan, was covered with a beautiful verdure, and appeared very agreeable to the eye.

From Wildan we proceed to Gratz, and arrived there pretty late. The distance between these two places is about three German miles, though this post is not so long as the preceding. The posts, as well as the miles, from what we have observed, between Laubach and Gratz, our readers will compute in the following manner:

From Laubach to Podbetsch, or Puotpoiz, two German miles and a half.
From Puotpoiz, or Podbetsch, to San Osgualdo, at least, two German miles.
From San Osgualdo to Franz, or Franiz, two German miles.
From Franz, or Franiz, to Cilley, at least, three German miles.
From Cilley to Gonawicz, or Gonavitz, at least, three German miles.
From Gonawicz to Windisch Feistricz, two German miles.
From Windisch Feistricz to Marburg, three German miles.
From Marburg to Ehrnhausen, three German miles.
From Ehrnhausen to Wildan, or Wildon, full three German miles.
From Wildan, or Wildon, to Gratz, three German miles.

Gratz, in Latin *Græcium*, the capital of Stiria, is a very fine city in about 47°. 2′ lat. and 39°. 40′. long. It stands on the eastern bank of the Muer, or Mura, about twenty-six German miles al. S. of Vienna, according to the common road, though a right line drawn betwixt these cities does not exceed twenty of those miles. It has a very pleasant situation, part of it being seated on a plain, and part on mountains covered with fir-trees. Cluverius makes it to be a place of great antiquity, as answering to, or at least founded upon the ruins of, the Muroela of Ptolemy. But the Muroela of Ptolemy, from the latitude assigned it by that author, as well as the name itself, seems rather to correspond with the town of Mureck, about six German miles below Gratz. The word Gratz, according to some authors, is only a corruption of the Slavonic Grad, i. e. a castle, or fortress; which etymon seems probable enough *.

The Emperor Frederic IV. first surrounded it with ditches and a wall, flanked at proper distances with towers, after the manner of the antients.

* See Cluverius, Lazius, Aventinus, Merianus, &c.

But the art of fortification being daily improved, these, which at first were capable of eluding all the efforts of a powerful enemy, soon became contemptible and of no use. The Archduke Charles, therefore, and his son Ferdinand sunk these ditches deeper, raised the wall higher, and greatly improved the fortifications; insomuch that it seemed to be compleatly fortified on all sides, except where it was washed by the Muer. It has five gates, viz. The Muer-gate, the Gate of St Paul, the Iron-gate, the New-gate, &c. A little to the N. of the town there is an exceeding high rock, separated from the circumjacent mountains, on the top of which stands a castle, or fortezza, amply furnished with all sorts of military stores, and rendered on one side inaccessible by the steepness of the ascent of the mountain on which it stands, and on the other by several batteries mounted with cannon of a very large size. Within this castle is an exceeding good armory. It is plentifully supplied with water by cisterns, and a most stupendous well has been dug, with incredible labour, out of the rock, even to the very foundation of it. In the center stands the church of St. Thomas, which is said to be more antient than the cittadel itself. Contiguous to this church is a tower, in which there is a bell of an enormous size, that may be heard at a prodigious distance. The Turks took Gratz in 1532; but soon after abandoned it, not finding themselves, though their army was very numerous, in a condition to keep possession of it.

The churches in Gratz are the following. 1. The church of St. Giles of Gratz, the cathedral dedicated to the tutelar saint, founded by the Emperor Frederic IV. in 1450; and given to the Jesuits in 1577, in which the bodies of the Martyrs St. Martin, St. Vincentius, and St. Maxentia, sent by Pope Paul V. to the Archduke Ferdinand, in 1617, are deposited. Here are likewise buried the bowels of the Archduke Charles, at the right side of the great altar, as well as the hearts of the Archdukes Maximilian, Ferdinand junior, and John Charles, in silver boxes, in a subterraneous vault set apart for that purpose. 2. The church, called the Mausolæum of St. Catherine the Virgin and Martyr, begun to be built in the year 1614, upon the ruins of an antient chapel, and finished, as well as adorned, by the Emperor Leopold. In this church are interred the bodies of Maria Anna, wife of Ferdinand II. then King of Bohemia, who died in 1618, Charles John her eldest son, who died in 1619, and Ferdinand II. himself, who laid the foundations of this church. 3. The parochial church dedicated to the Sanctissimus Sanguis, or the Blessed Blood, to which is annexed the hospital founded by Ferdinand I. 4. The Church of the Assumption, of the Blessed Virgin, or *Templum B. Virginis in Cœlos assumptæ*, given to the Minorites, (who were invited into the suburbs by Frederic IV. 1463, and afterwards into the city itself by Maximilian King of the Romans in 1495,) in 1515. 5. The Church of St. Paul, situate on the mountain above-mentioned, begun in the year 1619, and finished in 1627. It stands on a spot of ground formerly occupied by a church the most antient of any ever founded here, except that of St. Thomas already taken notice of. 6. The church of St. Joseph, adjoining to the monastery of the Discalceated Carmelites. Before this church, which is opposite to the market-place, there stands a fine statue of the Blessed

Virgin Mary, all over gilt, upon a very high pillar or column. 7. The Church of St. Lawrence, with the Asceterium of the Capuchins, which Ferdinand II. would have erected in the same area where he had commanded ten thousand heretical books to be burnt. 8. The Church of St. Leonard, with the adjacent monastery, built, according to some, by Frederic the Pacific, after his return from Jerusalem, about the year 1437. 9. The Church of All-Saints, built in 1603, at the expence of Mary, mother of the Archduke Ferdinand. 10. The church adjoining to the Carmelite nunnery; whose foundation was honoured with the presence of the Emperor Ferdinand III, Mary his wife, Eleanora, widow to the Emperor Ferdinand II. and the Archduke Leopold William, in the year 1643. 11. The Church of the Ursuline nuns, whose foundation was owing to the charity and magnificence of a certain pious matron of the first distinction, after the arrival of several of those nuns here, from Vienna and Goritia, in 1686.

Besides the churches already mentioned, several religious houses of note are to be met with at Gratz; the principal of which are the following. 1. The noble college of the jesuits, founded by Charles Archduke of Austria, in 1573, and most munificently endowed by the Emperor Ferdinand II. This college is joined to St. Giles's church abovementioned, and has a university appertaining to it, where philosophy, divinity, and all kinds of polite literature, are taught, founded likewise by the aforesaid Charles Archduke of Austria, in 1586, and confirmed by Pope Sixtus V, and the Emperor Rudolphus II. However, the present building was not begun before the year 1607. This university or academy was not a little honoured by the Archdukes Maximilian Ernest and Leopold, who both frequented its schools publickly; and the first of whom, in a theatric performance here, represented Theodosius the Great, as the other did St. Ambrose, in 1600. Nay, the last of these gloriously maintained several theses, which he dedicated to the Emperor Rudolphus. 2. The convent of the Minorites, near the church of the Blessed Virgin Mary assumed into heaven, already taken notice of. This convent was formerly adorned, as it is said, by the pious hands of Rudolphus, son of the Archduke Sigismund, who professed himself of the order of St. Francis in it, and lies here interred. Be this as it will, it is certain his name is not to be found in the genealogical tables of the house of Austria. 3. The Monastery of the Augustines, founded in 1558, and deserted by the friers in 1601, but soon after repaired and beautified by the Emperor Ferdinand II, who recalled them. 4. The convent of the Discalceated Carmelites abovementioned. 5. The Asceterium of the Capuchins, already taken notice of. 6. The Religious house inhabited by the nuns of the order of St. Dominic. The Minorites, called *Minores Observantes*, were first settled in this place; but leaving it in 1515, for their present situation, they were succeeded by those nuns, who demolished their first house, founded and endowed by Udalricus à Walsee, in the suburbs, about the year 1313, through fear of the arms of Matthias Corvinus, and retired into the city. 7. The nunnery appertaining to the virgins of Santa Clara, already mentioned. 8. That belonging to the Carmelite nuns. 9.

And lastly, That where are seated those of the order of Santa Ursula, commonly called Ursulines.

Besides these buildings, set apart for religious purposes, there are others that deserve the notice and regard of every curious traveller. 1. The palace built by the Emperor Frederic IV. sirnamed the Pacific; in which two Archdukes of Austria, viz. Charles son of Ferdinand I. and Ferdinand his grandson, chose constantly to reside. Here are four tribunals instituted. First, The intimate council, or *Intimum Concilium*, whose authority is superior to that of all the rest. Secondly, the regimen, or junto, founded by Charles Archduke of Austria, in 1565; over which the governor of the city presides. Thirdly, the chamber, or camera, which has a president of its own. And these tribunals determine judicially all causes relating to the Interior Austria, which includes the dutchies of Stiria, Carinthia, Carniola, and the county of Goritia. Fourthly, and lastly, The *Concilium Bellicum*, or war office, founded likewise by the aforesaid Archduke Charles in 1558, in order to have a watchful eye upon the Turkish frontiers. For which reason, at a small distance from it, and contiguous to the university abovementioned, is an armory, or magazine, filled with ammunition and all kinds of military stores. 2. The *Domus Provincialis*, or province hall, built in the year 1563, and almost as grand as the palace. Here the states of the province, which consist of four orders, viz. the order of prelates, that of noblemen and lords, that of knights, and that of the cities, meet and hold their *Comitia*. This *Domus Provincialis* has also an armory abundantly stored with utensils of war. The citizens of Gratz have likewise their *Curia*, or town-house, in which they are governed by a consul, a judge, and a senate, chosen out of their own body. It stands at the upper end of an oblong market-place, or forum, in which there are kept two fairs every year. Opposite to this there stands a brazen colossus of the ever-blessed Trinity, gilt all over with gold, leaning upon a lofty pillar, and surrounded on all sides by statues of saints.

The way into two of the suburbs is by the church of St. Paul, through the iron gate. In one of which is erected a church dedicated to St. John, and adjoining to a convent of Capuchins; in the other, the church of St. Ann, annexed to a monastery of Discalceated Austin friers. These friers were first settled in a religious house, at some distance from the city, founded by John Maximilian, Count of Herberstein; which being demolished, on account of its being too much exposed to the excursions of the Turks, in 1666, they retired hither. The first stone of this new edifice was laid with great solemnity, by the Emperor Leopold, in 1673. But the largest suburb, which in extent exceeds even the city itself, is divided from the body of the town by the Muer. Here many churches are to be seen, of which the four following seem the most remarkable. 1. The Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary the Helper, in Latin, *Ecclesia Beatæ Virginis Mariæ Auxiliatricis*, famous on account of many miracles wrought in it. Here the body of St. Anthemius the Martyr, having been brought from Rome by John Anthony, Prince of Eggenberg, and by him given to this church, is deposited. Close to it is a convent, inhabited by the Minorites, ever since the year 1515. 2. The church of St. Andrew, possessed by the

order of Prædicants. 3. The church belonging to the religious virgin of S. Joannes Dei. 4. That appertaining to the nuns of St. Elizabeth. This suburb, on that side opposite to the river, ends in a rock rising above the ground, which otherwise in that part is a plain. This rock, by its situation very aptly representing Mount Calvary, is adorned with several beautiful chapels, by the pious liberality of the citizens of Gratz, exhibiting all the principal circumstances of our Saviour's passion. About two miles from Gratz stands the noble palace of the Prince of Eggenberg, built by Udalricus Duke of Crumlow, and fit for the residence of an Emperor. This palace is moted round, has extremely fine gardens belonging to it, and enjoys a most delightful situation. Within it is adorned with elegant pieces of painting, statues of exquisite workmanship, and many other valuable curiosities.

There are several very good inns in Gratz, one of the best of which is the Hare, where we put up, as do most other English gentlemen, who stop at this town. The landlord was a very sensible man, and from him we learned some curious particulars relating to the place. The forum, or piazza, abovementioned, in which stands the colossus of the Trinity, is called by the Italians *La Piazza di Santissima Trinita*, i. e. The piazza, or place, of the most Holy Trinity. The garrison of Gratz, as we were informed, consisted of no more than four-hundred regular troops, commanded by Col. Count Sternberg, who is said to be an officer of worth, and in considerable favour at the imperial court. These we saw drawn up in the piazza abovementioned, and thought they made a tolerable good appearance. In the ducal palace here, which we have already taken notice of, there is a fine library, containing a good collection of printed books, together with some manuscripts, which are placed in two handsome rooms. In the gallery, besides other curiosities, there is an elegant draught of Charles the Great's acts of gallantry; and a little beyond may be seen a repository of choice rarities, wherein is a pretty good *Raccolta* of American and Indian idols, such as have been worshipped by the Pagan inhabitants of those parts, from remote antiquity even to this day. The jesuits college and academy have been favoured with so many and great privileges by several Emperors, to say nothing of the rich endowments of the former, that it is no wonder we meet with such a considerable number of students here, who are promoted to degrees in the several faculties, as in other Gymnasia and universities of the empire.

They have a fine printing-press here; but it is intirely under the direction of the jesuits, as is indeed every thing else in this place. No wonder then, that the learned men produced by the university should have their genius's so cramped, that few pieces of erudition should be sent into the world from this press; and that bigotry and superstition should rule with an uncontroulable sway in Gratz. However, some books worthy the perusal of the curious have been published here, amongst which may be justly ranked the following: 'Laurus Leflæana, sive clarior Enumeratio Personarum utriusque Sexus Cognominis Leslie, una cum Affinibus, Titulis, Officiis, Dominiis, Gestisque celebrioribus breviter indicatis, quibus a sexcentis et amplius Annis Prosapia illa

floruit, ex variis Authoribus, Manuscriptis, et Testimoniis Fide dignis' in unum collecta. Græcii, 1692.'

As for the Dutchy of Stiria, of which Gratz is the metropolis, it is bounded on the east by Hungary and Sclavonia, on the west by the Archbishopric of Saltzburg and Carinthia, on the south by Carniola, and on the north by Austria. It is divided into the Upper and Lower Stiria. The Lower Stiria, especially about Rackelspurg, or Rackespurg, situate on an island in the Muer, near the borders of Hungary and Sclavonia, and Luetenberg, on the confines of Sclavonia, at a small distance from Ratz, or Rascian, Canischa, on the southern bank of the Muer, abounds with wine, fruit, fish, venison, mines, especially those of iron, salt-springs, &c. though it is pretty mountainous in some parts. This district has also now and then plentiful crops of corn; insomuch that sometimes the inhabitants complain of being overstocked with it; notwithstanding which, one unhappy harvest will introduce a famine amongst them. This fertility is occasioned by the fruitful vallies mitigating the barrenness and asperity of the mountains in some parts, and the mild sweet atmosphere of the little hills in others, particularly those inclining to the east, which produce most generous wine. The Upper Stiria is much more mountainous and barren; for which reason the inhabitants trade chiefly in wool and sheep. The vallies likewise here are rich and well stocked with herds of kine, that furnish their masters with butter and cheese in great plenty; which they exchange with the neighbouring provinces for bread and wine. The air, according to the people of the country, of the Upper Stiria is much more salubrious than that of the Lower, where the Hungarian fevers and pestilences frequently make great havock. The Upper Stiria has no vineyards, and consequently produces no wine; so that the small quantity of that liquor used there is imported out of other countries. The peasants drink a wretched sort of small beer, and the nobles and people of fashion a small thin wine, called March wine; notwithstanding which, many travellers are said to like the lodging and entertainment here better than in most other parts of the empire.

The woods, with which both the Upper and Lower Stiria abound, are full of wild beasts and all sorts of game; the water of the fountains clear, but extremely sharp; and even many of the highest mountains perpetually covered with a most beautiful verdure, and rich pastures, that breed an infinity of cattle. No oxen are more esteemed in Piedmont, Savoy, the state of Genoa, Tuscany, the Venetian territories, and that part of Italy subject to the Emperor, than those that come out of Stiria; and vast numbers of these oxen come yearly into those provinces, and particularly out of the neighbourhood of Gratz.

With regard to the antient inhabitants of Stiria, we have not much to say; though we believe our readers will expect a short account of them. Towards the beginning of the Roman empire, the western part of Stiria belonged to Noricum, and the eastern to Pannonia. The Norici, according to Pliny, succeeded the Taurisci here; though the latter were only a tribe of the former, if any credit may be given to Strabo. That part of Stiria allotted to Pannonia seems to have been formerly called Valeria, and Pannonia Savia. The former appellation, derived, according to Aurelius Victor, by the command of the Emperor Galerius

Maximianus, from Valeria, the daughter of Dioclesian, his wife, was applied to that part of Pannonian Stiria above the Drave; and the latter to the other below that river. The name Pannonia Savia is apparently deduced from the Save, the southern boundary of the province to which it belongs. Which names and division of part of Stiria are greatly countenanced by Sextus Rufus and Jornandes; if those authors do not put them beyond all doubt *.

Stiria, with Noricum and Pannonia, was obliged to submit to the Roman arms. However, the Taurisci, and some of the neighbouring nations, made an attempt to recover their liberty, in the consulate of L. Cornificius and Sextus Pompeius, about thirty-five years before the birth of Christ, according to † Dio. Upon their refusing to pay the usual tribute, Augustus, who then meditated an expedition to Africa, found himself obliged to return with his army from Sicily, in order to reduce them. How and when the Romans made themselves masters of this country ‡, Sextus Rufus informs us in the following words: "Under Julius and Octavianus, the Romans passed the Julian Alps; and having subdued the inhabitants of those Alps, they approached the frontiers of the Norici. Batho, or Bathon, King of the Pannonians, being vanquished, the Pannoniæ submitted to the Romans. The Amantini, betwixt the Save and the Drave, being likewise conquered, the Regio Savensis and the territories of the Secundi Pannonii fell into our hands. The Marcomanni and Quadi were driven from Valeria, which lies betwixt the Danube and the Drave. And the regulation of limits, between the Romans and the Barbarians, was settled by a line drawn from Augusta Vindelicorum through Noricum, the Pannoniæ, and the Mæsiæ." The Vandals obtained leave of the Emperor Constantine to seat themselves in the Inferior Pannonia; but being overthrown by Geberic, King of the Goths, not far from the mouth of the Danube, whither they had advanced from the coast of the Baltic, they were obliged to turn off another way. The Vandals being thus repulsed, the Goths marched into this country, and after them the Lombards, or Longobardi. They, in process of time, were followed by the Venedi, or Slavi, the Huns, or Hunni, and the Avares. Lastly, the Franci, or French, were introduced by Charles the Great, who, about the year 790, extended his vast dominions as far as the Adriatic.

After the French, the Bavarians, Boiarians, or Boii, got possession of Stiria, which was their boundary or limit towards the Slavi and the Hungarians; and hence it came to be called Steirmark, or Steirmarch, which name it retains amongst the Germans to this day. From the Bavarians it passed to the Princes of Carinthia, till it was taken from them by the Emperor Conrad II. who erected it into an imperial marquisate, in favour of Ottocar Count of Muerztal and Avelanz, Lord of Eppenstein, and nephew to Marquardus Duke of Carinthia, in 1030. However, it was not hereditary in that family, though they continued to govern it, till the reign of the Emperor Henry V. of whom Leopold, the son of Ottocar III. obtained it as an hereditary fief, in 1120, according to Fugger §. This favour Leopold merited, as the same author

* Plin. Lib. iii. cap. 20. et alibi Strab. Lib. iv. Sext. Ruf. in Brev. Rer. Rom. Jornand. de Regn. succes. Lib. i. Aurel. Vict. de Cæs. cap. 40. † Dio. Lib. xlix. ‡ Sext. Ruf. in Brev. Rer. Rom. § Fugger. in Spec. Hon. Lib. ii. cap. 3.

relates, by the signal victory he obtained over Abas, or Aba, King of the Hungarians, near Pettaw. Some, according to Merianus, however are of opinion, that Ottocar I. had not the whole country of Stiria, but only the Upper; that Conrad gave him the country of Austria, which he calls Anasperg, at the same time; and that the abovementioned Leopold added the Lower Stiria, or the territory of Gratz, to his dominions, by the indulgence of Henry V. But it must be owned, that the antient history of this country is very dark and obscure. Ottocar IV. the son of Leopold, was first acknowledged Duke of Stiria, by the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa, in 1165, and married Kunegunda, daughter to Leopold VII. sirnamed the Virtuous, Duke of Austria; but having no issue, by the consent of the noblesse, he sold the Dutchy of Stiria to his father-in-law. Afterwards Ottocar, King of Bohemia, seizing upon Austria, for some time governed Stiria; but the Stirians, detesting his tyranny, invited Henry, Duke of Bavaria, to be their sovereign. Henry, before he accepted of this invitation, thought proper to consult his father-in-law Bela, King of Hungary; who, being apprised of the affair, found means privately to conciliate the affections of the Stirians to himself, and so duped Henry, who had neither money nor forces to support his pretensions. However, the Bavarian excited Ottocar to assert his title to Stiria by force of arms, who obliged Bela to cede to him one part of it. Bela afterwards endeavouring to recover what had been wrested from him, was overthrown with great slaughter, and lost the whole. At last Ottocar being defeated by the Emperor Rudolphus I. relinquished Stiria to his son Albert, Duke of Austria; since which time it has made up part of the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria.

In the county of Cilley, the principal language is the Sclavonian, which likewise prevails amongst the peasants almost throughout the whole Lower Stiria. But in Gratz, and all the other principal towns, the people, for the most part, speak High Dutch. In the former place the people of fashion likewise speak Italian with great fluency and elegance. In this language we conversed with our landlord, and other citizens of Gratz, without any difficulty. High Dutch is the tongue in which all proceedings in courts of judicature are heard openly; and in which are issued out all public edicts and proclamations. The people of the Upper Stiria speak High Dutch only; and that with much greater purity than either the Saltzburghers or Bavarians. That Stiria was antiently inhabited by the Taurisci seems probable from the name itself; for this region was formerly called Styrmarch, or Stiermarch, and Stier in German, and even in some of the northern dialects of England, answers to the Latin Taurus. This seems a plain allusion to the Taurisci, a German nation, who probably had that name given them by the Romans, after their passage of the Danube into this country, from the figure * of a bull, which, according to some writers of good authority, they had

* See a geographical piece, wrote in Latin by Count Purgstall of Prague, intituled Germania Austriaca, ab illustrissimo Domino Wenceslao Carolo S. R. I. Comit. de Purgstall, Pragensi, &c. Leopoldo Magno Augustiss. Romanorum Imperatori dedicat. &c. Viennæ Austriæ, Typis Joannis-Georgii Schlagel, Universitatis Typographi, 1701.

depicted on their ensigns or banners; in the room of which they afterwards substituted a panther vomiting fire. As the German empire was terminated on the side of Sclavonia, in general, by the Muer, so the limit, or land-mark, of Stiria itself, on that side, seems to have been Gratz. Hence, according to some, the town first received the denomination of Granitz, or Grantz, a word importing boundary, or land-mark, in the Sclavonian tongue. But perhaps the etymon already given, as approaching nearer the sound of Gratz, may prove more acceptable to the generality of our readers. As the Muer antiently separated Germany from Sclavonia, the Dutchies of Carinthia, Carniola, and a great part of Stiria, together with the county of Goritia, formerly appertained to Sclavonia; and the bulk of the inhabitants of those provinces do even still, in most points, much more resemble the Sclavonians than the Germans. These territories have been considered as part of Germany, only since the time that they were first annexed to the dominions of the house of Austria.

Though the citizens of Gratz are not a little tinctured with bigotry and superstition, as being intirely under the influence and direction of the jesuits, yet our landlord supplied us, during the short stay we made here, with whatever provisions we desired. These provisions were very good, as was likewise our lodging; so that we had no manner of reason to complain of our entertainment at Gratz, especially as the bill our landlord favoured us with was moderate enough. This being the lent season, no kind of diversions were stirring here; and consequently there was nothing that could induce us to stay any longer than barely to see the town, and learn most of the remarkable particulars relating to it. The inhabitants seemed to be in a great ferment, on account of the war lately broke out between the Emperor and France. They expressed the utmost antipathy and aversion to France and her allies; nay they could scarce keep themselves within the bounds of decency, whenever any of those powers, who, they thought, had projected the destruction of the house of Austria, was so much as mentioned.

A Journey from Gratz, the metropolis of Stiria, to Vienna in Austria.

MS.

NEVER BEFORE PUBLISHED.

SECT. IV.

THE first place we stopped at, after our departure from Gratz, was called Pichau. In some German maps of Stiria, we find this village denominated Pecka or Becka, and in Jo. Bapt. Homannus's new map of

Hungary, and the part of Stiria contiguous to that kingdom, Pökach; which probably is the name it goes by amongst the Hungarians. It is a pretty long straglıng village, and stands upon the Muer, over which river there is a bridge near it, between two and three German miles N. W. of Gratz. According to Homannus *, there is a monastery on a hill of considerable height, at a small distance from it. Between Gratz and Pichau, we passed by a high mountain, or rather a ridge of high mountains, which our postiglioni called Mount Schöckel. Pichau did not seem to us to consist of above forty or fifty houses; and in it travellers meet with but indifferent accommodations. Nothing therefore could tempt us to stay long here; so that having rested ourselves a little while, and got fresh horses, we entered upon the following post.

This post is terminated by a small town, or village, called by the postiglioni that conducted us Redelstein, by some of the German geographers Retlstain, and by Homannus Rotelstein. It is seated on the opposite bank of the Muer, above two German miles al. N. of Pichau. It stands at the foot of a large mountain, which is intirely covered with a wood of fir-trees. Between Pichau and Redelstein we met with five or six persons, who had huge *Strumæ*, wens, or swellings under their throats; which, upon inquiry, we found was an epidemical disease in this country. We were informed, that this was occasioned by the water of the Muer, which the poor people, and such are almost al. those troubled with these *Strumæ*, were obliged to drink. But we are of opinion, that it is rather owing to the snow-water, which descends from the neighbouring mountains into this river; and even in this case, the notion of the vulgar here is not altogether without foundation. Ortelius was surprised to find a person in this country with a *Struma* of a most enormous size. They have hospitals in all the large towns for the relief of these poor wretches. Between Pichau and Redelstein we passed through a town called by our postiglioni Frih, which to appearance consists of about a hundred and fifty houses. It has a castle, which commands it, and is always garrisoned by some Imperial troops. We found here part of Prince Frederic of Wirtemberg's regiment, which is said to be one of the best in the Emperor's service. It is observable that the noblesse, and all the people of good fashion, in Stiria, who drink good wine and beer, and eat well, escape the *Strumæ*, which so afflict the lower sort of people. This greatly countenances what has been just advanced in relation to the cause of that troublesome distemper. Having staid about an hour in Redelstein, and refreshed ourselves, we set out for Prugg, the next post town.

Prugg, or Pruck, is a pretty large town, about two German miles al. N. of Redelstein, near the conflux of the Merz and the Muer. The Merz has its source in a chain of mountains, that seems to separate Stiria from Austria. Muræpontum, the Latin name of Prugg, is deduced from the famous bridge thrown over the Muer near this place. Some take Prugg to be the *Ad Pontem* of Peutinger's table. A good part of the road between Redelstein and Prugg is one continued path

* This Jo. Bapt. Homannus was geographer to the Emperor Charles VI. His map was taken from the archetype of M. Muller, his Imperial Majesty's chief ingenier, and is by far the most accurate of any that has yet been published. It seems to have been published about the year 1705.

between two ridges of hills, upon the western bank of the Muer. This part of Stiria abounds with woods of fir-trees, several of which are very large and extensive. Upon some of the bridges in Stiria, is erected a crucifix, opposite to which is placed either the statue or picture of a priest, bishop, or saint, with either a crucifix or book in his right hand. The country-women here wear fur-caps, and have petticoats scarce reaching lower than their knees. Some of them wear a sort of buskins not unlike those of the Venetian Gondoliers, or the Hungarians. They are strong and masculine, manure the ground, and do other things which are performed solely by the men in England, France, Spain, Italy, and even other parts of Germany. Their complexions are, however, for the most part fine, and their features agreeable. The windows of many houses in the villages of this part of Stiria are scarce bigger than pigeon holes, and are intirely open. Prugg seems to consist of about three-hundred houses, has a pretty piazza in the middle of it, and a stately church, whose dome is covered with brass or copper, which, when the solar rays are reflected from it, makes a fine appearance. Besides this parochial church, over which an archdeacon presides, there are two others here belonging to the Minorites, or *Minores Observantes*, and the Capuchins. The inhabitants of Prugg have been long famous for their singular fidelity to their prince, and for the valour with which they defended their town for the Emperor Albert I. against Otto Duke of Bavaria, and Conrad of Saltzburgh, in 1291. On a neighbouring hill stands a castle, which commands the town. Many persons with strumæ, some of which were very monstrous, met us between Redelstein and Prugg. We staid long enough here to take a full view of the town, and then resumed our march, hoping soon to reach the borders of Austria.

Merzhofen, or Merzhoffen, the next place that supplied us with post-horses, receives its name from the river Merz, on which it is seated, two German miles N. E. of Prugg. Between the last mentioned town and Merzhofen there is a pretty large town called Kapfenberg. Kapfenberg, or, as Gerard de Roo calls it, Cappenberg, is about seven German miles from Gratz, and has a cittadel upon an eminence near it. This town is famous for a sharp engagement that happened near it in 1291, between Frederic of Stubenberg, and Herman of Landenberg, who espoused the interest of Albert Archduke of Austria. Herman behaved with great bravery, but, being deserted by his men, was taken prisoner. Lazius makes this place to be of a very high antiquity; but the arguments he offers for his notion deserve no great regard. Merzhofen is but a small village, and makes a very inconsiderable figure. Near it we met three companies of Prince Frederic of Wirtemberg's regiment, on their march for Lombardy, where the officer that commanded them told us the Imperialists would soon have an army of fifty-thousand men. The lower sort of people here seemed to us extremely poor and miserable, though they are said to be very honest and sincere. We did not meet with any thing in this place that deserved the least attention.

From Merzhofen to Kriegla, or Krieglag, is an easy post. The road is as good as can be desired; and the people we met with, whilst upon

it, seemed very obliging. Kriegla is a small village upon the Merz, two easy German miles al. E. of Merzhofen.

The next place we came to, the postiglioni called Merzsclag, which receives likewise its denomination from the Merz, on which it is situated. Homannus writes this name Merzuschlag, and some of the German geographers Merzueschlag. This town, which is but small, stands upon the confines of Austria, about two German miles N. E. of Kriegla. The best inn, and which is used by most of the English gentlemen who travel this way, in Merzsclag is the Spread Eagle. We lay here one night, and met with tolerable good entertainment. The church in Merzsclag is pretty large, and handsome, but built *a la Tedesca:* besides which nothing remarkable here presents itself to a traveller's view.

From Merzsclag we advanced to Schottwien, or, according to Homannus, Schotwein, the first town in Austria. By far the greatest part of the road between Prugg and Mount Semmering, is a path between two ridges of hills. The Germans commonly call this place Schodtwien, Schaidwien, or Schuzwien; the last of which names seems best to have pleased Lambericus. It was denominated by Æneas Silvius Schadvienna, and by Bonfinius Scæa Vienna, and the Fauces of the Norici. It is a very large town, at the foot of Mount Semmering, or Semmeringus, the boundary of Stiria. The craggy mountains here render the road very narrow to travellers passing from Austria to Stiria, and from Stiria to Austria. Schottwien is defended by a strong castle, or cittadel, built upon a rock, and called by the Germans Clam. This cittadel was taken by Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary, in 1485. but the craggy precipice, on which it is situated, prevented him from advancing any further that way. The first part of this post is a plain, the middle all up hill, and the last part one continued descent. Not far from the spot where Stiria and Austria meet, we saw such an obelisk, or column, as that abovementioned, and erected on the same occasion. Upon this obelisk there is an inscription, in which mention is made of the Counts de Zinzendorf and Herberstein, besides some other officers of the Imperial court, bearing a relation to Stiria and Austria.

Neunkirchen is about three German miles distant from Schottwien. Here we took fresh horses, staid about an hour, and refreshed ourselves. This village consists but of few houses, and is only remarkable on account of its being situated in the post road to Vienna. The Spread Eagle inn, where the postiglioni generally call, is however a house of some note.

From Neunkirchen, our postiglioni brought us to Neustadt, a noble and well fortified town of Austria, on the Leyta, about seven German miles almost south of Vienna, and not two from the frontiers of Hungary. It has a marshy situation, and was built by Leopold the Glorious, Duke of Austria, in order to repress the courses of the Hungarians, about the year 1200. We are told by some writers of good authority, that Emeric, King of Hungary, for the security of his frontiers, began to build a fortress not far from the spot occupied by Neustadt, at, or near, the same time that Leopold was employed in raising this city; and that, in order to prevent all disputes between the two princes, it was

mutually agreed, that he who first finished his city should possess it, and the other be obliged to demolish the fortress he had begun. Leopold's workmen therefore, continue the same authors, being more expeditious than those of Emeric, the last dropped his design. Cuspinian writes, that the particular area of the Hungarian town begun by Emeric was visible in his time. The Emperor Maximilian I. was born here, and this was almost the only place that afforded an asylum to Frederic II. Duke of Austria, in 1237, when he was expelled Vienna, and every other part of the province, by the Emperor Frederic II. It is likewise famous for the gallant defence it made for the Emperor Frederic IV, when it was besieged by Udalricus Eitzingerus, and Udalricus, Count of Cilley, with his forces, and five thousand citizens of Vienna, in 1452. In this siege, Andreas Paumkircherus greatly distinguished himself, when, like Horatius Cocles, he almost singly defended a gate against the whole power of the enemy, and prevented them from entering the town, till a detachment of the garrison came to his assistance, and repulsed them. Soon after which, the enemy found themselves obliged to abandon the siege. In the year 1485, after seven months siege, Neustadt surrendered to Matthias, King of Hungary, being compelled thereto by famine; but, about five years after, it was restored to Maximilian, son to the Emperor Frederic IV. who obtained leave of Pope Paul II. to make it a bishop's see, in 1470. He had, in the year 1444, founded here a monastery for the Cistercian order. Besides the cathedral church here, there is an Asceterium of the Capuchins, a religious house of Carmelite nuns, founded by Maria Euphrosyna Seredezgin in 1665, and a college for the jesuits, built and endowed by the Archduke Leopold William. The church appertaining to the jesuits has been graced with the body of St. Venantius, being the present of the Empress Eleonora Magdalena. The Counts Serini and Frangipani were beheaded at Neustadt; and a sepulchral monument of stone in memory of them stands in the cathedral church, with an inscription upon it. But as this has been already published by * Signor Giovanni Battista Pacichelli, we shall content ourselves with just having mentioned it here. The Imperial palace here, built by Leopold Archduke of Austria, son to Albert, surnamed the Wise, and enlarged, as well as greatly adorned, by the Emperor Ferdinand I, is very magnificent and superb. Upon the door are written the five vowels A, E, I, O, U; which symbol has not a little perplexed the wits of the German Oedipus's, who have proposed at least forty interpretations of it. But what need is there of an Oedipus to decipher it, when this has been done by the Emperor Frederic IV, the † author of it, himself, who, in the dairy of his life, wrote with his own hand, and perused by Lambecius, has given it us both in Latin and High Dutch, in the following lines:

AUSTRIÆ *Est Imperare Orbi Universo.*
Alles Erdreich Ist OESTERRICH *Unterthan.*

That is

AUSTRIA ought to govern the whole world.

* This piece is intitled, Memorie de' Viaggi per l'Europa Christiana, &c. and was printed at Naples, in 1685. See Tom. III. epist. LXI.

† This was the common symbol of Frederic IV. used on various occasions by that prince, as we learn from Lambecius. See his Comment. de August. Biblioth. Cæs. Vind. &c. Tom. 2.

The odæum of the holy cross adjoins to the palace, where the remains of the Emperor Maximilian, removed by Ferdinand from the church or chapel of St. George hither, are deposited in an alabaster coffin. Many of the houses here consist almost intirely of wood, as they do in several parts of Stiria, Carinthia, and Austria. We remember not to have seen any other sort of wood in that part of the Austrian dominions we have hitherto traversed than fir-trees, with which the whole country from the borders of Carniola to Vienna abounds. We staid some time here, in order to have a tolerable good idea of the place, and then set out for Drastkirchen, the next post town.

Drastkirchen, or Traskirchen, is a pretty large town, about four German miles almost north of Neustadt. We saw nothing remarkable here, except a large stable of horses, belonging to the post master; and at the Vienna end of the town a sort of monument or pedestal, with the effigies of God the Father, and this inscription, *Deo Patri Creatori*, &c. upon it. The people here were very inquisitive about the situation of affairs in Italy, and particularly about the condition of the Imperial forces in Lombardy.

Having taken a full survey of Traskirchen, we set out for Vienna, and arrived there in good time. This last post consists of three long German miles, and is a plain intirely clear and open, as is also the whole post road from mount Semmering, which may be deemed a part of Mount Cetius, to the gates of Vienna. The country betwixt that capital and Traskirchen is adorned with several fine seats belonging to persons of distinction. Upon our arrival at Vienna, we found the Emperor's officers pretty severe, and our baggage underwent a strict examination. The duty imposed upon us for it amounted to twenty grosse, after the payment of which, we were admitted into the town. From what has been already observed, our readers will easily perceive, that the list of posts betwixt Gratz and Vienna stands thus:

From Gratz to Pichau, full two German miles.
From Pichau, or Becka, to Redelstein, two long German miles.
From Redelstein, or Rotelstein, to Prugg, two German miles.
From Prugg, or Pruck, to Merzhofen, two German miles.
From Merzhofen, or Merzhofen, to Krieglag, two German miles.
From Krieglag to Merzueschlag, two German miles.
From Merzueschlag, or Merzsclag, to Schottwien, two German miles.
From Schottwien to Neunkirchen, three German miles.
From Neunkirchen to Neustadt, two German miles.
From Neustadt to Traskirchen, four German miles.
From Traskirchen, or Drastkirchen, to Vienna, three German miles.

Vienna, or, as it was written in Latin above three hundred years ago, Wienna, is called by the Germans Wien, by the French Vienne, by the English, Spaniards, and Italians Vienna, by the Poles Wieden, and by the Turks Beetz. It is one of the most famous cities in the world, and the capital of the Archdutchy of Austria. It stands on the southern arm of the Danube, not far from the confines of Hungary, in forty-eight degrees twenty-two minutes north latitude, and forty degrees longitude, according to the German geographers. This being admitted, a right line drawn from Vienna to Rome will be a hundred and five German miles long, to Madrid two-hundred and sixty, to Lisbon three hundred

and thirty-five, to Paris a hundred and fifty-four, to London a hundred and seventy-five, to Copenhagen a hundred and sixteen, to Stockholm a hundred and sixty-five, to Cracow forty, to Moscow two-hundred and forty-eight, and to Constantinople a hundred and seventy-three. In the calculus, or computation, of these distances, the aforesaid geographers, according to custom, suppose every single degree of the æquator to correspond with fifteen German miles; but, in order to determine them with greater precision, it must be observed, that a German mile consists of five-thousand four-hundred paces, every one of which contains five geometrical feet.

Vienna seems to occupy the spot on which the antient Vindobona stood; for which reason it is frequently stiled in Latin by the moderns Vindobona. Its situation very well corresponds with that of the Viliobona and the Juliobona of Ptolemy, since that geographer places this city on the Danube, a little to the east of Mount Cetius; which evidently proves his text, with regard to the name of the place, to be corrupted in the passage here referred to. This is confirmed by Peutinger's table, from whence it appears, that persons travelling from the River Arabo, the Raab of the moderns, into Noricum, found Vindobona to be six-thousand paces, or six Roman miles, nearer to them than Mount Cetius. Vindobona is likewise mentioned by Antoninus in the Itinerary, who removes it to a greater distance from Mount Cetius; but this is not to be wondered at, since the learned know that this piece, especially with regard to its numbers, is full of faults, and consequently stands in need of many emendations. If it was necessary to produce other testimonies in support of what is here advanced, we might cite Jornandes, who lived in the reign of Justinian I. several antient monuments dug up at Vienna, published by Lazius, as well as others, and the Notitia; but this seems to be intirely superfluous. Several of the antient Roman Emperors did not only honour Vindobona with ample privileges, but likewise with their presence. Such were Tiberius, M. Aurelius Antoninus Philosophus, who died here, according to Sextus Aurelius Victor, and Antoninus Caracalla, who amused himself here with various kinds of diversions, in his journey to Pannonia, as we find proved from Herodian by Lambecius; which is confirmed by an antient medal discovered by the workmen in digging for the foundations of the new Imperial Palace at Vienna, in 1662. The name of this city was deduced from that of the river Vindo, or Wien, as it is now called, on which it stands, and the word Bahn, i. e. Way, according to Lambecius. In support of this notion, that learned man supposes Vindobona to be the head of a military way leading from the river Vindo, or Wien, to Italy. Others believe the word Vindobona to be composed of Vindo and Wohn, i. e. The habitation upon the Vindo. Which of these etymons is the true one we shall not take upon us to determine, nor attempt to answer the objections offered against the opinion just advanced, viz. that Vienna and Vindobona may be looked upon as the same city. This has been most effectually done by the learned Lambecius, to whom, for farther satisfaction on this head, we beg leave to refer our curious and inquisitive readers.

But admitting that Vindobona stood where Vienna was afterwards

erected, yet it must be allowed, that Vindobona was destroyed five-hundred years before the foundation of Vienna, which happened in the time of St. Leopold, Marquiss of Austria, who died in 1136. That prince having extended his frontiers towards the east, and built him a palace on the top of Mount Cetius, part of the spot at present occupied by Vienna began first to be distinguished from the adjacent soil by some small huts or cottages, raised on it, and inhabited, by huntsmen; though, a short time afterwards, these were converted into edifices of considerable note. From the destruction of Vindobona to the erection of the above-mentioned huts, or, at least, for the greatest part of that period, this spot was covered with birch-trees; from whence it received the denomination of Perkhoff, or Birkhoff, by which name it went in the reign of the aforesaid St. Leopold, Marquiss of Austria. This was the beginning of the present famous and noble city of Vienna, so called from the Wien, on which it is seated, in like manner as was Vindobona from Vindo, the antient name of the same river. Vienna, at first an inconsiderable village, grew so fast, that it soon put on the form of a city, and Henry II. then Duke of Austria, pitched upon the place now called Hoff for his palace to stand upon, in 1156. Leopold VII, surnamed the Virtuous, surrounded Vienna, then looked upon as a ducal city, with a brick wall, flanked with towers, some footsteps of which are still to be seen at the gate, called the Gate of the Red Tower. This was done with the money paid by Richard I. King of England, for his ransom, after he had been taken prisoner by the said Leopold, in his return to England from the Holy Land, for a pretended affront offered him by that prince, at the taking of Aco, or Ptolemais. Leopold VIII. Duke of Austria, son to Leopold VII, sirnamed the Glorious, after the death of his elder brother Frederic, built a splendid and superb palace in Vienna, which has been the seat of the Roman emperors near three-hundred years. The residence of those emperors here has gradually aggrandized this city, filled it with inhabitants, magnificent palaces, and noblesse of different nations; in which flourishing state we beheld it. Since the year 1540, especially in 1636, the place has been regularly fortified, and is now one of the strongest towns in Europe. The suburbs on every side seem equal to so many cities. Before the year 1683, they were adjacent to the fosses; but, since that time, they are removed at a certain distance from thence, and are adorned with so many fine palaces and beautiful gardens, that, for above half of the year, nothing can appear more delightful and agreeable.

Vienna has sustained six sieges. 1. It was attacked by Frederic II. Duke of Austria, and forced to surrender to him, in 1241. This prince had been expelled Vienna, four years before, when the citizens invited the Emperor Frederic II. thither, who gave the town a new coat of arms, viz. A golden eagle in a black field, and made it an imperial city. 2. It was taken, and delivered from the tyrannic government of Ottocar, King of Bohemia, by the Emperor Rudolphus I. of Hapsburg, in 1277. 3. It was attacked by Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary, who found himself obliged to retire from before it, at the approach of the Emperor Frederic, advancing at the head of a powerful army to its relief, in 1477. 4. The aforesaid King Matthias besieged, and took it, in the year 1485; but, after the death of that prince, it opened its gates to Maximilian,

son to the Emperor Frederic IV. in 1490. 5. It was besieged by Soliman the Magnificent, Emperor of the Turks, in 1529. During this siege, Philip Count Palatine of the Rhine was governor of the city; that part of the wall, near the gate of Carinthia, being the most exposed, was defended by a body of Spaniards; the other contiguous to it, extending as far as the gate of the Red Tower, by Ernest de Brandenstein, with some of the forces sent by the princes of the empire, and two-thousand Bohemians; the next part of the wall reaching to the Jews Tower, by the Austrians, under the command of Reiprecht ab Eberstorf; and the other parts by the citizens, Stirians, Carinthians, &c. under the conduct of Maximilian Leisser, John Greisneck, John Hauser, Leonard à Velss, Abel ab Holeneck, Eckius a Reischach, John Caccianer, &c. who all behaved with such bravery, that the sultan was obliged to draw off his forces, and retire to Buda. 6. Sultan Mohammed IV. espousing the interest of the Hungarian malecontents, at the instigation of the French King Lewis XIV, sent a most formidable army, under the command of his grand visier Kara Mustapha, to form the siege of Vienna, and intirely ruin the house of Austria, in 1683. The city was then most gallantly defended by Count Rudiger Ernest à Starenberg, and, after near two months siege, delivered by John III. King of Poland, and that most renowned general Charles V. Duke of Lorrain. The particulars of these glorious actions have been so minutely described, and are, even at present, so recent in many people's memories, that it would be superfluous to dwell upon them here; however it may not be improper to observe, that this deliverance is annually commemorated at Vienna, with great solemnity. As for the slight insults of the Count de Thurn, the Bohemian general, in 1619, and the Swedes some years after, they scarce deserve to be mentioned.

The principal churches, and religious houses, in Vienna, are the following. 1. The cathedral church, begun by Albert II. Archduke of Austria, in the year 1340, dedicated to St. Stephen the Protomartyr, and finished by the Archduke Rudolphus IV. in 1364. The noble tower, or steeple, that distinguishes this church so greatly, from all the others, was begun by the aforesaid Rudolph, about the year 1363, so far advanced as to be equal in height to the roof of the church by Albert III. and brought to the perfection we now see it arrived at by Albert IV. in 1400. It is four-hundred * and sixty foot high, and a work so noble and stupendous, that it ought to remain, not only above three centuries, as it has already done, but even till the fabric of nature itself is destroyed; insomuch that, according to Æneas Silvius, afterwards Pope Pius II, when some Bosnian ambassadors first viewed it, they could not help observing, that, "in their opinion, it must have cost more than the whole kingdom of Bosnia was worth." This church is likewise famous for the *Gazophylacium* of several of Lipsani, the tombs or monuments, of the Archdukes Rudolph IV. Albert III. Albert IV. Albert VI.

* When Soliman the Magnificent besieged Vienna, he promised the citizens to spare the Tower, or steeple of St. Stephen's church, if they would place upon the top of it a half moon and star, the Turkish arms; which was readily complied with. But the Turks were not so polite in 1683. The garrison therefore observing, that several of the enemy's shot were levelled at that tower, they took down the Turkish arms; and it is to be hoped they never will be admitted into this city again.

William Leopold, surnamed the Proud, &c. and the rich marble *Mausolæum* of the Emperor Frederic IV. The bowels of the Emperors Leopold and Joseph, put into two silver boxes or chests, were interred here. The bell in the little tower is said to be twenty-thousand pound weight. In the church yard, there is a stone pulpit, from whence S. Joannes Capistranus is believed to have preached in Latin to the populace, who, though ignorant of even the first rudiments of that language, it is pretended, miraculously understood him.

St. Stephen's church, though near four-hundred years old, as already observed, was substituted in the place of another more ancient one, coeval, or nearly so, with the city itself. Here one Eberhardus is said to have first officiated, about the year 1140, or rather 1157, at the appointment of Rembertus Bishop of Passau; but the names of all his successors are lost, except that of one Peter, dignified with the title of Magister, who lived at the time of the provincial council, held at Vienna, in 1267, over which presided Guido Cardinal of St. Lawrence in Lucina, priest of the Cistercian order, and legate of the Apostolical see. Amongst the great personages, who assisted at this council, may be reckoned John Bishop of Prague, Peter Bishop of Passau, Bruno Bishop of Brixen, Conrad Bishop of Freisingen, and Lea Bishop of Ratisbon, besides a large number of deans, archdeacons, &c. Nay, according to Lazius, the patriarch of Aquileia, the Archbishop of Saltzburg, the Bishops of Trent, Olmutz, and Breslaw assisted hereat; though an anonymous author cited by Lambecius, who lived at the time of this council, excludes the three last bishops, when he asserts that Guido only convened the bishops, who were suffragans to the Archbishop of Saltzburg. And, in conformity to this assertion, Stero affirms, that one Uladislaus was, this very year 1267, consecrated Archbishop of Saltzburg, on Trinity-Sunday, June 12, after the breaking up of the council, which happened, during the vacancy of that see; since, according to the aforesaid anonymous author, it began May the tenth, 1267, and continued only three days. Rudolph IV. Archduke of Austria, as hinted above, finished the church of St. Stephen, in 1364; when it was likewise made a cathedral church, with stalls for twenty-four canons, over whom one Wernherus first presided. These canons were to be dressed in purple, and to wear a golden cross, on their breast; and when prayers were to be put up on any occasion, twelve of them had orders to precede, and as many to follow, the Carmelites, in all processions. But this custom, as well as the purple garment, has since been laid aside, and the number of canons been reduced to fourteen. In 1480, the Emperor Frederic IV. with the leave and concurrence of Pope Paul II. founded a bishopric of Vienna, declared free and exempt from all archiepiscopal jurisdiction. Leo à Spaur, a Tyrolese, was the first bishop of Vienna. Betwixt this Leo and the Cardinal Melchior Cheselius, who died in 1630, there were thirteen bishops of Vienna. The cardinal was succeeded by Anthony, Abbot of Krembsmünster, who was created a prince by the Emperor Ferdinand II.

2. The abbey of the Scotch Benedictines, founded by Henry II. Duke of Austria, in 1158, as the charter expresses it, *in Honorem Dei et Laudem suæ Genetricis gloriosissimæ Virginis, denique in Commemorationem*

Beati Gregorii, &c. It was intended likewise to be a Caravansera, or place of refreshment, for the pilgrims going to the Holy Land; and, as the Scotch pilgrims calling here were observed to be the most numerous, it seems from thence to have deduced its name, though Cuspinianus says, it was so called from the Scotch religious, who were invited hither. The present church belonging to this monastery was built since the year 1590, when the old one was overthrown by an earthquake, which shook the whole city. The religious here at present live very well.

3. The monastery of the Carmelites was founded, according to Fugger and Cuspinian, by Leopold the Glorious, Duke of Austria, a little before the beginning of the thirteenth century; but, if any credit may be given to Lazius, by Rudolphus IV. Gerard de Roo seems to reconcile these jarring accounts, when he relates, that Rudolph IV. was so munificent a benefactor to the Carmelites, that he might be considered as their founder, and was accordingly honoured by them with that title. It is probable, that the church, which Lazius affirms to have been erected in honour of the Virgin Mary, was one instance of his munificence; since this church, which stands in the forum, or market-place, called Hoff, and has a fine entry or portico, has not the appearance of a structure betwixt five and six-hundred years old. The jesuits had this monastery given them by Ferdinand I. King of the Romans, in 1554.

4. The noble church at S. Maria Rotunda, built in the reign of the Emperor Ferdinand II. stands upon the ruins of a more antient one, erected by Leopold the Virtuous, in 1100; and given by another Leopold, Archduke of Austria, to the order of the Prædicants, in 1325, eighteen years after the Templars, its former possessors, had been extinct. Annexed to this church is a large public library, denominated from its founder the Windhagian library, where at certain stated hours every body has the liberty of studying. The church, with the library, makes a fine appearance.

5. The church of the Holy Cross was begun by Ottocar, King of Bohemia, in the room of a smaller one, and a religious house, assigned to the Seraphic order, by Frederic II. Duke of Austria, who began to reign in 1227; carried on by Blanche, daughter to Philip the Fair, King of France, and wife to the Archduke Rudolph III; and at last finished by Elizabeth of Aragon, wife to the Emperor Frederic III. It has been finely decorated and adorned by the Minorites; in the wall of whose cloister, is a very remarkable hiatus, or chasm, through which, it is reported, the devil carried to hell an impious wretch, who presumed to eat the host seven times in one day. Such stories as there are not uncommon at Vienna.

6. The parochial church of St. Michael, built by Rudolph III. and Otto, Archdukes of Austria, upon the ruins of a more antient one, was given to the regular clerks of St. Paul, in the year 1626, by the Emperor Ferdinand II. These clerks were substituted in the place of the secular clergy, who before performed all the parochial duty here.

7. The church of St. Anna was founded for the use of strangers. The jesuits first seated themselves here, when they were invited to Vienna, by the Emperor Ferdinand I, in 1551; but removing soon after

from hence, it was given to the knights of St. Stephen; and lastly, it was again consigned to the jesuits, as a place proper for the education of their youth, in 1626.

8. The Aulic church of St. Austin, with the convent adjoining to it, owes its foundation to Otto, Archduke of Austria, in 1338, or the year following. After his death, it came first into the possession of the hermits of St. Augustin; but now it is inhabited, and has been finely beautified, by the discalceated, or bare-footed Augustines. In the middle of this church is a chapel called the Chapel of Loretto, because built after the model of the Holy House of Loretto. The hearts of the two Emperors Leopold and Joseph, put into two silver urns, or boxes, were deposited behind the high altar here. There is a gallery of communication between this chapel and the imperial palace.

9. The church of St. Dorothea was begun by Albert II. Archduke of Austria, and finished by Rudolph IV. committed, as is said, at first to the care of the secular presbyters; to which Andreas Blanck, or Planckner, Præceptor to Albert, Archduke of Austria, and chancellor, afterwards annexed a college of the regular canons of St. Augustin.

10. The church of St. Jerom was founded by Conradus Holzerus, a citizen of Vienna, of great distinction, for female-penitents singing the Horæ Canonicæ every day in the German tongue, about the beginning of the fifteenth century. The Minorites formerly occupied the monastery of St. Theobald in one of the suburbs, but demolishing this, and retiring into the city, for fear of the Turks, about the year 1589, they were invited to the church of St. Jerom.

11. The church belonging to the academical college of the jesuits was founded by the Emperor Ferdinand II. in 1628; but it was not finished till some time after.

12. The church of St. Francis, with a vault designed to receive the bodies of the princes of the House of Austria, and the Asceterium of the Capuchins, famous for the vast number of sacred relicks it contains, deserves to be mentioned next. The Emperor Matthias, and Anna his consort, began to erect it, but it was not finished till the year 1631. The bodies of the Emperors Leopold and Joseph were buried here; the former of those princes died May the fifth, N. S. 1705, and the latter April the seventeenth, N. S. 1711.

Besides these churches and religious houses, there are seven nunneries, with the churches appertaining to them, distributed in different parts of this city.

1. The church of St. James is of great antiquity, being either founded by Leopoldus Largus, Marquiss of Austria, or Leopold the Virtuous, in 1190. Several Carinthian matrons afterwards settled here, and embraced the rule of St. Augustin.

2 The nunnery of Santa Clara, at the gate called Himmelport, or the Gate of Heaven, over which Catherine, daughter to Albert II. Archduke of Austria, for some time presided, was founded by one M. Gerard of Vienna, in 1267, for the nuns of St. Norbertus. It was much enlarged by Agnes of Austria, the wife of Andrew King of Hungary, in 1331. Anna, the daughter of the Emperor Frederic III. and the King of Poland's widow, did this nunnery the honour to reside

in it. Cardinal Cleselius finding the number of these religious virgins much diminished, placed here the Canonissæ of St. Augustin.

3. The church of St. Lawrence, with the religious house adjoining to it, appropriated to the use of a certain number of nuns, was erected and endowed by Otto, Archduke of Austria, in 1337. Afterwards the religious ladies, subject to the laws of St. Augustin, removing from an habitation they had at a small distance from the city, settled themselves here.

4. The Emperor Ferdinand II. at the desire of his wife, Anna Eleonora, translated a certain number of nuns of the order of Santa Clara, to St. Nicholas's in Vienna, from Presburg in Hungary. Their house was enlarged in 1651. Before the erection of it, there was upon the spot where it stands a college for poor students, to which John Fabri, Bishop of Vienna, left his fine library, September the first, 1540.

5. The royal nunnery founded by Elisabeth of Austria, widow to Charles IX. King of France, in 1583, is inhabited by religious virgins of the order of Santa Clara, who were translated hither originally from Munich. It occupies the spot where the palace of Charles Anthony, Archduke of Austria, formerly stood.

6. The nunnery of St. Joseph was built and endowed by Anna Eleonora, consort to the Emperor Ferdinand II. and appropriated by her to the use of the virgins of Mount Carmel. We must not omit observing that the remains of this religious lady were deposited here.

7. The Ursulines invited hither by Eleonora, wife to the Emperor Ferdinand III, erected themselves a church and nunnery, in 1675.

These are the churches and religious houses in Vienna of principal note, though there are some others which deserve to be just touched upon.

The churches of St. Peter, and St. Rupertus, are very antient; but the precise time of their foundation, for want of proper light from history, cannot be ascertained, the extravagances of Merianus and Lazius on this head deserving not the least regard. The same may be said of the churches of St. John Baptist and St. Elisabeth, the first of which is appropriated to the knights of the Teutonic order, and the latter to those of Malta. The church of the Blessed Virgin must be allowed to be a place of high antiquity, and is under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Passau. We must not pass over in silence, now we are speaking of the places more immediately set apart for religious purposes, the brazen * or copper statue of the Immaculate Virgin upon a high column, erected by the Emperor Leopold, in 1667, and an obelisk raised by the same prince in the herb-market, in honour of the most Holy and Undivided Trinity. This last was begun in 1682, and finished in 1692, being intended as an offering, to express the grateful sense the Emperor had of the city of Vienna's being delivered from a pestilential disease, that made great havock amongst its citizens, in 1679.

In the suburb called Leopoldstat, from whence the Jews were expelled by the Emperor Leopold, in 1670, seated upon an island in the Danube,

* We thought it needless to give a particular and minute description of the statues here mentioned, since this has been already done by our learned and ingenious countryman Dr. Brown.

towards the northern part of the town, the following places deserve to be mentioned. 1. The Convent of Bare-footed Carmelites, founded by the Emperor Ferdinand II. 2. The hospital of the religious stiled Fratres S. Joannis Dei, with the church of St. John Baptist, first erected by the Emperor Matthias, and, after the fire in 1652, put into a better form by the Emperor Ferdinand III.

In the suburb towards the east, a little without the gate of Stuben, or the Hungarian gate, in the highway, there stands a fine church, with an Augustin monastery, founded in honour of St. Sebastian and St. Roch. This suffered first greatly by fire, in 1656; and afterwards by the Turks, in 1683. But it has since been rebuilt, and beautified.

In the suburb towards the south, there is first a handsome church, with a convent of Minims of St. Francis de Paula. These religious were drawn hither by the munificence of Ferdinand II. in 1624. 2. The church of St. Joseph, with a very antient convent of Carmelites, who, after they had been absent above an age, returned to Vienna, in 1661. 3. The college of the PP. Piarum Scholarum, founded in 1698. 4. The church of the Blessed Virgin the Helper, in Latin *Ecclesia Beatissimæ Virginis Auxiliatricis*, served by the regular clerks of St. Paul, and said to be famous for many miracles wrought in it.

To a traveller visiting the suburb inclining towards the west occur the parish of St. Udalricus, and an Asceterium of Capuchins; as likewise two monasteries of Benedictin and Trinitarian friars, who came hither from Spain; the former in 1633, and the latter not many years since, at the invitation of the Emperor Leopold. Lastly, and which closes the whole circuit of the city, not far from the Danube there is a convent of the Servites, or fathers stiled *Servi Beatæ Virginis*, who seated themselves here, in 1639. But their church and monastery were founded by Don Ottavio Piccolomini, Duke of Amalfi, in 1651.

The buildings of Vienna, at least for the most part, we cannot think so grand as some have represented them. The palaces there will by no means answer the expectations of a traveller, who comes from Italy, to see the metropolis of the German empire. The streets generally speaking seem narrow, and many of the houses such as make no very extraordinary appearance. Notwithstanding which, here are people from almost all the European, and some of the Asiatic nations. Turks, Tartars, Russians, Hungarians, Sclavonians, Greeks, Ratzians, Croatians, Poles, Italians, French, Spaniards, Armenians, &c. so diversify it, that it seems to be an epitome of at least a good part of Europe and Asia. And perhaps in this consist the chief beauty and grandeur of the place; since nothing can be more pleasing and agreeable to a traveller, as well as more noble and grand, than to have a collection of the principal nations of the globe presented to him in one view. This seems as it were to indicate, that the court of the world itself resides here, and consequently to imply, that the head of it is more immediately the vicegerent of the great governor of the universe.

The Imperial palace in Vienna consists of two parts, viz. the old palace built by Leopold the Glorious, as above observed, and enlarged by Ottoca King of Bohemia; and the addition to this, begun in the year 1662, by the Emperor Leopold. This palace is not only rendered

illustrious by the residence of the imperial family, but likewise by the invaluable treasury in it, which, for its vast multitude of most rare and inestimable jewels, is allowed to be the first in Europe; as likewise for the many excellent pieces done by the most celebrated painters, collected chiefly by the Archduke Leopold William, and hung up in several inner rooms, which together form a gallery, and are called Kunst-Kammer. In this palace is to be seen the Imperial, or Vienna library, so celebrated all over the learned world. It contains, as we were told, above twelve-thousand manuscripts, and at least an hundred-thousand printed volumes; a great accession having of late years been made to it out of the east. The limits we have prescribed ourselves here will not permit us to give even a general description of this celebrated library, which would of itself fill a considerable volume; and besides, this has been rendered intirely superfluous and unnecessary by those great men M. Lambecius and M. Nessel, librarians to the Emperor Leopold. We have nothing further therefore to do, in order to satisfy the curiosity of our readers in this particular, than to refer them to the two following most learned and elaborate pieces.

PETRI LAMBECII HAMBURGENSIS
Commentariorum de Augustissima Bibliotheca
CÆSAREA VINDOBONENSI, &c. Lib.
1mus, 2dus, 3tius, 4tus, 5tus, 6tus, 7mus, 8vus.
VINDOBONÆ, *Typis Matthæi Cosmerovii, Sac.*
Cæs. Majest. Typogr. &c. 1665, 1669-70, 1671, 1674, 1675-79.

And,

CATALOGUS
Sive
Recensio Specialis *omnium Codicum Manuscriptorum*
GRÆCORUM, *nec non Linguarum* ORIENTALIUM
Augustissimæ BIBLIOTHECÆ CÆSAREÆ
VINDOBONENSIS,
Quem,
Jussu & Auspiciis
SACRATISSIMI GLORIOSISSIMI
QUE IMPERATORIS ROMANORUM,
LEOPOLDI I.
MAGNI, PII, FELICIS,
INCLYTI, VICTORIS, *ac*
TRIUMPHATORIS SEMPER
AUGUSTI, *Quem* DEUS SOSPITET,
In publicam Lucem edidit
DANIEL de NESSEL, J. U. D.
SACRÆ CÆSAREÆ MAJESTATIS
Consiliarius & Bibliothecarius Aulicus.
VINDOBONÆ ET NORIMBERGÆ, Typis
Leopoldi Voigt, et Joachimi
Balthasaris Endteri, Anno Salutis, M,DC,XC.

This last piece consists of seven parts, and an appendix containing five additaments. The seventh part is very curious, containing several fine plates, and explications of curiosities to be met with in the Imperial library. Among the rest here are mentioned a famous basilisk, found in a deep well, A. D. 1212. in the reign of the Emperor Frederic II. two or three Chineze portraits, a Mexican MS. some treatises in the Chineze language, several natural curiosities, &c. delineated and explained, &c. In the appendix we find several antient coins, and other valuable relicks of antiquity, &c. The librarian Signior Pio Nicolo Garelli is said to be an excellent Græcian, and to be extremely well versed in literary history and all kinds of critical learning. He is likewise a gentleman of great politeness, address, and good nature, affable, generous, and vastly obliging to foreigners, especially such as are persons of erudition. There is said to be an inviolable friendship between him and Signior Passionei, the pope's nuncio at the Imperial court.

The Emperor's cabinet of medals is extremely noble and grand, consisting of at least twenty-thousand of all sorts. But, to mention a few only of these would give our curious readers no satisfaction, especially as there is a printed catalogue of them. We shall therefore refer them to that catalogue.

The Raccolta likewise of natural and artificial curiosities, as well as valuable remains of antiquity, appertaining to his Imperial Majesty, is equally noble and grand, and perhaps scarce to be paralleled. But a list of these has been more than once offered to the public. It would therefore be losing of time to transcribe from thence the description of any part of them. It requires at least a month to go through every part of the Musæum, in which these curiosities are deposited.

There are several fine palaces here, as those of Prince Eugene of Savoy, just out of town, the Princes de Schwartzenburg and Lichtenstein, the Counts de Dietrichstein and Herberstein; not to mention the Favorita, an Imperial Palace in one of the suburbs, that of Laxemburg belonging likewise to his Imperial Majesty, two German miles out of town, and that of the Empress Amelia opposite to Prince Eugene's. But neither these, nor any of the rest, notwithstanding some of them are adorned with exceeding fine paintings, and are noble structures, can come up, by many parasangs, to several we had seen in Italy. The architecture of some of the churches abovementioned is admirable, and most of them within are finely beautified; yet in both these respects we have hitherto found Italy far superior to Germany.

Upon our arrival here, the advices received from Constantinople seemed to threaten an invasion from the Port; which threw every part of the city, and, as was said, the court itself, into an inexpressible consternation. But their fears were soon dissipated, the next advices assuring, that the Turks had their hands so full of the war with Thamas Kouli Kan, that they had no thoughts of coming to a rupture with the emperor.

The common people of Vienna seemed to have the French in great contempt, and doubted not but they should soon make them repent of declaring war against the house of Austria; but the noblesse and people of sense were of another opinion. In fine, the court was greatly

embarrassed and perplexed, and almost in a desponding condition. For they knew England to be linked with France, or, at least, afraid of disobliging her, and suspected Holland to be bribed by that power. And without the hearty concurrence of England and Holland, they knew they could not make a stand against his most christian majesty and his allies.

The courts of justice in Vienna, besides the consistories of the dioceses of Vienna and Passau, and the University, are the thirteen following:—1. The Imperial Aulic Council, in which all the causes of the Romano-Germanic empire are discussed. 2. The Tribunal of the Marshal of the Court, which extends to all the ministers and officers of the court. 3. The Council of War, which is confined to military affairs. 4. The Government, or Administration, at the head of which is more immediately the Emperor. 5. The Exchequer, or the chamber in which every thing relating to the finances is managed. 6. The Comitia, or Common-Council, of the province of Austria, consisting of three orders, viz. that of prelates, that of nobles, and that of knights. 7. The Aulic Chancery. 8. The Chancery of Bohemia. 9. The Chancery of Hungary. 10. The Chancery of Transilvania. 11. The Chancery of Spain, Naples, Sicily, and the state of Milan. 12. That of the Austrian Netherlands. 13. The Senate of the City, to which the citizens are immediately subject. We must not omit observing here, that there are two armouries in Vienna, the one belonging to the Emperor, and the other to the city; both of which are very well provided with all kinds of military stores.

The university of Vienna, at present one of the most celebrated in the world, is of very considerable antiquity; being founded by the emperor Frederic II. in the year 1237. That prince then permitted the citizens of Vienna, in return for their attachment to him, to open a school, or college, being willing, as the original charter expresses it, *commodo studio provideri, per quod Prudentia docetur in Populis, et rudis Ætas instruitur parvorum, &c.* But this school, or college, did not extend farther than the *Literæ Humaniores* and some branches of philosophy. Another school, or college, of this kind was afterwards erected at St. Stephen's church, or at least near the ancient church which preceded that cathedral, under whose care and direction other smaller ones at St. Michael's and the hospital were likewise built. These, as well as the first college, were called the Ancient Seats of Literature, in order to distinguish them from the proper, or modern, university, which was founded by Rudolphus IV. who obtained, for that purpose, a bull from pope Urban V. dated at Avignon, June the nineteenth, 1365. The original instrument itself was discovered in the imperial library, and published, by Lambecius; from whence we shall beg leave to transcribe the following paragraph, which, we believe, will be extremely agreeable to our curious and inquisitive readers:—*Cum itaque sicut nuper ex Parte dilecti Filii Nobilis Viri* Rudolphi *Ducis* Austriæ *fuit propositum in Consistorio coram Nobis, ipse Dux in Villâ suâ* Viennensi Pataviensis *Diœcesis plurimùm desideret fieri, et ordinari per Sedem Apostolicam Studium Generale in quâlibet licitâ Facultate, Nos Authoritate Apostolicâ statuimus, et etiam ordinamus, ut in dictâ Villâ de cætero sit Studium Generale, tam in Juris Canonici, et Civilis, quam in aliâ quâlibet*

Scientiâ, præterquam Theologicâ Facultate. Rudolphus died at Milan the thirty-first day of July following, and, besides the abovementioned schools, assigned his new university a larger space in the city, which some have described as situated near the church of the Augustines, and others as by that side of the palace towards the Scotch gate. The same Rudolph also decreed, that the dean of St. Stephen's should always exercise the office of chancellor of the university; from whence it is plain, that Wernher abovementioned obtained both those high dignities. Albert III. brother and successor to Rudolph, got what had been already done confirmed, and the faculty of divinity added thereto, by pope Urban VI. as clearly appears from his bull, granted for this purpose, and dated at Naples, February the twentieth, 1384; in which year the said Albert ordered a body of statutes to be compiled for his university, from those of that of Paris. He likewise honoured it with privileges of the same nature with those of the last mentioned university; and transferred his academy to a more quiet and silent spot, adjoining to the convent of the Prædicants, having purchased for this end that vast religious house formerly possessed by the Templars. For which intelligence we are obliged to Georgius Eder, the rector magnificus of this university, during the first six months of the year 1559, in the catalogue of the rectors his predecessors by him published. This is likewise confirmed, though it contradicts Fugger and Lazius, by Cuspinian and Gerard de Roo; as also by the Rubrica of the privileges of the university, to which this title is prefixed, *Conclusio Ducis Alberti Fundatoris;* after which the approbations of these privileges granted by Leopoldus Probus, brother to Albert, Pilgrinus archbishop of Saltzburg, John bishop of Passaw, the noblesse of Austria, and the citizens of Vienna, expresly attributing the erection and foundation of this university to Albert III. are inserted. Besides the dignities and privileges here hinted at, the emperor Frederic IV. decreed, that the most famous poets of the university should be crowned with laurel. So much for the foundation, privileges, and first benefactors of this university.

With regard to the students, many of whom came from very remote parts, they were antiently divided into seven classes. 1. The bursa, or hotel, appertaining to the youth of the city of Vienna. 2. That of the Austrians. 3. That of the Swabians and Wirtemberghers. 4. That of the Stirians and Saltzburghers. 5. That of the Silesians. 6. That of the Carinthians. 7. That of the Hungarians. But at present all the members of this university are reducible to the four following principal nations:—1. The Austrians. 2. The people of the Upper and Lower Rhine. 3. The Hungarians. 4. The Saxons. According to the abovementioned Georgius Eder, the first rector magnificus of this most celebrated university was Joannes de Randegg of Constance, and Canon of Augsburg, who arrived at this high dignity in 1377. The same author has also given us a list or series of Joannes de Randegg's successors to his own time. The rectores magnifici continued in their office only six months, till 1628; but afterwards a whole year. In the year 1622, when William Rechperger was rector magnificus, the Archducal College, the Provincial School, the Domus Facultatis Philosophicæ, and several other buildings were given up to the Jesuits, at the

command of the emperor Ferdinand II. that upon the spot occupied by them the society might erect a college, with proper schools and a church appertaining to it. The four following colleges, or seminaries, may likewise be considered as places of literature, and belonging to the university, viz. That at Santa Barbara, translated, together with the clergy of pope Gregory XIII. from the apostolic nuncio's house to the neighbourhood of the Lycæum here; the Collegium Pazmanianum, or college founded by Peter Pazmany, cardinal priest of the society of Jesus and archbishop of Strigonium or Gran, together with the bishops of Raab and Neitra, for the clergy of their dioceses; the seminary of St. Ignatius and St. Pancratius, built upon the foundations of several of the antient Bursæ: and the Collegium Croaticum, or Croatian college, founded by the chapter of Zagrab, for their clergy. The three first of these seminaries belong to the Jesuits, who are, and always have been ever since the first institution of their order, in great repute here.

We must not omit observing, that the rector magnificus has sixteen assistants, to facilitate the execution of his office; and that he can punish the students over whom he presides with death for capital crimes. There are four deans likewise of this university. The present emperor Charles VI. is said to be a great encourager and patron of learned men; which brings considerable numbers of them to this place. Amongst others we several times heard mentioned father Vite George Tonnemann, D. D. and confessor to his Imperial Majesty, father Charles Granelli, confessor to the empress Amelia, and father Lewis Debiel, doctor and ordinary professor of philosophy in the university of Vienna, all three of the society of Jesus. The last is a gentleman extremely well versed in antiquity, and particularly that branch of it relating to the antient Greek and Roman coins. He last year published a small piece, which in the learned world has met with a general approbation. This treatise he dedicated to the new batchelors of arts in the university of Vienna, and particularly to the illustrious Cajetanus Christophorus de Glanz and Josephus Andreas de Ruck, both of the city of Vienna; and prefixed to it the following title-page:—

UTILITAS
REI NUMARIÆ VETERIS,
Compendio proposita.
Accedit
Appendicula ad Numos Coloniarum
per Cl. VAILLANTIUM editos,
E Cimeliarchio VINDOBONENSI cujusdam è Societate JESU.
Auctore
R. P. LUDOVICO DEBIEL,
è Soc. JESU, AA. LL. & Philosophiæ
Doctore, ejusdemq; in antiquissima
Academia VIENNENSI Professore
Ordinario.
Cum Privilegio et Facultate Superiorum.

Viennæ Austriæ,
Sumptibus Joannis Adami Schmidii,
Bibliopolæ Norimbergensis.
M.DCC.XXXIII.

During our stay here, we dined several times with Mr. Robinson, the English minister, who is greatly beloved by, and in high favour at, the court, where he resides. He is a gentleman of great politeness and address; perfectly understands the politics, genius, and disposition of the imperial court; and is a hearty friend to the liberties of Europe, as well as closely attached to the interest of his native country. He has moreover an inexhaustible fund of generosity, greatness of soul, and good nature The elegance and magnificence, with which he entertains his friends, as well as countrymen, here, do an honour to his nation; and, in whatever light we view him, he seems to be as able and engaging a minister as the British court has sent abroad these many years. Before our departure for Bohemia, he was so good as to suggest to us several useful hints for the better regulation of our conduct on the road; and likewise to recommend us to Dr. Smith, an Irish gentleman, and physician to almost all the noble families in Prague. He also made us a present of four bottles of Tokay wine, which came out of the Emperor's own cellar. Two of these, being the common sort, appeared like a high-coloured white wine; but the others were of a reddish, or rather a brownish, colour, and an exceeding great rarity even at Vienna itself. All the genuine Tokay wine is said to be preserved for the use of the Emperor only; so that all the wine going by that name in foreign countries, except such as his Imperial Majesty sends as presents to the princes he is in alliance with, cannot be the produce of the mountain and district of Tokay. The reddish or brownish Tokay wine is never sent from the imperial cellar to any persons but those of the first distinction, who are great favourites of the Emperor; an exceeding small quantity of it being produced by the mountain and district abovementioned. This wine is very generous and good, and, taken with moderation, proves frequently a noble cordial. The Germans, particularly the Austrians, Bohemians, Silesians, and Moravians, have a peculiar fondness for the wine of Tokay; and some of them, in order to obtain it, will not stick at the most unjustifiable means.

The Austrian wine, which is white, has a fine flavour, and is generous enough; though, in our opinion, it comes far short of the Hungarian. Some houses in Vienna have likewise very good beer; though, for the most part, the malt-liquor here is very indifferent. The bread also is excellent, as is the butcher's meat of all kinds, fowl, both wild and tame, venison, hares, rabbets, fish, &c. Of fish there is a vast variety, as well as plenty, the Danube running close by the town. It must not be forgot, now we are speaking of fish, that a dish consisting of fresh sturgeon, or at least a fish of the same or a *similar family, taken out of the Danube,

* As we never saw this fish whole, nor a sturgeon in any other country, we cannot pretend to determine, whether the fish here taken notice of was a real sturgeon, or the Huso of Gesner, which in several particulars pretty much resembles a sturgeon. If the latter, we take it to have been the Antacæus of Ælian, which, according to that author, was produced in the Ister. The Hungarians call the Huso Tock, or Tock-Hal, i. e. the Tock-Fish. It is taken sometimes in considerable quantities out of the Danube, within ten German miles of Vienna, notwithstanding Dr. Brown seems to insinuate the contrary. For a farther account of this famous and elegant fish, we must beg leave to refer our curious readers to Dr. Brown and Gesner, who have given us a minute and circumstantial description of it. See Dr. Brown's description of the city of Vienna. Ælian. de Animal. Lib. xiv. C. 26. and Gesn. de Aquatil. P. 5——8.——52-55. Ed. Francofurt. 1620.

prepared in some manner or other, several times made up part of our dinner. In fine, provisions of all kinds here are not only excellent, but very reasonable; Austria, Stiria, Carinthia, Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and above all Hungary, being exceeding fertile countries, and abounding not only with all the necessaries, but even many of the elegancies of life. For a more particular account of the fish here, especially those produced by the Danube, we must beg leave to refer our curious readers to Gesner and our ingenious countryman Dr. Brown. It is likewise probable, that one of us, who took a short trip into the Upper Hungary, may expatiate upon this head, as well as of provisions in general, more largely hereafter, when he comes to give a short description of that part of Hungary bordering upon Austria.

The Imperial court, though reckoned in Germany very grand and august, is not so brilliant as some others in Europe. It still retains much of the old Spanish gravity and pride; and the etiquette that prevailed at Madrid, during the reigns of the Austrian Kings of Spain, is now observed with great formality at this court. Many of the Spanish customs are likewise at present held here in high esteem; and the Imperial family itself, as well as the prime nobility of both sexes, sometimes publickly appears in the old Spanish dress, which is reckoned very decent and becoming. The Spaniards, who continued firm in their allegiance to the house of Austria through the whole course of the last war, and after the conclusion of it, were expelled their native country for their attachment to his imperial and catholic Majesty, are now highly caressed at Vienna, and the greatest favourites of the Emperor; at which disgust is taken by some of his natural subjects. But, in this, we cannot think his imperial Majesty's conduct is greatly to be blamed; since they have suffered so much on his account, and since he probably may think, that, by shewing a grateful sense of their past services, as well as their influence, and his own power, he may some time or other be enabled to make a push for the crown of Spain, his pretensions and claim to which he could never hitherto, either by fair means or force, be induced to renounce. The Emperor Charles VI, as to his person, is said to have all the air of the Austrian family, to be a little corpulent, and something above the middle size. It is universally allowed here, that a good fund of common sense is fallen to his share, that he has an excellent judgment, and that he is very regular and devout in performing the duties of religion. The Empress Regent, according to all accounts, was in her younger years a most lovely creature, and is still a very fine woman. The eldest archdutchess, Maria Teresia, her daughter, who is soon to be married to the Duke of Lorrain, they say, resembles her much; though some that we met with would have it, that the youngest archdutchess Maria Anna surpassed her sister in beauty. The Empress Amelia, widow of the Emperor Joseph, who died in 1711, is affirmed to be constantly at her devotions, and to be in a manner secluded from the world. The archdutchess Maria Elizabetha, sister to the present Emperor, is governess of the Austrian Netherlands, and resides altogether at Brussels. His imperial Majesty's youngest sister, the archdutchess Maria Magdalena, is seldom talked of, living in a very retired manner. Maria Anna of Austria, another of the Leopoldine

archdutchesses, now Queen of Portugal, took her leave of her native country in 1708, when she was married to John V. King of Portugal, with whom she lives at Lisbon. It is feared here, that his present imperial Majesty will never have any male issue; which, should it happen, notwithstanding the pragmatic sanction, might prove of fatal consequence to the general repose of Europe, as well as the particular tranquility of the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria.

We looked upon this as a misfortune, that we had no opportunity of seeing the imperial family, or even the head of it, the Emperor. His imperial and catholic Majesty was confined by a cold, and a violent pain in his foot, to the Empress's apartments, most part of the time that we were in Vienna. Frequent conferences, however, were held upon the critical situation of affairs, which greatly embarrassed the imperial court, and not a little affected all ranks and degrees of people. The results of these conferences seldom transpired here, whatever they might do to potentates in alliance with the Emperor. Some rumours were, however, continually propagated, in order to please and amuse the people. There appeared a great dejection of mind in the populace, upon the arrival of a courier from Dresden, with the news of the King of Poland's unexpected arrival there from Warsaw, in the utmost haste, having had a hundred post-horses at every stage. Various were the conjectures formed on this occasion. Some believed, as it was industriously given out by the court, that his Polish Majesty thought fit to come to Dresden, to hasten the departure of the heavy artillery for Poland, and to give sundry orders relating to the present juncture of affairs; others imagined, that such a formidable confederacy was formed against him in Poland, occasioned by the defection of some of the principal grandees who had espoused his interest, that he found himself obliged to seek for shelter in Saxony; and lastly, others averred, that King Augustus had undertaken this journey with no other view than to put his hereditary dominions into a posture of defence, the French at this time threatening them with an invasion. Most people at Vienna feared however, that his Majesty's retreat from Poland was not voluntary, especially as the court was said to have received advice from Breslau, that most of the Polish lords, who assisted at the coronation of King Augustus, were gone to their country seats; that one of the Princes Lubomirski was retired into Hungary, and the other into Silesia; and, lastly, that the marshal of the crown had refused the present which his Polish Majesty had sent him.

But notwithstanding the people seemed greatly dejected, yet they did not despond. The court flattered them, as well as themselves, with the hopes of prevailing upon England and Holland to declare war against France, or at least to enable the house of Austria to cope with that formidable power. It was also hotly reported, that Prince Eugene would set out in a few days for the army upon the Rhine; and every body at Vienna took for granted, that victory would certainly attend that renowned general. The situation of the imperial affairs in Italy at this juncture likewise was such as seemed to give some satisfaction to the court; and to divert the minds of the people from foreign affairs, which at this time had, indeed in the main, no very promising aspect, it was

given out, that the eldest Caroline archdutchess was soon to be married to the Duke of Lorrain. Besides which, in general people seemed to be highly pleased, that so able a minister had been lately nominated to the court of Dresden, as was Count Wratislau.

When we came first to Vienna, all conversation turned upon the affairs of Italy. The people of all ranks and denominations seemed to be more concerned for the success of their arms there, than for what might befall them in any other quarter. Neither was this altogether without reason; for they had much to lose there, and but little in any other part. The empire itself in a good measure secured the Austrian dominions in Germany, as did the Dutch those in the Netherlands, by the treaty of neutrality they concluded with France. Whereas in Italy the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, as likewise the Dutchy of Mantua, were in imminent danger of being wrested out of the hands of the Emperor, as the Dutchy of Milan had already been. Don Carlos was marching with a powerful army, under the command of the Conde de Montemar, to conquer the former; and the French, Spaniards, and Sardinians threatened to reduce the latter, and even to penetrate into the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria on that side, this campaign. However, the Imperial court put as good a face as possible upon the matter, and gave out, that they were in no pain for Naples and Sicily, since the troops under Count Visconti, Viceroy of Naples, after having received the reinforcements from Sicily, and the recruits sent them from Germany, by the way of Trieste, would be more than sufficient to make the Spaniards sick of their Neapolitan expedition; and that the Emperor's army upon the Rhine, in conjunction with that of the empire, would be in a condition even to act offensively, by the latter end of May. According to the list handed about here, the Imperial army in Lombardy was to consist of the following troops.

Battalions.

Guido Staremberg, 3.
Harrach, 3.
Livingstein, 3.
Firstenbusch, 3.
Wallis, 1.
Hilburghausen, 3.
Palfi, 2.
Wachtendonck, 2.
Ogilvie, 1.
Daun, 3.
Maximilian Staremberg, 3.
Welzeck, 1.
Seckendorff, 3.
Culmbach, 2.
Ligneville, 2.
Great Master, 3.
Neylan, 2.
Francis Wallis, 1.
Konigsegg, 3.

Tot. 44 Battal.

Squadrons.

Saxe Gotha, 7.
John Palfi, 7.
Merci, 7.
Jorger, 7.
Lichtenstein 7.
Veterani, 7.
Hamilton, 7.
Frederic Wirtemberg, 7.
Hohenzollern, 7.
Hussars, 5.

Tot. 68 Squad.

Grenadiers.

36 Companies, of 100 men each.

As each battalion consists of 700 men, and each squadron of 250, the forces of which this fine armyis to be composed amount to 48,700 men.

Whilst we were at Vienna, Prince Lewis of Wirtemberg commanded the Imperial forces in Lombardy: but all people agreed, that the Emperor, at the request of Prince Eugene, had appointed the Field-Marshal Count de Merci commander in chief of those forces. That general was looked upon by the prince as the most proper person for this imployment, since nothing but the gaining of a battle could retrieve the Emperor's affairs in Lombardy, and Count Merci was one of the most bold and daring of all the Imperial generals.

The following general officers are to serve under him, according to the accounts published here.

Lieutenant-Generals.

Lanthieri.
Livingstein,
Diesbach.
St. Amour.
Culmbach, and
Valparaiso.

Tot. 6 Lieut. Gen.

Major-Generals.

Waldeck.
Anhalt.
Welseck.
Ligneville.
Hilburghausen.
Palfi.
La Tour.
Firstenbusch.
Saxe Gotha.
Hohenems.
Henning.
Wachtendonck.
Colmenero.
Devens.
Succow.
Berlinger.
Kavaneck, and
Zungenbeck.

Tot. 18 Maj. Gen.

Some time before our arrival here, the following list of the Imperial troops to serve upon the Rhine was published, but many people did not esteem it over exact.

HORSE.

	Men.
Caraffa,	1094
Lobkowitz,	1094

	Men.
Lanthieri,	1094
Savoy,	1094
Philippi,	1094
Alexander Wirtemberg,	1094
Savoy Dragoons,	1094
Weywar,	1000
Gotha,	1000
Desofy,	1000
Olpari,	1000
Tot. Horse,	11658

FOOT.

	Men.
Kettler,	3000
Baden,	3000
Muffling,	3000
Alt Wirtemberg,	3000
Walsegg,	3000
Maximilian Hesse,	3000
Rhinegrave Salm,	3000
Wirtemberg, two regiments,	4600
Saxe-Gotha,	4000
Weymar,	2000
Eysenach,	2000
Wolfembuttel,	1500
Alexander Wirtemberg, two regiments,	4600
Swissers, two regiments,	4000
Marulli, one battalion,	800
Prussians,	7000
Danes,	6000
Hanoverians,	7000
Hessians,	5000
Troops of the circles,	12000
Tot.	81,500
Tot. Horse and Foot	93,158

Before our departure from Vienna, advice was received, that the Count de Cetner, great master of the kitchen of the King to Poland, had been pursued by a Polish detachment into Silesia, which had committed great depredations there. Several other incursions were likewise made into Silesia by detachments from the palatine of Kiow's troops, according to the intelligence that arrived here towards the end of March. This determined us to take the route of Prague, though one of our company was very desirous of seeing Breslau. Neither did we afterwards repent of this resolution.

It will not be improper here to mention the following great personages, who make up the principal part of the Imperial court.

His Royal Highness Francis Duke of Lorrain and Bar, viceroy, or vicar-general of the kingdom of Hungary. He resides, for the most part, at Presburg in Hungary; and is soon, according to common fame here, to marry Maria Teresia, the eldest Caroline Archdutchess.

1. His Serene Highness Prince Eugene of Savoy and Piedmont, Marquis of Saluces, &c. knight of the golden fleece, actual privy-councellor, president of the council of war, lieutenant-general-velt-marshal of his Imperial and Catholic Majesty and of the empire, vicar-general of the states which his Imperial Majesty possesses in Italy, colonel of a regiment of dragoons, &c. &c.

2. His excellency Philip Lewis Count de Sinzendorff, hereditary treasurer of the Holy Roman empire, Baron de Ernstbrunn, &c. grand hereditary judge to the combats, gentleman sewer, or carver of the Upper and Lower Austria, hereditary cup-bearer of the Lower Austria, intimate councellor of state and of conference of his Imperial and Catholick Majesty, grand chancellor of the court, &c.

3. His excellency Gundacer Thomas de Staremberg, count of the holy Roman empire and of Staremberg, grand hereditary marshal of the Archdutchy of Austria on this side and beyond the Ens, knight of the golden fleece, actual privy-councellor and councellor of conference of the ministerial council of the finances, president and director of the ministerial deputation of the bank, &c.

4. His excellency Aloysius Thomas Raymond, Count de Harrach, hereditary master of the horse of the Upper and Lower Austria, knight of the golden fleece, actual privy-councellor and councellor of conference to his Imperial and Catholic Majesty, marshal of the states of Austria, &c.

5. His excellency Lothaire Joseph Count de Konigseck, intimate actual privy-councellor, velt marshal-general, vice-president of the aulic council of war. In his absence his post is, or at least lately was, filled by general Jorger, who *per interim* discharges all the duties of it for him.

6. His excellency John Herman Francis Count de Nesselroth, councellor of state and of war, lieutenant-velt-marshal, commissary-general of war, and colonel of a regiment of infantry.

7. His excellency Francis Lewis Count de Sinzendorff and Pottendorff, general-velt-marshal, lieutenant-commandant of Spielberg, and Brinn, in the marquisate of Moravia.

8. His excellency Henry William Count de Welczeck, actual privy-councellor of his Imperial and Catholic Majesty, velt-marshal, and commandant of the fortress of Great Glogau and Silesia.

9. His excellency Sigismond Rudolph Count de Sinzendorff, hereditary treasurer of the holy Roman empire, great cup-bearer in Austria on the other side the Ens, knight of the golden fleece, grandee of Spain, actual privy-councellor of his Imperial and Catholic Majesty, his lieutenant-velt-marshal, and great master of the houshold.

10. His excellency John Gaspar Count de Cobentzel, hereditary

great cup-bearer in Carniola, &c. actual privy-councellor to his Imperial and Catholic Majesty, great chamberlain, &c.

11. His excellency Adolph Count de Martinitz, knight of the golden fleece, actual privy-councellor and chamberlain of his Imperial and Catholic Majesty, great marshal of the court.

12. His excellency the young Prince de Schwartzenberg, Landgrave de Kleggau, Duke de Crumau, &c. knight of the golden fleece, chamberlain and great master of the horse to his Imperial and Catholic Majesty. Whilst the Imperial court was at Prague, or at Carlsbad, the Emperor shot accidentally this prince's father, in 1732; which gave that monarch great affliction.

13. His excellency John Julius Count de Hardegg, &c. hereditary great cup bearer of Austria on this side the Ens, actual lord of the bed-chamber to his Imperial and Catholic Majesty, great huntsman, &c.

14. His excellency John Adam Count de Paar, member of the Aulic council, lord of the bed-chamber to his Imperial and Catholic Majesty, and postmaster-general.

15. His excellency Gundaker Count de Althan, member of the most honourable privy-council of his Imperial and Catholic Majesty, lord of the bed-chamber, general of horse, colonel of a regiment of dragoons, &c.

16. His excellency Wirich Philip Lawrence Count de Daun, de Thiano, knight of the golden fleece, actual privy-councellor of his Imperial and Catholic Majesty, velt-marshal, great master of the ordnance, &c.

17. His excellency Henry Joseph Count de Daun, lord of the bed-chamber to his Imperial and Catholic Majesty, general of the artillery, colonel of a regiment of infantry, &c.

18. His excellency John Francis Count de Dietrichstein, intimate actual councellor of the Emperor, great huntsman in Stiria, president of the tribunal of the chamber, &c.

19. His excellency Ferdinand Krackowsky Count de Kollowrath, actual privy-councellor of his Imperial and Catholic Majesty, &c.

20. His excellency George Hannibal Marquis Visconti, velt-marshal, viceroy of the kingdom of Naples, &c.

21. His excellency John Francis Count de Sonnenberg, member of the Aulic council of war, general of the artillery, military director of the Upper and Lower Austria, &c.

22. His excellency George Oliver Count de Wallis, general of the artillery, member of the Aulic council of war, colonel of a regiment of infantry, &c.

23. His excellency Francis Count Jorger, lieutenant velt-marshal, member of the Aulic council of war, colonel of a regiment of dragoons, &c.

24. His excellency Gaspar de Cordova, member of the Aulic council of war, general of the cavalry, colonel of a regiment of horse, &c.

25. His excellency John Count Draskowitz de Trakostyan, member of the Aulic council of war, lieutenant-velt-marshal, lieutenant-governor of the kingdom of Croatia, &c.

26. His excellency Matthew Marquis Lucini, member of the Aulic council of war, lieutenant-velt-marshal, &c.

27. His excellency Raimond Baron de Pozzo, member of the Aulic council of war, &c.

28. His excellency Francis Ferdinand Kinski, Count de Chinitz and Littau, &c. actual councellor of state, chamberlain of his Imperial and Catholic Majesty, great master of the court of Bohemia, great chancellor of that kingdom, &c.

29 His excellency William Albrecht Krackowsky Count de Kollowrath, actual councellor of state, chamberlain, and vice-chancellor of the kingdom of Bohemia, &c.

30. His excellency Rudolph Joseph Korkenski Count de Toreschau, actual chamberlain of his Imperial and Catholic Majesty, great hereditary master of the pantry of Bohemia, deputy to the states of that kingdom, &c.

31. His excellency Francis Henry Schlick Count de Passaun, knight of the order of St. Wenceslaus, actual chamberlain to his Imperial and Catholic Majesty, as King of Bohemia, &c.

32. His excellency Joseph Marquis de Villasor, Count de Monte Santo, actual privy-councellor, chamberlain and president of the council of Spain.

33. His excellency the Count de Cordova di Sastago, viceroy of Sicily, &c.

34. His excellency John Basil de Castelvi Count de Cervellon, privy-councellor for the kingdom of Sicily, &c.

35. His excellency Dominic Count de Almansa, privy-councellor for the kingdom of Sicily, &c.

36. His excellency Ignatius Count de Perlongo, privy-councellor for the kingdom of Sicily, &c.

37. His excellency Joseph Duke de Positano, privy-councellor for the kingdom of Naples, &c.

38. His excellency Charles Count Pertusati, privy-councellor for the Dutchy of Milan, &c.

39. His excellency John Anthony de Boxador Count de Cavalla, intimate councellor of his Imperial and Catholic Majesty, president of the council of the Austrian Netherlands, &c.

40. His excellency the Count d' Erdodi. president of the chamber of Hungary, and councellor of state to his Imperial and Catholic Majesty.

41. The right reverend Adam Acsady, van Acsad, Bishop of Vesprin, Abbe de St. Martin de Vaska, councellor of his Imperial and Catholic Majesty, actual chancellor of the kingdom of Hungary.

42. His excellency Lewis Count de Bathiani, councellor of the court of Hungary, vice-chancellor of Hungary, and great cup-bearer of the same kingdom.

43. His excellency John Joseph Bornemisza, Baron de Kaszon, chancellor of his Imperial and Catholic Majesty, councellor and superior judge of the principality of Transilvanis.

44. His excellency the Count d' Erdodi, Bishop of Agria in Hungary, and councellor of state to his Imperial and Catholic Majesty.

45. His excellency Prince Wenceslaus de Lichtenstein, privy-councellor to his Imperial and Catholic Majesty, colonel of a regiment of dragoons, &c.

45. His excellency Count Khevenhuller, hereditary shield-bearer of Carinthia, Count de Franckenburg, Baron de Landscon and Wehrnberg, Lord of Osterwicz, and Carlsberg, lieutenant-velt-marshal, colonel of a regiment of dragoons, governor of Raab, and member of the Imperial Aulic council.

47. His excellency the Count de Seidleritz, lately nominated member of the Imperial Aulic council.

48. His excellency Frederic Charles Count de Schonborn, Bishop of Bamberg and Wurtzburg, cabinet-councellor to his Imperial and Catholic Majesty, vice chancellor of the empire, &c.

49. His excellency John William Count de Wurmbrand, hereditary great master of the kitchen of the Dutchy of Stiria, actual privy-councellor, chamberlain, and president of the Aulic council.

50. His excellency John Adolph Count de Metsch, actual privy-councellor of his Imperial and Catholic Majesty, vice-president of the Aulic council of the empire, &c.

51. His excellency the Prince de Lobkowitz, lieutenant-velt-marshal, actual privy-councellor of the Emperor, great master of the houshold to the empress regent.

52. His excellency Jacob Hannibal Frederic Count de Hohenems and Gallarata, actual privy-councellor of his Imperial and Catholic Majesty, chamberlain and great master of the houshold to the Leopoldine Archdutchess Maria Magdalena.

53. His excellency Joseph Ignatius Count de Paar, actual privy-councellor of the Emperor, and great master of the Empress Dowager Amelia Wilhelmina's court.

54. His excellency Otto Ferdinand Count de Hochenfeld, actual chamberlain of his Imperial and Catholic Majesty, great master of the kitchen to the Empress Dowager Amelia Wilhelmina, &c.

55. Francis Theodore Baron de Hudlern, councellor of his Imperial and Catholic Majesty, chamberlain of the silver key to the Empress Dowager Amelia, &c.

56. His excellency Ferdinand ab Herberstein Count de Herberstein, Baron de Neuperg and Gutenhaag, Lord of Lancowitz, &c. hereditary great chamberlain and sewer of Carinthia, &c. He is soon, according to the general report here, to be sent on an embassy to the court of Sweden.

57. His excellency Maximilian Count de Staremberg, actual privy-councellor of his Imperial and Catholic Majesty, velt-marshal, colonel of a regiment of infantry, lieutenant of the guards du corps, member of the Aulic council of war, and commandant at Vienna.

58. His excellency Francis Paul Count de Wallis, lieutenant velt-marshal, member of the Aulic council of war, colonel of a regiment of infantry, and commandant of Temeswaer.

59. His excellency John Anthony Count Locatelli, lieutenant velt-marshal, member of the Aulic council of war, and colonel of cuirassiers.

60. His excellency Andrew Count de Hamilton, general of cavalry, member of the Aulic council of war, and colonel of a regiment of cuirassiers.

61. His excellency Ferdinand Emanuel Marquis d' Alvarez, councellor of the state of Milan.

62. His excellency the Count de Seilern, vice-chancellor of Austria, &c.

Though the preceding catalogue is taken partly from a printed list reckoned very exact, and partly from verbal accounts of exceeding good authority, yet we doubt not several inaccuracies, and even errors, may be fouud in it; but as we are well assured, it is not very remote from truth, we hope our candid readers will give it a favourable reception.

We have been perswaded, though at first we did not design it, to insert here the names of the following illustrious persons, who either now are, or very lately were, in the service of the empresses and archdutchesses; and therefore may be considered as bearing a very near relation to the Imperial court.

Maria Teresia Dutchess of Monsterberg and Franckenstein in Silesia, Princess d'Aversperg, great mistress of the court to the Empress Regent.

Maria Elizabetha countess de Colonna, great mistress of the ladies to the Empress Regent.

Antonietta Baroness de Gilleis.
Rosalia Countess de Thurn.
Maria Elizabetha Countess de Braunern.
Antonietta Countess de Mollarth.
Teresia Countess d'Esterhasi.
Isabella Countess de Styrum Limburg.
Maids of honour to the Empress Regent.

Anna Euphemia Countess de Petazzi.
Frances Countess de Spauer.
Maria Josepha Countess de Fuchs.
Maria Elizabetha Countess de Dietrichstein.
Maria Ant. Countess de Zobor.
Maria Anna Countess de Proskau.
Maria Rosa Countess de Sastago.
Josephina Countess de Trautmansdorff.
Ladies of honour to the Empress Regent.

Charlotte Countess de Fuchs governante of the Caroline Archdutchesses.

Frances Eleonora Countess de Scherffenberg, great mistress of the houshold to the Leopoldine Archdutchess Maria Magdalena.

Maria Isabella Countess de Brennern.
Antonietta Countess de Mollarth.
Maids of honour to the Leopoldine Archdutchess Maria Magdalena.

Maria Isabella Countess de Thurn.
Maria Anna Euphemia Countess de Petazzi.
Frances Countess de Spauer.
Ladies of honour to the Leopoldine Archdutchess Maria Magdalena.

Sigismond Count de Rinchmaul.
Francis Count de Potzazki.
J. And. Count de Lengheim.
Fred. Ant. Baron de Roveré.
J. Peter Count d'Arrivabene.
Leopold Count de Salm.
Fr. Wil. Count de Thierheim.
John Wentzel Count d'Oppersdorff.
J. Alb. Char. Count de Geyersberg.
Chamberlains and knights of the court of the Empress Dowager Amelia.

His excellency John Charles Count de Nostitz, actual privy-councellor of his imperial and catholic Majesty, captain of the arches, &c. to the Empress Dowager Amelia.

His excellency Francis William Count de Salm-Reifferscheid, hereditary marshal of the chapter of Cologne, actual privy-councellor of his imperial and catholic Majesty, great master of the horse to the Empress Dowager Amelia, &c.

Anna Margarita Princess d'Esterhasi, born Marquise de Scina, great mistress of the houshold to the Empress Dowager Amelia.

The Marquise Lucilia de gli Obbizi, born Countess de Sassi, mistress of the ladies, &c. to the Empress Dowager Amelia.

Maria Dorothea Baroness de Klenk.
Isabella Countess de Kuen.
Teresa Countess de Thierheim.
Mar. Ant. Countess de Sinzendorff.
Frances Countess de Thierheim.
Josephina Countess d'Erdodi.
Maids of honour to the Empress Dowager Amelia.

Ren. Countess de Sallaburg.
Elizabeth Countess d'Althan.
Ladies of honour to the Empress Dowager Amelia.

Our readers will probably expect to find here all the titles of the present Emperor Charles VI. as likewise a short account of the power and authority that prince has in the empire, and the fiefs appertaining to that body, by virtue of his being the supreme head of it.

Titles of the Emperor Charles VI.

The most high, most puissant, and most invincible Prince Charle VI. elected Emperor of the Romans, always August, King of Germany

of Castille, of Leon, of Arragon, of the Two Sicilies, of Jerusalem, of Hungary, Bohemia, Dalmatia, Croatia, Sclavonia, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Burgundy, Brabant, Stiria, Carinthia, Carniola, Luxembourg, Wirtemberg, Upper and Lower Silesia; Prince of Suabia, Marquis of the Holy Roman Empire, Burgau, Moravia, Upper and Lower Lusatia; Prince and Count of Hapsbourg, of Tirol, of Ferette, of Kybourg, and of Goritia; Landgrave of Alsatia, Lord of Windismarck, of Port Naon and of Salins, &c. &c. &c. born Oct. 1. N. S. 1685, declared King of Spain in 1703. Emperor and King of the Romans, of Hungary, Bohemia, &c. Oct. 12, 1711. He married Elizabetha Christina of Brunswick Blanckenberg, Empress, Queen of Hungary, Bohemia, &c. born Aug. 28, N. S. 1691, married April 23, N. S. 1708. His eldest daughter Maria Teresia Valburga Amelia Christiana, Archdutchess of Austria, was born May 13, N. S. 1717. And Maria Anna Eleonora Wilhelmina Josepha, the youngest, Sept. 14, N. S. 1718. The Empress Dowager Amelia was born April 21, N. S. 1673, and married to his Majesty Joseph King of the Romans, Hungary, &c. in 1699. Maria Elizabetha, Leopoldine Archdutchess, at present gouvernante of the Austrian Netherlands, was born Dec. 13, N. S. 1680; Maria Anna, daughter of the Emperor Leopold, and Queen of Portugal, Sept. 7, N. S. 1683; and Maria Magdalena, the youngest Leopoldine Archdutchess, Mar. 26. N. S. 1689. The abovementioned Maria Anna of Austria was married to John V. King of Portugal, Oct. 27. N. S. 1708.

With regard to the imperial authority, the Emperor is chief, and in that quality, sovereign monarch, under God, of the Holy Roman Empire. His dignity gives him the precedency in the Christian world; so that he is considered as the first prince of it. At Rome he has the title of Advocate, Grand Prevôt, and Protector of the Church. Every thing done in the empire, when the empire acts as a body, is transacted in his name. He convenes and dissolves the diets of the empire. He has the right to propose the points of declaration to the body of the empire, and to authorize their resolutions, which are executed in his name, as likewise all the decrees of the Imperial chamber. He only has a right to the first prayers in the empire. He alone creates and confers the high secular dignities, such as those of King, prince, archduke, duke, marquis, landgrave, count and baron, in the empire. He only confers the sovereignty, and regalia, and the principal fiefs of the empire, upon ecclesiasticks by the sceptre, and upon seculars by the standard and sword. But he cannot establish any fact relating to religion, abolish any laws, alter the value of money, declare war within or out of the empire, impose general contributions, erect fortresses, make peace, or contract alliances, as emperor, without the general consent and concurrence of the empire.

The aulic council is one of the two superior courts of the empire, which have a universal jurisdiction, and are the dernier resort of all the members and subjects of the empire, in all affairs of a judicial nature. The Emperor names the officers in this court; but the Elector of Mentz, has the power of visiting it. It is held near the person of the Emperor

and is, for that reason, stiled the Justice of the Emperor. His imperial Majesty may preside there, whenever he pleases. He votes there, pronounces the acts or decrees of the court; and, when he is there in person, signs them. This tribunal is composed of a president, always a catholic, a vice chancellor, always presented by the Elector of Mentz, a vice president, and eighteen counsellors, nine of which are catholics, and the rest protestants. They are divided into two benches; one of which is occupied by the nobles, the other by the lawyers. The Counts de Gahlen, Stein, Questenberg, Paar, Wieser, Schonborn, Hamilton, Kufstein, Ulfeld, Ostein, Welzeck, Nostitz, and Serini, are at present the most considerable members of the aulic council.

The number of souls in Vienna some compute at two-hundred thousand; but others more justly, as we apprehend, at one-hundred seventy thousand, or one-hundred eighty thousand; so that this city, though constantly honoured with the presence of so potent and august a monarch as the Emperor of the Romans, is not much more than a fifth part of London. This seems to be in a good measure confirmed by the *Acta Breslaviensia*, which give us tables of the births and burials in Vienna for the six following years.

1717.	Burials 5205.	Births 4030.
1718.	Burials 6110.	Births 4242.
1720.	Burials 6825.	Births 4126.
1721.	Burials 6490.	Births 4104.
1722.	Burials 4961.	Births 4417.
1723.	Burials 5443.	Births 4457.

Hence it appears, that Vienna, if we regard the number of people it contains, is not much above one fifth part of London, scarce a fourth of Paris, and very little more than a third of Prague. However, in several respects, it may vie with, and even must be allowed to excel all other cities in Europe.

Whilst we were at Vienna, we paid a visit to Mr. Edwin, an English gentleman of great worth, and his sister Miss Edwin, a young lady of the finest accomplishments, who then resided there. Miss Edwin was pleased to entertain us with an account of Prince Eugene, in whose company she had lately been, and of whom she gave a very advantageous character. We saw that prince once in his coach riding about the city. He seemed to be pretty much advanced in years; but had an exceeding good aspect, and a very lively piercing eye. He is said to talk a good deal, and very much to the purpose, upon every subject that occurs; and to preserve, even after seventy years of age, an uncommon degree of vivacity. He has a fine aviary here, full of a great variety of curious and uncommon birds. His collection of wild beasts is likewise much admired by foreigners. The gardens belonging to his palace, his library, and stables, as well as those of the Emperor, are ranked amongst the principal curiosities of this place. The prince is said to be something above a middle stature, and pretty thin. General Philippi is a great favourite with him. Miss Edwin informed us, that

she had lately taken a trip to Neitra, a city of considerable note in the Upper Hungary.

The archdutchy of Austria, of which Vienna is more immediately the capital, though it is considered likewise as the metropolis of Germany and the Roman empire, is bounded on the east by Hungary; on the west by Bavaria; on the south by Stiria; and on the north by Bohemia and Moravia. In the time of the Roman republic, and the first Roman Emperors, it was divided into three parts, which went by three different names. That tract, to the south of the Danube, contained two of these; the first of which, extending from the Inn to Mount Cetius, appertained to Noricum Ripense, the other to Pannonia; and that to the north of the said river, inhabited by the Quadi and Marcomanni, and afterwards by other nations, was deemed a province of Germany. All particulars relating to Austria before this period have, for a long series of ages, been buried in oblivion; the ridiculous fables foisted into the Austrian annals by Henricus Gundelsingius, about the year 1476, having long since been exploded by all the learned writers of this country, particularly by Æneas Sylvius, Cuspinian, and Lambecius. These fictions, according to some, seem to have taken their rise from four antient monuments, with Hebrew inscriptions upon them, said to have been found at Guntendorff, and published by Lazius. But if any curious person shall think it worth his while to compare these inscriptions with what has been advanced by Gundelfingius, he will easily perceive the absurdity of such a notion.

Pannonia was first visited by the Roman arms, about one-hundred seventy-one years before the commencement of the Christian Æra, when the consul P. Licinius Crassus's lieutenant undertook an expedition against Illyricum. For that Pannonia was antiently looked upon as a part of Illyricum, we learn from Strabo; and that the aforesaid lieutenant penetrated into Pannonia, as far as the city of * Carnus, about seven German miles from the spot on which at present Vienna stands, is asserted by Livy. This country we find likewise invaded by Augustus, about thirty years before the birth of Christ, who four years after triumphed over the natives of it; notwithstanding which, that prince seems never to have reached the southern bank of the Danube. Afterwards Tiberius, about the seventh year of the Christian æra, took up his winter quarters in that part of Austria where Vienna is situated, being then about pushing on the war, under the auspices of Augustus, against Maroboduus, leader or general of the Marcomanni. The Pannonians several times shook off the Roman yoke; but at last, about A. D. 12. or at farthest, A. D. 25. their country was reduced to the

* This city was called Carnus by Livy and Ptolemy; but by Pliny, the Itinerary, and Peutinger's table Carnuntum. It it generally supposed by the learned to have occupied the spot on which Petroneil, or Petronella, at present stands. However, Cluverius imagines Hamburg to answer to the antient Carnuntum. And Lambecius endeavours to reconcile this with the common opinion, by asserting that Carnuntum was so large a city that it extended from Petronell to Hamburgh. Though Licinius Crassus's lieutenant besieged this city, he could not take it, according to Livy: but it surrendered to Tiberius, A. D. after he had given a great overthrow to the Dalmatians and Pannonians. We shall not expatiate on this city farther here; since one of us intends to give a farther account of it hereafter, when he proposes to describe part of the Upper Hungary, bordering upon Austria. See Liv. Dec. V. Lib. iii. Ptol. Lib. ii. Cap. 15. Tab. Peuting. Antonin. Itinerar. Plin. Lib. iv. Cap. 12. Cluver in Vin. & Nor. Cap. 5. Lambec. in Addit. ad Lib. ii. &c.

form of a Roman province. Much about the same time, Noricum Ripense was also subjugated by Claudius Drusus, and other Roman generals. The Transdanubian part of Austria, or that tract lying to the north of the Danube, seems never to have been intirely subdued by the Romans; though the inhabitants of it were frequently exposed to their incursions.

St. Quirinus, Bishop of Siscia, first began to plant christianity in Illyricum, in the reign of the Emperor Diocletian; but the Norici had the gospel preached to them by St. Laurentius, about thirty years after the death of Christ, according to the annals of Passau. He was followed by Syrus and Juventius, disciples of St. Hermagoras; notwithstanding which, St. Severinus had the greatest share in the conversion of the Norici, A. D. 453. The German part of Austria received the Christian faith, A. D. 396, in which year, according to St. Paulinus, who lived at that time, Fritigil, Queen of the Marcomanni, was converted by St. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, who held an epistolary correspondence with her. Her conversion was immediately succeeded by that of her husband, and his subjects.

Towards the decline of the Roman Empire, the Boii, Suevi, Marcomanni, Gepidæ, Gothi, Longobardi, and other barbarous nations, pouring great armies into Noricum and Vindelicia, over-ran the whole tract between the Danube and the Alps, and annexed it to Germany. The Huns likewise and the Sclavi afterwards advanced into these quarters. But the French and the Germans, under the command of Charlemain, being united with the Bavarians, defeated, in a great battle, these barbarians, upon the banks of the Ens, which was then the common boundary between them, and extended their eastern frontier much farther, A. D. 791. The tract acquired on this occasion, chiefly by the valour and bravery of the Germans, was called, in their mother-tongue, Oostryck, or Oesterreich, in Latin Austria, or the eastern March; and the counts, or rulers, presiding over it, Marchgraffen, Markgraves, or Marquisses of Austria: Which title they obtained, on account of their defending the frontiers against the Sclavonians and Hungarians. They were at first subject to the Dukes of Bavaria; but afterwards immediately to the Kings of Germany, or the Emperors. The title and dignity of marquis, or Markgrave of Austria, first became hereditary in the reign of Henry the Fowler, who created Leopold I. of the illustrious family of the Counts of Babenberg, Hereditary Marquis of Austria, after the death of Rudinger de Pechlarn, prefect of the Oriental March, A. D. 928. Austria, or the Oriental Marquisate, at this time, reaching from the Ens to a little beyond Mount Cetius, was greatly enlarged, and even its present eastern limit settled, by St. Leopold, who died A. D. 1136. As for the western part between the Ens and the Inn, it was taken from Bavaria, and annexed to Austria, by the consent of the Emperor Frederic I. who, that he might prevail upon Henry II. then Marquis of Austria, to renounce his pretensions to the rest of Bavaria, which his brother and predecessor, Leopoldus Largus, had obtained of the Emperor Conrad III, honoured Austria with many noble privileges, stiling it, in the public instrument drawn up for this purpose, the heart and shield of Germany, and raised it to a dutchy, in 1156. When it

came to be first dignified with the title of archdutchy, for want of sufficient light from history, cannot now be certainly determined; some fixing this in the reign of Frederic IV. others in that of Albert I. or Frederic II. of the house of Babenberg; and lastly, others make this title to precede Frederic I. and even Henry IV. who reigned A. D. 1058. However, we may in general venture to affirm, as being supported herein by the best of the Austrian historians, that some one of the Austrian princes of the house of Babenberg was first distinguished by the title of Duke and some one of those of the house of Hapsburg by that of Archduke of Austria.

Frederic II. the last of the house of Babenberg, dying, without issue, in 1246, there were great commotions in Austria, many princes aspiring to the sovereignty of that fine province. But at last Herman of Baden prevailed, in right of his wife; and afterwards Ottocar, King of Bohemia, by virtue likewise of his wife's pretensions. But Ottocar first repudiated his wife, on account of her age, and afterwards poisoned her. And having, after a second marriage, and a refusal of homage to the Emperor Rudolph I. whose election he affected to treat with contempt, usurped the sovereignty of Austria, contrary to equity, and the consent of the empire, which was essentially necessary to his establishment therein; he was adjudged an enemy to the empire, by the diet at Augsbourg, in 1275. War therefore was declared against him. In consequence of which, the Emperor, two years after, invaded Austria, made himself master of it in one campaign, and obliged Ottocar by treaty to cede it to him.

But that prince, being greatly reproached by his wife Kunegund, for his cowardice and pusillanimous conduct, renewed the war, and perished in the prosecution of it. Upon which, Austria, at the request of the deputies of the province, was conferred upon Albert, son of the Emperor Rudolph, by the princes of the empire, in the diet held at Augsbourg, A. D. 1282, and since that time has remained in the possession of the house of Hapsburg.

Austria is situated in the seventh climate, according to the calculus of Strabo, or in the eighth, according to that of the moderns, between 47 deg. 26 min. and 48 deg. 56 min. N. lat. and, computing from the island of Palma, between 36 deg. 15 min. and 40 deg. 50 min. long. according to the German geographers. The country has an extremely pleasant aspect, is finely watered with rivers, diversified with hills and plains, and exceedingly fruitful, producing not only all sorts of corn, but generous wine, in great abundance. It is divided into Upper and Lower, the first of which inclines to the west, and the other to the east. To the south of the Danube, the common boundary of these provinces, is the Ens; and to the north of that river, a line drawn from the Danube, a little above Ips, to the borders of Bohemia, beyond the city of Weitra. The Lower Austria has a twofold division assigned it by Cuspinianus: First, it is divided into Steinfeld and Tulnerfeld on this side the Danube, and Marchfeld and Gensfeld on the other. Secondly, in relation to the states, when they are assembled, Lower Austria is divided into that part below the wood or forest of Vienna, and that above the said forest,

beyond the Danube; or, as some term it, into the district under Mount Meinhard and that above it.

The footmen in Vienna, for the most part, use the Hungarian habit, and are called Heydukes. Many of the Austrian ladies have fine complexions, and are very beautiful. The women's caps and bonnets here are of various forms. The politer sort follow chiefly the Italian mode of dress, which seems to be a medium between the English and French. The best coach-horses here are those sent from Transilvania; which, as well as the saddle-horses produced there, travel with great celerity. We had letters of credit from Messrs Swymmer and Hewit at Venice, to Messrs. Rad and Hoslin here. The suburb of Leopoldstadt, where the Turkish ambassador always begins his entry in form, and into which we entered by the Stuben, Hungarian, or, as it is frequently called in this city, the Buda, Gate, is a well-built street, and may be reckoned one of the curiosities of Vienna. Before we departed from hence, one of us determined to see some part of the Upper Hungary contiguous to Austria.

The best inn in Vienna is the Drey Hawken, where all English gentlemen that visit this town put up. It was, however, so full, when we arrived, that we could not find admission, and therefore were obliged to take up with an inn of inferior rank. The accommodations here were not to be blamed, but a thievish spirit seemed to have possessed the servants; for one of us had his room broke open, his portmanteau rummaged, and several things of value taken out of it; amongst which was a fine gold medal of Pope Clement XI, an ounce weight, of which we could never afterwards get the least intelligence. Though one of us desired to see Breslau, he was determined by the majority, according to the rules observed in travelling; and therefore, having satisfied ourselves with Vienna, we made the necessary dispositions for our journey to Prague.

The Continuation of the Travels of three English Gentlemen.

SECT. V.

A Journey from Vienna in Austria to Prague,

THE CAPITAL OF BOHEMIA.

HAVING got every thing in readiness for our departure from Vienna, and the postliglioni being arrived at our inn, we passed the Danube, about two o'clock in the afternoon. The place we stopped at was called Enzersdorf, or Enzerstorf, near the point where a small rivulet empties itself into the Danube, not much above a German mile north of Vienna. Enzersdorf is a pretty large village on the northern bank

of the Danube, opposite to Kalenberg. We could see here the Mounts Kalenberg and Pisenberg, betwixt which, at almost an equal distance, Enzersdorf stands. The country betwixt this place and Vienna is a fine verdent plain. After gaining the northern bank of the Danube, we left a small village called Eipoltau, or Eypoltau, a little to the east, and instead of taking the route of Wolkersdorf, in the post road to Olmutz, turned off to the left. Besides the Mounts Kalenberg and Pisenberg, there are two small towns, or villages, in their neighbourhood, likewise so called.

From Enzersdorf we advanced to Stockeran, where, upon the approach of the evening, we took up our lodgings. Stockerau stands near three German miles almost north of Enzersdorf, and is a pretty considerable town. According to Eugippius, the antient Astura stood upon the spot at present possessed by Stockerau; and, according to the Notitia, a tribune with his cohort was for some time posted here; which seems to run counter to what has been advanced by Dr. Brown. The words referred to in the Notitia are these: *Sub Dispositione Viri Spectabilis Ducis Pannoniæ, et Norici Ripensis, fuit Tribunus Cohortis Asturis.* St. Severinus is said first to have stopped at Astura and St. Colman, or Coloman, a native of Scotland, to have suffered martyrdom at Stockerau, in the year 1012, upon the ground where the monastery of the Minorites was afterwards built. This saint is believed by the Austrians to have wrought many miracles after his death. Astura was one of the most considerable cities of the Quadi. Between Enzersdorf and Stockerau, a traveller has a full view of both Mount Kalenberg and Mount Pisenberg, as he marches on the northern bank of the Danube. We were informed, that from Mount Kalenberg, a part of Mount Cetius, and two German miles almost north of Vienna, many petrified fish, some of which were of several unknown species, have been, and still are, found. These are not however discovered in such large quantities now as formerly. Our expences at Stockerau amounted to about eight florins. The people of the inn, where we lodged, stole from us one of the bottles of Tokay wine, given us by Mr. Robinson; which did not greatly surprise us. The dialect spoken at Stockerau differs very sensibly, as well as the pronunciation, from that used at Vienna.

The next place that supplied us with fresh horses the inhabitants called Mallebern. This village consists of about fifty or sixty houses, is two easy German miles from Stockerau, and has a pretty church. We did not stay above an hour at Mallebern, as finding nothing capable of exciting our curiosity, or detaining us longer there.

From Mallebern to Hollabrun, the next post town, we found the road very good, and the miles short. This town, or village, is considerably larger than the former. The Golden Crown is the best public house in it, and a tolerable good inn. Between Mallebern and Hollabrun we passed through two large villages, but the names of them we did not learn.

Naudorf, or Nodorf, was the next place, that, for about an half an hour, we rested at. It seems to be about the same size as Hollabrun. Between Naudorf and Hollabrun we passed through a pretty considerable

village; but the postiglioni could not be certain as to its name. The country we went through this post appeared very agreeable and delightful.

Our postiglioni next conducted us to a fine village, called Pulckau, or Bulckha, two German miles from Naudorf. This post was good road throughout, and the whole tract covered with a beautiful verdure. The buildings in Pulckau are something elegant, and seem to resemble those of Vienna. There are two or three small places between Naudorf and Pulckau, but the names of them we were not told.

From Pulckau we went to Langau, or Langenau, the last town in Austria, and upon the borders of Moravia. This post is mountainous and bad, and consists at least of three German miles. Between Pulckau and Langau, we met with some woods of fir-trees, and now and then with an *ilex*, or scarlet oak. The country we passed through this post, notwithstanding the road, was pleasant and agreeable enough.

Our next post was terminated by Frating, a town of Moravia, in the circle of Znaim, at a small distance from the Taya, or Thaya, about two German miles from Langau. The people of the country call this town, which, as near as we could guess, consists of about two-hundred houses, Wrateny. It has one or two pretty churches in it, and seems to be of Slavic extraction. The houses form one long street, and make a tolerable good appearance. We did not stay above an hour here.

The next place we stopped at, two good German miles north-west of Frating, was denominated Piesling, or Pistling. Pistling is likewise a small town, or village, of the Marquisate of Moravia, upon the Taya, with a castle, at present in a ruinous condition, consisting, as we guessed, of about one-hundred and fifty houses. We were told that there were two churches here, as well as at Frating.

Pistling stands in the circle of Znaim, which is a very pleasant and fertile tract. Between Piesling and Frating, we passed through a village called Rantzern, which had a tolerable good church. The road between Rantzern and Piesling is very mountainous.

After having staid about half, or three quarters of an hour at Piesling, we continued our route to Zlabnitz, or, as 'tis called by the Moravians, Slawonice. Zlabnitz, or Slawonice, is a considerable town of the Marquisate of Moravia, in the circle of Iglaw, two German miles almost west of Piesling, and near the same distance, in an eastern direction, from the ridge of mountains separating Moravia and Bohemia. This town was built by the Slavi, as clearly appears from its name, and consequently may be looked upon as one of the most antient in Moravia. The country people and some foreigners, call Zlabnitz, Zlabings; which is neither the Moravian nor German name. But this is not to be wondered at, since the language of this part of Moravia is a composition, made up of the High Dutch and Moravian tongues. The Moravian, we were told, differs very considerably from the Bohemian, Polish, and Sclavonian dialects. Before we take our leave of Moravia, we shall beg leave to give our readers a short description of that province, such as we received, partly from persons of good authority here, and partly from a curious piece scarce to be met with in England.

The Marquisate of Moravia received its name from the Mora, or

Morava, a famous river running through it, called by Pliny and Tacitus the Marus. This river has its source in the northern angle of Moravia, upon the borders of Silesia; and, after having joined the Taya near Ravenspurg, discharges itself into the Danube, upon the confines of Hungary, not far from Presburg. Moravia is bounded on the west by Bohemia; on the north by Silesia; on the east by Hungary; and on the south by Austria, or rather that part of it divided from Moravia by the Taya. The air here is soft and mild: the region well cultivated, and abounding with all the necessaries, as well as some of the elegancies, of life. It does not only produce great quantities of corn, but likewise of saffron; and wine also, though of a weaker kind, such as will not intoxicate those who drink copiously of it. It is also inriched with four different species of metals: Gold near Jamnitz, Römerstadtl, Bergstadtl, and in the Lordships of Goldenstein and Lukow; silver near Polnau, Piscopicz, Iglaw, Bergstadtl, and Hagenstein; iron in the lordships of Janovicz and Berstein, as also about Nuestadtl, Römerstadtl, Kunstadt, Polnau, Jaspitz, Frana, Hochwald, and several other places; and lastly lead, in the mountainous tract called Ranzern, near Iglaw. Alum, vitriol, jeat, amber, agate, granate, jasper, marble, coal, &c. are likewise produced in Moravia.

The Marcomanni antiently inhabited Moravia, according to * Pessina; though that the Quadi occupied this part of antient Germany, together with part of Austria, may be inferred from † Tacitus and Ptolemy. But possibly neither of these opinions may be very remote from truth, since the Marcomanni were considered sometimes as intermixed with the Quadi; especially, when with their united forces these two nations defended their respective territories against the Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. 'Tis certain, if any credit is to be given to antient history, the Marcomanni and Quadi either formed one ‡ nation, extending from the Marus to the Cusus, or Vagus, i. e. from the Morava to the Waag, or had one common interest and form of government, and therefore conjointly opposed all foreign invaders, particularly the Romans. Afterwards having passed the Waag, they extended their dominions as far as Bregetio, or Strigonium, and the river Granua, or Gran. They carried on the war against the Romans, under Viguarius and his son Vitrodurus, as also under Gabinius and Fridegildus, their Kings, with various success. But being greatly weakened by their frequent bloody contests with the Romans, Vandals, Goths, &c. and at last subdued by the Huns, they were obliged first to take on in the service of Attila, general of the Huns, and afterwards of Ardericus, captain of the Gepidæ. Being afterwards dispersed in different provinces, the names of Quadi and Marcomanni were totally lost, towards the close of the fifth century.

After the extinction of the Quadi and Marcomanni, the Slavi seated themselves here; and, as should seem from Suidas, were called Maravani, Marahenses, or Moravi. Of all the Slavic nations the Moravians were the first that formed a kingdom. This kingdom was of much larger extent, than the present Marquisate of Moravia. According to

* Pessin. Mar. Mara. Lib. 1. C. 2. † Tacit de Mor. Germ. Ptol. Geogr. Lib. 2.
‡ See Cluver. Germ. Ant. Lib. 3. C. 31.

Æneas Sylvius, afterwards Pope Pius the Second, the Hungarians Bohemians, and Poles were subject to the King of Moravia. But, with regard to the Hungarians, this cannot be allowed, since it is absolutely repugnant to the faith of history; and therefore Æneas Sylvius is only to be understood as asserting that a considerable tract of the kingdom of Hungary antiently appertained to the kingdom of Moravia. This, we apprehend, cannot be denied, as being supported by some writers of indubitable authority. Our readers will not be displeased to see here a list of the antient Kings of Moravia, whose government continued above two-hundred years.

List of the Kings of Moravia.

I. Swatossius, or Suathes, the son of Marothus, or Moravodus, who fixed his residence at Vesprin, and presided over a great part of Pannonia and Moravia. He was defeated in two battles by the Hungarians, and, being almost intirely driven out of Pannonia, took refuge in the island of Schut, from whence he passed into Moravia, and at Welehrad near the Morava built a palace, where he afterwards resided. He likewise erected several towers and redoubts along the Waag, in order to repress the courses of the Hungarians. This we learn from some authors of good authority; but Bonfinius and Thurocius affirm Swatossius to have been drowned in the Danube, after the last overthrow given him by the Hungarians. Which of these notions is the most agreeable to truth, we must leave our readers, after having consulted the abovementioned authors, to decide. Swatossius began to reign about An. Dom. 720.

II. Samomirus succeeded his father Swatossius, according to Pessina. History is intirely silent, as to any remarkable particulars of his reign.

III. He was succeeded by Samoslaus, of whom nothing remarkable is recorded.

IV. Lechus, or Lech, ascended the throne, after the decease of his father Samoslaus. He was killed in battle by Charlemain.

V. Hormidorus reigned after Lechus.

VI. Mogemirus, the next King of Moravia, in vain endeavoured to make himself master of the kingdom of Hungary. He likewise invaded Poland, and took Cracow; but, according to some authors, soon lost it again.

VII. Bryno, or Bruno, by some called Primina, came next; but, not being able to quell the seditious commotions raised by Mogemirus, he abdicated the throne, and was succeeded by the author of those commotions, Mogemirus the Second.

VIII. Mogemirus the Second enjoyed the sovereignty of Moravia for some time. His predecessor Bryno had a certain district bordering on the Save given him by Lewis Duke of Bavaria, where he ended his days in peace.

IX. Raczko, or Radislans, called by some Rastice, swayed the sceptre of Moravia after Mogemirus the Second. He extended his conquests as far as Vesprin, the antient seat of the Kings of Moravia; but, being afterwards defeated, in a pitched battle, by the Hungarians, he found himself obliged to abandon them. He was at last taken prisoner

by Lewis King of Germany, against whom, in defiance of the faith of treaties, he had several times taken up arms, had his eyes put out, and was doomed to perpetual imprisonment in Bavaria. The next prince that mounted the throne was

X. Suatopulcus, Suatoplucus, Zuentibaldus, or, as he is called by some Swendopoldus, who was laid under arrest by Carolomannus, the son of Lewis, at Ratisbon, in 871. But, the crime alledged against him not being proved, he had his liberty restored, and was sent back to his subjects in Moravia. However, this proved a source of many broils and animosities between the abovementioned princes, which at length were removed in the reign of the Emperor Arnulphus. Suatopolcus was succeeded by his son Suatobogus, or Suatobogius, the last King of Moravia.

XI. Suatobogus, or Suatobogius, was a prince guilty of the blackest and most enormous crimes; and was therefore anathematized or excommunicated by Pope Sergius the Third, and put to the ban of the empire by the Emperor Lewis the Fourth. Upon which events, the Poles, Bavarians, and Hungarians broke into his dominions, and carried all before them. Some writers affirm, that Suatobogus, after having received a signal defeat, was slain by these invaders; but others, that, after having lost his kingdom, he escaped to Mount Sobor, or Zobor, and spent the remainder of his days with Anchorets settled there.

An end being thus put to the kingdom of Moravia, the Bavarians seized upon that part of it lying between the Danube and the Taya, which was afterwards joined to Austria. The other part, which fell into the hands of the Poles, Bohemians, and Hungarians, was at last adjudged by the Emperor Otto, or Otho the Great, to St. Wenceslaus, King of Bohemia, in the year 937. But neither he nor his successors obtained the sovereignty of the whole country, till the time of Udalricus, and his son Brzetislaus the First, who having overthrown the Poles, in a great battle, An. Dom. 1026, wrested from them the Polish Moravia, and soon after made himself master of the other part appertaining to the Hungarians; and, extending the frontiers to their present limits, annexed the whole province to Bohemia. Brzetislaus had five sons, Spitihnæus, Jaromirus, or Jaromir, Wratislaus, Otto or Otho, and Conrad. Spitihnæus, Spitigneus, or Sbigneus, lived with his father, being the heir apparent to his dominions; Jaromir took holy orders; Wratislaus had assigned him the district of Olmutz; Otto that of Brinn; and Conrad that of Znaim; Brzetislaus in the mean time reserving to himself and his successors the sovereignty both of Bohemia and Moravia. Upon the decease of his brother Spitihnæus without issue, Wratislaus obtained the crown of Bohemia, and ceded the territory of Olmutz to his brother Otto, annexing at the same time the district of Znaim to that of Brinn, in favour of Conrad. About the year 1086, in the reign of Henry the Fourth, Moravia assumed the title of Marquisate, and the Kings of Bohemia, after the example of Brzetislaus, generally divided it, for some ages, amongst their younger sons or relations. This occasioned sometimes bloody wars between the Kings of Bohemia and the Marquesses of Moravia, the latter frequently refusing to acknowledge the sovereignty of the former. Notwithstanding which, Moravia was always

considered as appertaining to Bohemia, after the reign of Brzetislaus the First, and came with that kingdom into the possession of the House of Austria.

The Christian religion seems to have been first planted in Moravia by the Emperor Charlemain, who having driven the Slavi Moravians from one side of the Danube, and the Huns and Avares from the other, carried his victorious arms as far as the Raab, and committed the propagation of Christianity here to Arno, Archbishop of Saltzburg, authorized thereto by Pope Adrian the First. This is farther confirmed by the catalogue of the Bishops of Passau, in which Dresserus relates, that Bishop Ruminarius, or Reginarius, converted the Moravians to the faith of Christ in the year 807; which yet we apprehend is not to be understood of the whole Moravian nation, but only a part of it, perhaps that bordering upon the Danube. After the death of Charlemain, Urolphus, Archbishop of Saltzburg, sent Adelvinus and Methodius, who were both adorned with the episcopal dignity, to instruct the Moravians in the principles of Christianity; and perhaps he himself assisted them in that laudable employment. Afterwards going to Rome, to give an account of the success of his endeavours, he met with a most gracious reception from Pope Eugenius the Second, who admonished Tuttundus and Moymarus, styled by him Dukes of Humna, or Avaria, and Moravia, as also the prelates, noblesse, armies, and people of those countries, to assist Urolphus in the execution of so noble and pious a design. The letter wrote on this occasion by that Pontiff may be seen in Hundius, Gewoldus, and Goldastus.

But the progress of the gospel in Moravia was greatly obstructed, if not totally stopped, by the civil wars between Bryno and Mogemirus, or Moymarus the Second, till S. Cyril and St. Methodius, coming out of the east, dispelled the thick clouds of ethnic superstition, and again refreshed this country with the salutary rays of evangelical light; insomuch that they have been generally esteemed as the genuine apostles of Moravia. This happened in the reign of Radislaus, when St. Cyril, after he had been sent by Michael Emperor of the East, and Ignatius Patriarch of Constantinople, into the Taurica Chersonesus, to convert the Chazari to the Christian faith, and, in order to effect this, had learned the Sclavonian tongue, which was spoken by that people, together with his collegue St. Methodius, passed through the Triballi and Bulgarians into Moravia, about the year 862. The unwearied labours of these holy men were attended with such extraordinary success, that in a very short time the King, noblesse, and in fine the whole nation of the Moravians embraced the Christian religion; and soon after the Archbishopric of Welehrad was founded, the antient bishoprics restored, and, as is probable, several new ones erected. In the mean time Pope Nicholas hearing how happily the light of the gospel diffused itself over Moravia, and that the natives there made use of the Sclavonian tongue, into which, after having formed a new alphabet for that purpose, St. Cyril had translated the sacred writings, in their publick service, he summoned St. Cyril and St. Methodius to Rome; but died before their arrival, in November 867. However, they were treated with great distinction by his successor Pope Adrian the Second. How St. Cyril

justified his conduct in relation to the use of the Sclavonian tongue in sacred matters, and, as it were, extorted from that pontiff and the court of Rome a licence to continue the divine service throughout Moravia, &c. in that language, our curious readers will be fully and amply informed by the piece to which we shall here beg leave to refer them*.

St. Cyril spent the remainder of his days at Rome, but St. Methodius, his colleague, after having been created Archbishop of Moravia, returned home, in the reign of Suatopulcus, who succeeded Radislaus. That prince afterwards sent this worthy prelate his ambassador to Rome, as appears from a letter wrote him by Pope John the Eighth in 880, to be met with in Baronius. St. Methodius had not been long dead, when an end was put to the kingdom of Moravia by the Poles, Bavarians, and Hungarians, as already mentioned. This revolution occasioned the abolition of the archbishopric of Welehraden, and the other cathedral churches in Moravia. The Christian religion, however, soon after recovered its former footing here; but, after the death of Sylvester, the last Archbishop of Moravia, this province was annexed to the diocese of Passau, or, according to some, to that of Ratisbon; of which it continued a part, till the time of St. Adalbertus, Bishop of Prague, to whose diocese the church of Moravia was joined by Pope Benedict the Sixth. This union remained till after the year 1060, when, Severus being Bishop of Prague, by the approbation, and, as some imagine, at the instigation of Pope Alexander the Second, the Moravians had their antient church restored them, and rendered distinct from that of Prague.

The followers of John Hus propagated their tenets here, in the fifteenth century; though John de Praga, Bishop of Olmutz, prevented them from making any very great progress in Moravia. However, the reformation afterwards gradually so insinuated itself here, that it seems to have spread itself over, at least, the greatest part of the country, particularly in the reigns of George, Wladislaus, and Lewis, Kings of Bohemia. The Synod of Brinn, being acted by a spirit quite opposite to the genius of Popery, granted an universal toleration, extending to people of all religions, in 1608. But an end was put to this by the fatal battle of Weissenburg, near Prague, in 1620, which gave the possession of this Marquisate to the house of Austria; and enabled the Cardinal de Dietrichstein, by his active and indefatigable zeal for popery, to re-establish the Roman catholic religion in Moravia.

Notwithstanding which, many protestants are still to be met with in this country. Most of these seem to acknowledge some sort of episcopacy, though in several points, as predestination, free-election, grace, regeneration, &c. they are said to approach very near the Calvinists. Nay, in consequence of some other opinions, we were told, that they maintain the absolute impeccability of the regenerate in this life; and that good works are not necessary to justification. But as most of the relations travellers meet with, concerning them, come from the Roman Catholics, who are their declared enemies, perhaps our readers ought to suspend their belief of the particulars here mentioned, till we have a

* See the piece of Wenceslaus Charles Count de Purgstall, intituled Germania Austriaca, already mentioned in the description of Moravia, p. 70, 71, published at Vienna in 1701.

full and ample account of the religious tenets of the Moravian protestants, from a candid and impartial person, who has, for some time, resided amongst them.

Moravia was divided into three toparchies, by Brzetislaus the First, Duke of Bohemia; viz. that of Olmutz, that of Brinn, and that of Znaim. But in process of time, when the brothers and relations of the Dukes, or Kings, of Bohemia were branched out into several families, the toparchy of Olmutz, which was the largest of all, as extending from the borders of Silesia to the conflux of the Taya and the Morava, was divided into two parts, in the year 1160, viz. the Upper and the Lower. Brzetislaus, son to Otto the Third, obtained the latter, and Wladimir, that prince's other son, the former, by the consent of Wladislaus, King of Bohemia. Lastly, in the age of Wladislaus the Second, Moravia was divided into five districts, viz. those of Olmutz, Brinn, Znaim, Iglaw, and Hradisch. The toparchy, or circle, of Olmutz is circumscribed, on the west by Bohemia and the circle of Brinn, on the north by Silesia, on the east by Hungary, and on the south parts by the circle of Brinn, and partly by the circle of Hradisch. That of Brinn is limited, partly by the other districts, or circles, of Moravia, and partly by Hungary, Austria, and Bohemia. The circle of Znaim is nearly of a pyramidal figure, and bounded by the circles of Brinn and Iglaw, together with the Archdutchy of Austria. The circle of Iglaw is terminated by those of Brinn and Znaim, and the kingdom of Bohemia. And lastly, that of Hradisch is surrounded by those of Olmutz and Brinn, and the kingdom of Hungary. It is, at present, divided into the circles of Iglaw, Znaim, Brinn, Olmutz, Hradisch, and Prerau. The last circle of which is however considered, by the more accurate Moravian geographers, as part of that of Olmutz. So much for the history and geography of the Marquisate of Moravia in general; which, we hope, will not be considered, by our readers, as an impertinent digression. But to resume the narrative of our journey from Vienna to Prague:

We staid one night at Zlabnitz, where we met with very good accommodations. Our landlord was a man of tolerable good sense and humour, and acquainted us with several particulars, relating to the country in which he lived, that we have taken care to insert in the above account. Zlabnitz seems to consist, at least, of four-hundred houses, is walled round, and the inhabitants appeared something civilized and polite. This town is pretty well built, and some of its houses consist of stone. Between Piesling and Zlabnitz we saw several very large woods of fir-trees, with which a good part of the circles of Iglaw and Znaim abound. But this is not to be wondered at, since such sort of woods are common, both in Moravia and Bohemia. Though the weather was excessive cold, we were scarce sensible of it, by reason of the stoves with which our rooms were heated. The principal places between Zlabnitz and Piesling are Zlabaten, Mudlau, and Khwalitz, all considerable villages. Zlabaten is in the post-road, Mudlau at a small distance from it, upon the Taya, and Khwalitz in sight of the post-road, scarce half a German mile S. E. of Zlabnitz. The two former are in the circle of Znaim, and the latter in that of Iglaw. Many of the chimnies here seemed to have something of the resemblance of a mitre. Most of the

inhabitants of Zlabnitz speak Latin with tolerable fluency. The people of the inn, where we lodged, stole another of our bottles of Tokay wine; upon which we came to a resolution to make sure of the other two the following night. However, we did not suffer greatly on this account, since the wine of the country was good and cheap enough. Though we regaled ourselves sufficiently at Zlabnitz, our whole expence there, including that incurred by the servants, did not exceed six florins.

From Zlabnitz we advanced to Konigseck, the first town in Bohemia, which terminates a post that consists of near three German miles. Konigseck seems not to be composed, at most, of above one-hundred and sixty houses. We found the tract between Zlabnitz and Konigseck pretty mountainous and woody, and part of it covered with snow. The women in this part of Moravia appeared to us handsome enough, and the men robust and well-made. Many of the hills in this western district of Moravia are covered with woods, full of various kinds of wild beasts, usually produced in such places. Between Zlabnitz and Konigseck we met with a wood of fir-trees (and such are many of the woods, in this part of Moravia at least) which seemed to be of a vast extent. The villages we passed through, between the two places last mentioned, were Rudoletz, Walterschlag, and Dimelschlag, none of which could be deemed very considerable. The two first stand in the circle of Iglaw. The mountains separating Moravia from the circles of Bechin and Czaslau in Bohemia were almost intirely covered with snow. Dimelschlag, the last of the abovementioned places, is not much above half a German mile from Konigseck, and the first village in Bohemia.

After near an hour's stay at Konigseck, we set out for Neuhaus, which was next to supply us with post-horses. This is a pretty long post, but the road must be allowed good. Neuhaus, or, as the Bohemians call it, Gindrzichu Hradecz, is a fine city of Bohemia, in the circle of Bechin, about fourteen German miles, according to the Austrian and Bohemian geographers, almost south of Prague. But this is to be understood of a right line drawn from Neuhaus to Prague; since the distance betwixt those two cities is much greater, according to the post-road, as will manifestly appear from the present narrative. Neuhaus is a large town, and its buildings neat and elegant, as well as the people that inhabit it. For several ages it was the seat of a prince of the same name. The Princes of Neuhaus, or *de Nova Domo*, as they were termed in Latin, we find celebrated in the Bohemian annals. They carried a golden rose in their shield, and exerted themselves in defence of popery against George of Podiebrad, King of Bohemia. Adam, the last of the antient family of these princes, built a noble college for the Jesuits in Neuhaus, which is richly endowed. Upon the extinction of this family, Neuhaus, with the district appertaining to it, fell into the hands of the descendents of the Counts Slavata. The castle, in which the Princes of Neuhaus resided, is a fine edifice, and a great ornament to the town. There are, or very lately were, in this castle the effigies of a long series of the Dukes and Kings of Bohemia, most exactly copied from some antient portraits of those princes, that for a long time adorned the castle of Prague. As the originals, from whence these effigies were taken, have been consumed by fire, they ought, if

now remaining, to be looked upon as a most valuable curiosity. The erection of this castle, according to Balbinus, to whom we must beg leave to refer our curious readers for a more minute account of it, and several very remarkable particulars relating to it, was owing to a certain matron, who had the care and education of some of the Princes of Neuhaus committed to her. According to the same author, a spectre, apparition, or ghost, in his time, walked in the neighbourhood of this castle, and even in the castle itself. It was then, if he may be credited, so well known to all the citizens of Neuhaus, as well as the peasants of the adjacent villages, that not the least scruple was entertained amongst them about the reality of its appearance. It was believed to be the ghost of the aforesaid matron, as it appeared in the shape, or form, of a woman, with a bunch of keys hanging at her girdle, and dressed in white; from whence it was called, by the people abovementioned, the White Lady. Several persons of unexceptionable authority affirmed to Balbinus, that they had seen the White Lady, particularly a rector of the Clementine college, who declared, that he once saw her from a window of the castle at noon-day. She then appeared in the market-place all in white, with white ribbands about her head, very tall, and with a modest countenance. He farther added, that, when she saw herself discovered by many people, who pointed at her, she grew less gradually, and at last disappeared. Whatever our readers may think of this story, many Bohemians, and some of very good fashion, still believe the reality of this apparition. There is in Neuhaus a fine forum, or market-place, town-house, and piazza; as also a church dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, whose architecture is reckoned admirable. Within a few minutes after we got out of our chaises, a mob of near three-hundred people assembled in order to stare at us. We must not omit observing, that Konigseck, as well as Neuhaus, is in the circle of Bechin.

The next place we stopped at, our postiglioni called Samosol, or Somosol. It stands about two German miles from Neuhaus, and is a small inconsiderable village. As we could hear of nothing in this place worth seeing, and had spent some hours in Neuhaus, within half an hour after our arrival here, we put ourselves again in motion, hoping to reach Tabor, before the night surprised us.

From Samosol we went to Koschitz, a little village consisting of a few wooden houses. This post is about the common length, but the road did not intirely please us. As nothing remarkable occurred here, we did not stay above half an hour. The approach of the night likewise obliged us to be thus expeditious, in order to reach Tabor before it was dark.

We arrived at Tabor in good time, and without being greatly fatigued. Tabor, or Thabor, called by the Bohemians Hradistie, is a considerable town of Bohemia, in the circle of Bechin, about ten German miles, according to the computation of the Austrian and Bohemian geographers, almost south of Prague; but this distance is too small, as will be clearly evinced. It is at present a place of some strength, and capable of sustaining a siege, especially if the Emperor would lay out a little money upon it. This town stands upon a mountain, where the Hussites

assembled, to the number of forty-thousand men, and pitched their tents, in 1420. As the situation was supposed by them to resemble that of Tabor, an ancient city of Palestine, they gave it the same name. This body being joined by Ziska, after his expulsion from Pilsen, whom they chose for their general, seized, at his instigation, upon the fortress of Hradistie, demolished the town of Austa, and afterwards built houses upon the spots of ground occupied by their tents, which formed a handsome town, consisting of several streets. This is the origin of the town of Tabor. The Emperor Sigismund adorned it with many noble privileges, and constituted it a royal city. It was besieged ineffectually by the Austrians and Bavarians, not long after it was built; and by the Emperor Albert the Second, in 1438. But it was reduced by Don Balthasar de Maradas, for the Emperor Ferdinand the Second, in 1621. Notwithstanding Tabor is a place of some note, we found ourselves obliged to lie upon straw, in a room one story high, at which we arrived by means of a sort of ladder. We had scarce laid ourselves down to sleep, when the straw we lay upon took fire, and, had not the person who wrote this account been providentially awake, we, together with the house, and every body in it, might have been consumed. He arose immediately, and, descending the ladder abovementioned, saw the whole family, men and women, lying together promiscuously in straw, with a dim lamp burning by them; who, being presently rouzed, soon extinguished the fire. Not only the poorer sort, but many of the midling families, in this part of Bohemia, as we were told, take up constantly with this kind of lodging; which to us seemed pretty extraordinary, as Bohemia is so civilized a country. We found provisions here both scarce and indifferent, particularly wine; so that our two remaining bottles of Tokay proved a seasonable refreshment to us. According to advices received here, a detachment of Kiowski's troops lately made an incursion into Silesia, where they committed great depredations. Nay, it was said, that a large body of them was advancing towards the frontiers of Bohemia. Though we found afterwards that this did not prove true, yet, as for the present it gave some alarm here, we rejoiced that we had not taken the route of Breslau. We must not omit observing, that at Zlabnitz there was a very large and exceeding fine map of Moravia, which the landlord did not care for parting with. Our expences at Tabor, though we lived but poorly, and used our own wine, amounted to above twelve florins.

After we had taken our leave of Tabor, the postiglioni conducted us to a small village called Sudomirzitz. This post seemed a long one, but the road was good. We observed between Neuhaus and this place a considerable number of ponds, or standing waters, and one of very considerable extent, which, the postiglioni said, abounded with a great variety of elegant and delicious fish. We did not stay above half an hour here.

From Sudomirzitz we pursued our journey to Woiditz, or Wotitz, a considerable village in the circle of Beraun, where we took in fresh horses. To the left, between Miltschin and Wotitz, we saw several mountains covered with snow. The part of Bohemia, we have hitherto traversed, had the appearance of a fertile and plentiful country in

general, tho' sometimes mountains and barren spots occurred. The people here, as well as in Moravia, were very civil and obliging, had an air of great probity and sincerity, and in their manners and dispositions seemed nearly to correspond. We refreshed ourselves for about half an hour, and then set out for Bistritz, where we proposed next to stop.

Bistritz, or Bistrzitz, called likewise sometimes Bystrzice, is a small town of the kingdom of Bohemia, in the circle of Caurzim, two short German miles north of Wotitz. Here we dined, and found an officer, with about fifty Bohemian recruits, who seemed tall robust young fellows, on his route to Prague. Our Swiss servant accosted them in High Dutch, but they answered him in Bohemian, which he understood not a word of. This town appeared to us to consist principally of one pretty long street, but did not make any considerable figure. As we could not meet with any thing substantial here for dinner, our expence amounted only to a florin.

The next post, which was terminated by Nesbeck, we passed the Sazawa. Nesbeck, Nosbeck, or Dnespeck, is a small village of Bohemia, in the circle of Caurzim, upon the Sazawa, two long German leagues almost north of Bistritz, in the post road to Prague. The country here, particularly about the banks of the river, was a fine verdant plain, and appeared inexpressibly delightful. The Sazawa, Zasawa, or Saczowa, one of the largest rivers of Bohemia, has its source in Moravia, on, or near, the ridge of mountains, separating the circle of Iglaw from that of Czaslau, and throws itself into the Moldau, at no very great distance from Nesbeck. We took up our lodging here, and lay in the same manner as at Tabor. We observed in one of the rooms of our inn a tolerable good piece of St. Wenceslaus, King of Bohemia; and in another a small portrait of that prince, under which, on the same sheet of paper, were printed several theses, proposed, under the auspices of the abovementioned saint, to be defended by a student of Prague, on a certain day therein specified. Papers of this kind are common in the inns and publick houses for three or four posts round Prague; as is likewise the picture of St. Wenceslaus, who is always considered as one of the greatest Bohemian saints. The order of knights of St. Wenceslaus is reckoned one of the most honourable in Bohemia. The high veneration the Bohemians have the memory of this saint in, appears from hence, that scarce any Christian name is in greater vogue amongst the Bohemian, Moravian, and even Austrian, noblesse and gentry than Wenceslaus. Of this Prince Wenceslaus de Lichtenstein, Count Wenceslaus Wallis, and many other noblemen, &c. bearing that name, may be deemed a sufficient proof. The tract throughout this post we found mountainous, and full of woods of fir trees. A most violent storm or hurricane, that happened about the beginning of February last, had made a most dreadful havock amongst these fir-trees, which, generally speaking, stood upon some hill or eminence; insomuch that many of them were torn up by the roots, some broke in the middle, others near the top, and, lastly, others within a yard or two of the ground. This havock manifested itself for above a German league and a half together. When our High Dutch failed us, the author of this narrative made use

of his Latin, which was of signal service to us, almost all of the people here, both high and low, having more than a smattering in that language, and many of them speaking it with great elegance and propriety. We found provisions here, though none of the best, pretty dear, which may be attributed to the vicinity of the place to Prague. Notwithstanding we lived very moderately, nay, almost abstemiously, our landlord favoured us with a bill, in the morning, before our departure, of something above twelve florins.

From Nesbeck we advanced to Jesnitz, or, as some call it, Jessenicz, a small village of the circle of Caurzim, two short German miles almost south of Prague. The principal places between Bistritz and Nesbeck are Beneschau, Konopischt, and Porzitsch, all on the other side the Sazawa. The last post, which commenced at Nesbeck, consisted of two long German miles. The effects of the late hurricane appeared likewise through this post, which, in some parts, was a little hilly, and therefore the more exposed to the violence of it. We were told, that in Bohemia such hurricanes frequently happen.

It has been just hinted, that the post between Jesnitz and Prague is a short one; to which we shall beg leave to add, that the road is extremely good. The ravages, committed by the late hurricane amongst the firs, still presented themselves to our view, till we came within a German mile, as I supposed, of Prague. At a small distance from Prague, we passed by a sort of obelisk raised in the highway, with an inscription upon it, which we did not stay to read; but it was suggested to us, that this had been erected on occasion of the murder of one M. Asfeldt, on the spot whereon it stood, in 1706 or 1707. Between Wotitz and Prague, we met with several large ponds, like those already mentioned, and equally, as may be presumed, stored with various kinds of excellent fish. Upon our arrival at Prague, we passed two centries before we were admitted into the town, and had our baggage examined with pretty great rigour. Our readers will find, by perusing what has been already laid down in this section, that the list of posts between Vienna and Prague stands thus:

From Vienna to Enzersdorf, a short post, 1½ German miles.
From Enzersdorf to Stockerau, a long post, 3 German miles.
From Stockerau to Mallebern, one post, 2 German miles.
From Mallebern to Hollabrun, one post, 2 German miles.
From Hollabrun to Naudorf, or Nodorf, one post, 2 German miles.
From Naudorf to Pulckau, one post, 2 German miles.
From Pulckau or Bulkha, to Langau, a long post, 2 German miles.
From Langau or Languenau, to Frating, one post, 2 German miles.
From Frating to Piesling, one post, 2 German miles.
From Piesling to Zlabnitz, one post, 2 German miles.
From Zlabnitz to Konigseck, a long post, 3 German miles.
From Konigseck to Neuhaus, a pretty long post, 2 good German miles.
From Neuhaus to Somosal or Samosol, one post, 2 German miles.
From Somosol to Koschitz, one post, 2 German miles.
From Koschitz to Tabor, one post, 2 German miles.
From Tabor to Sudomirzitz, one post, 2 German miles.

From Sudomirzitz to Wotitz or Woiditz, one post, 2 German miles.
From Wotitz to Bistritz, one post, 2 German miles.
From Bistritz to Nesbeck or Dnespeck, one post, 2 long German miles.
From Nesbeck or Dnespeck to Jesnitz or Jessenicz, one post, $2\frac{1}{2}$ German miles.
From Jesnitz to Prague, one post, 2 short German miles.
Total 21 posts, 45 German miles.

Prague, the capital of Bohemia, called frequently in Latin by the Bohemian and Austrian writers Tripolis, i. e. the Triple City, has formerly been the residence of many Kings and Emperors. It received that denomination from the three cities of which it consists. These are the New City, the Old City, and the Little City: every one of which, with regard to its extent and number of inhabitants, may be considered as scarce any thing inferior to a city of the first rank. The last of these is separated from the two first by the Moldau or Wltava, a river that has its rise in the district of Krumau, on or near the ridge of mountains separating Bohemia from Bavaria, and unites its stream with that of the Elbe near Melnick, about four German miles north of Prague. The Little City stands on the western bank of that river, and the others on the eastern; but they are joined together by a noble bridge, one of the greatest curiosities in Prague, 35 foot broad, and 1770 long. This was begun, with great solemnity, by the Emperor Charles the Fourth, in the year 1357; but, the work being frequently interrupted by the bloody wars that happened in Bohemia, was not finished till about half a century after. This bridge supplied the place of a more antient one, built, after three years labour, by Judittha or Gitka, wife to King Wladislaus, in 1170, and destroyed by an extraordinary inundation of the Moldau, in 1342, whose waters then rose to a very unusual height. The structure, composed of square stone, is sustained by eighteen prodigious piles rising out of the bed of the river, and connected by the arches under it. Each end of the bridge is adorned and defended by a fine tower. One of* these has, about the middle of its exterior surface, in much the same manner that the statues of the founders may be seen in Wadham and Oriel colleges, Oxford, two stone figures of Luther, and his wife. Luther appears in armour, and his wife with one of her hands extended towards his privities; which was done in order to ridicule the Lutherans, and perhaps the protestants in general. The citizens of Prague, who are, for the most part, bigotted Roman catholicks, take great care to shew these statues of Luther and his wife to all protestants that come here. This the author of the present account collected from our guide, or, as the Italians call that sort of servant, Cicerone, who took particular care to shew us the above-mentioned effigies of Luther and his wife, and desired us to view them attentively, assuring us, that no foreigner, especially if he was a catholick, who knew Prague, would believe that we had seen the capital of Bohemia, if we could not give a description of them.

There are many curious images or statues of saints upon the bridge

* The tower here mentioned is that which stands on the end of the bridge contiguous to the Old Town.

over the Moldau, which very well deserve to be seen by every curious traveller, and particularly that of St. John of Nepomuck, which consists of brass, and stands on that part of the bridge from whence he was thrown into the river, and drowned, at the command of Wenceslaus the Fourth, surnamed Piger. Upon the spot there is a cross of copper or brass deaurated, which people are continually kissing from morning till night, when they offer their prayers to St. John Nepomucene, who is esteemed as one of the principal Bohemian saints. Nay, in Prague he seems to be more celebrated than any other. Many persons there wear his picture in miniature on their breasts, hanging down like the badge of an order; and most of the women have such a picture, by way of ornament, annexed to their necklaces. Many of these toys, in different forms, are brought by Jews and others, to the strangers that come to Prague, to be purchased, as one of the curiosities of the place. The other saints, whose statues are erected on the bridge, have likewise their votaries, as well as St. John Nepomucene, who may frequently be seen performing their devotions to them; though those of the latter are by far the most numerous. There is exposed to sale, in the booksellers and print-shops at Prague, a collection of prints, or cuts, representing all the statues abovementioned on the bridge over the Moldau, with the title of MARMOR LOQUENS prefixed to it.

In the Moldau there are two little islands, on the largest of which, according to our Cicerone, stands a sort of inn, whither young people sometimes go to divert themselves, called by the people of Prague, as he said, Great and Little Venice. The breadth of the Moldau here may be easily understood, from the brief description of the bridge already given. Great Venice faces the Little Town; and Little Venice lies in the middle of the river, opposite to the northern extremity of the New Town. There are, besides these two islands, some others, that are smaller, in that part of the Moldau which divides Little Prague from the Old and New Towns.

The New City is larger than the others, touches the river in two places, and encompasses that part of the Old City which is not washed by the Moldau. Both the Little City and the New City, on the land-side, or that side facing the adjacent territory, opposite to the river, are surrounded with a fosse and a wall, though they are places of no great strength. Prague, according to Ricciolus, stands in 50 deg. 40 min. north latitude, and 37 deg. 23 min. longitude. Its distance from Vienna, according to our computation, which may be depended upon, is about forty-five German miles, tho' some of the Austrian geographers will not allow it much to exceed thirty-six.

Some believe that the city, where Maroboduus, King of the Marcomanni, called, as should seem, by Ptolemy Marobudus, resided, stood on a spot occupied at present by part of the city of Prague. Bojohæmus, or Boviasmus, is the name given this city by Lipsius. But this seems to have been the name of a province, not of a city, as has been very justly observed by Cluverius. Hegecius thinks that Maraboduus's capital stood upon a mountain, or hill, about a German mile from Prague, opposite to the monastery of Sbraslau; but this situation seems rather to correspond with that of a castle, placed in the neighbourhood of this city by Tacitus. Others believe that the Casurgis

of Ptolemy was formerly situated there. But to leave these, and other conjectures, which must be allowed very precarious, we shall give our readers a short and succinct account of the origin of Prague, extracted from the most authentic of the Bohemian historians.

Of three cities of which Prague consists, the Little Town is the most antient. It was built in the year 723, by Libussa, the daughter of Cracus or Crocus, the second Prince or Duke of Bohemia; and deduced its name from the Bohemian word prah, which signifies a gate, or entry, according to Hagecius. But, supposing the Little City to have been built by Libussa, it must be older than the year 723, as will hereafter fully appear. The same author asserts this part of Prague to have been first surrounded with a wall by Nezamyslus, or Nezamyslius, the son of Libussa; which, if the former notion be admitted, is probable enough. Notwithstanding which, Lupacius attributes the foundation of Prague to Mnatha, the son of Nezamyslus, and the first erection of a wall about it to Wogenus, the former prince's grandson. But these jarring accounts seem to be reconciled by Hagecius, when he affirms, that the Old Town was first built by Mnatha, about the year 795, and enlarged, as well as encompassed on the landside with a wall, by Wogenus, in the year 830. Udalricus, Duke of Bohemia, who died in 1037, likewise added many new buildings to it. However, according to Balbinus, as yet Old Prague was composed only of wooden buildings, more resembling soldiers tents than citizens houses, after the manner of all the antient towns erected in the northern parts of the world; till Sobieslaus the First, Duke of Bohemia, who died in 1140, caused all those houses to be pulled down, and rebuilt of stone, and, by improving the symmetry of the streets, greatly beautified the place. Charles the Fourth, Emperor of the Romans, and King of Bohemia, annexed New Prague to the Old Town, called it at first Carlovia, and fortified it with a ditch and a wall, about the year 1348. Lastly, the Little City was strengthened in the same manner, in 1560. Within the wall of the New Town several eminences are inclosed; and within that of the Little Town a pretty noted hill, called Mount Petrzin. The castle, or cittadel, denominated the Wischehrad, stands upon a high mountain, and commands, in a great measure, both the Old and New Town. It was built, according to Merianus, in the year 683, and at first received various names, viz. Psary, Libice, &c. As the first Dukes of Bohemia held their residence in this place, it was, for a considerable time, esteemed the principal part of the city of Prague, but they afterwards removed into the Old Town. Wischehrad, in the Bohemian tongue, signifies a castle, fortress, or high cittadel. This place now seems in a mean condition, scarce any traces of its former grandeur at present remaining. Such another castle commands Little Prague; which, for many ages, has gone under the appellation of the Castle of St. Wenceslaus.

Prague was taken by Henry the Fowler, in 930, when that prince obliged St. Wenceslaus, then Duke of Bohemia, to pay him an annual tribute. Boleslaus, King of Poland, after he had treacherously put out the eyes of Boleslaus, Duke of Bohemia, whom he invited in a seemingly amicable manner to Cracow, under the pretence of entering into an alliance with him, laid siege also to Prague, about the year 1000, and

in two years time starved it to a surrender. However, he could not reduce the Wischehrad; which eluded all his efforts, till Udalricus, the son or brother of Boleslaus, by a singular stratagem, overthrew the Polish army, in 1004. Wladislaus the Second, Duke of Bohemia, and Conrad, Prince of Znaim, having been intirely defeated in a bloody battle by Otho, Prince of Olmutz, and several other princes of the Przemyslæan family, Prague was again besieged by the victors, in 1142; but Theobaldus, brother to Wladislaus, bravely defended it, till the Emperor Conrad advanced with a powerful army to its relief; at whose approach the besiegers thought proper to retire. The city sustained no other damage from this siege, than what happened to the churches of St. Vite and St. George, which were set on fire by some flames conveyed to them by the enemy's arrows. John, King of Bohemia, having some dispute with Elizabeth, his Queen, who, with Charles her son, retired to Melnick, and suspecting that the nobility of Prague espoused her interest, he laid siege to his capital city, with an army raised in Moravia, A. D. 1319. But William of Hasenburg, the commandant, defended the place with great valour, till the arrival of Peter de Rosis, who came with a formidable army, to the succour of the besieged; and, after he had almost driven the King out of the field, restored peace to Bohemia. The citizens of the Old and New Town joined the Hussites, and, after a vigorous action, entered the Little Town, in 1419. Neither could the Emperor Sigismund, King of Bohemia, attended by Albert, Archduke of Austria, afterwards Emperor, the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburgh, &c. retake Prague, though he assaulted it from four different quarters at once, with an army of 140,000 men. The besieged having thus, under the conduct of Ziska, repulsed the Emperor, soon made themselves masters of the Wischehrad; which, till then, had been occupied by that prince's troops. This city espoused the interest of Frederic Count Palatine of the Rhine; but returned to the house of Austria, after the fatal battle of Weissenberg near Prague, in 1620. The Saxons seized upon it, in 1631; but it was soon after recovered by Wallenstein, the imperial general. Lastly, Count Königsmarck, the Swedish general, making an irruption out of the Upper Palatinate into Bohemia, possessed himself of the Little Town, and took the castle appertaining to it, at the first assault, in 1648. But the Old and New Town repulsed him in every attack, till the treaty, then in agitation, was signed. These are the principal events, in which Prague has been more immediately hitherto concerned.

The city is exceeding populous, containing, according to the most approved and authentic accounts, five-hundred-thousand souls; of which, if some may be credited, near fifty-thousand are Jews. Be that as it will, for at least four-hundred years past, its citizens have been extremely numerous, as we may find attested by the best historians, who have treated of the Bohemian affairs. Nay, we are told by Matthias Lauda, a celebrated writer, who lived at that time, that in the year 1419, notwithstanding the troubles the kingdom was then involved in, fifty-thousand idle men, or more, might have been drawn into the field in the day-time, without being missed, or any sensible diminution of the

inhabitants. A thing, which, notwithstanding the authority of Lauda, will to many of our readers, appear absolutely incredible!

Prague, with its territory, for above two hundred years, made up part of the diocese of Ratisbon. But, at the desire of Boleslaus Pius, Duke of Bohemia, and his sister Mlada, then a nun at Rome, by the consent of St. Wolffgang, Bishop of Ratisbon, Ditmar, a member of the Benedictin convent at Magdeburg, was declared the first Bishop of Prague, by Pope John the Thirteenth, and consecrated, as his suffragan, by Hatto, or Robert, Archbishop of Mentz. Ditmar was succeeded by St. Adalbert in 969, according to Hagecius; or, as Balbinus will have it, in 979. St. Adalbert, or Wogtiechus, nephew to Boleslaus, was destroyed by the Pagans, in the mountainous part of Prussia, whither he went, as a missionary, to propagate the Christian religion, and succeeded by Theadagus, who belonged to a monastery in Saxony, A. D. 997. After him came Helikardus, Izo, and Severus; the last of whom, at the request of the Moravians, though his diocese was already very much diminished, gave his consent, that a new bishopric should be erected in Moravia. Which was accordingly done, Pope Alexander the Second giving a sanction thereto. Severus dying in 1067, Gerard, or Jaromir, succeeded him, and re-united the sees of Olmutz and Prague, the Emperor Henry giving his consent thereto. After Gerard's death, King Wratislaus again separated the diocese of Olmutz from that of Prague; appointing one Cosmas to preside over the latter, in 1091. Ernest de Pardubicz, the twentieth prelate from Cosmas, was declared free from all jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Mentz, and consecrated Archbishop of Prague, the next Sunday before Advent, 1343, in the usual manner. This is said to have been foretold by St. Wolffgang to Boleslaus Pius, near four-hundred years before it happened. The Bishop of Prague was not only thus dignified by Pope Clement the Sixth, at the desire of John, King of Bohemia, and his son Charles, but had likewise the privilege of crowning the King of Bohemia transferred to him from the Archbishop of Mentz. Nay Charles, successor to the abovementioned John, King of Bohemia, obtained of Pope Urban the Fifth the office of perpetual legate, in the dioceses of Ratisbon, Bamberg, Misna, &c. for the Archbishop of Prague, in 1365. After the death of Conrad, in 1431, Prague was destitute of an Archbishop near half an age; the revenues belonging to the Metropolitical church there, according to the Austrian and Bohemian writers, having been squandered away and dissipated by Conrad, whom they scrupled not to accuse of heresy. Neither could this archbishopric be put upon its primitive footing, though attempted by Wladislaus and other Kings of Bohemia, till the reign of the Emperor Ferdinand the First, of the house of Austria, who richly endowed it, restored it to its primitive lustre, and translated the Bishop of Vienna, to the Metropolitical church of Prague, in 1562. We must not here omit observing, that the title of prince was conferred on the Bishop of Prague, by King Wenceslaus, in 1315, and confirmed to the archbishop of that city, by the Emperor Charles the Fourth, A. D. 1350. This title was, however, for a long time neglected, and, as it were, lost; but the archbishop, Zbignæus Berka, happily recovered it of the Emperor, Rudolphus the Second.

Though the limits we have prescribed ourselves will not permit us to

give a minute and particular description of all the principal churches and religious houses, nor even a bare enumeration of all the others, in Prague, yet we think it would be unpardonable to omit a short account of the following:

1. The cathedral church, in the cittadel belonging to the Little City, was founded by St. Wenceslaus, in the year 935, and dedicated to St. Vite. This was occasioned by Henry, King of Germany, then holding a diet at Ratisbon, who made a present of an arm of St. Vite to that prince; which induced him to build a church in honour of that saint, as a proper place to deposit it in. However, death prevented him from fully executing his design; he dying before the church was finished. Some authors affirm, that the church of St. Vite was consecrated by Michael, Bishop of Ratisbon; and others by St. Wolffgang, who presided over the same diocese. But these two different opinions may be rendered consistent, by supposing, that the first part of this church, built by St. Wenceslaus, was consecrated by the former prelate, and the whole edifice, which was probably finished in the reign of Boleslaus Pius, by the latter. Afterwards, about the year 1060, Spitihnæus the Second, sirnamed the Just, observing that a greater number of people than the church could contain crowded to the tomb of St. Wenceslaus, he determined to remedy this defect. In order to which he demolished the chapels, in which St. Vite and St. Adalbert were worshipped, and erected one magnificent church for the three saints, Vite, Adalbert, and Wenceslaus; but death would not permit him to put the last hand to it. This afterwards going to decay, John, King of Bohemia, and Ernest, Archbishop of Prague, laid the foundation of a much more noble and august church, in 1343, but the whole fabric was not finished till the year 1396. The present church was built by the Emperor Ferdinand the First, in 1555, the former having been burnt in 1541. It consists of square-cut stones, compacted in the Gothic taste. Within the tower of St. Vite, which is very lofty, there is a bell, said to be twenty-two thousand seven-hundred pounds weight. In this church there is a most sumptuous Mausolæum, in which the bodies of the Emperors, Charles the Fourth, Ferdinand the First, Maximilian the Second, Rudolphus the Second, and the Kings Ladislaus, George of Podiebrad, &c. are deposited. But the greatest ornaments of the church of St. Vite, in the opinion of the Bohemians, are the bodies of St. Wenceslaus, St. Adalbert, St. Vite, and St. Sigismund, King of Burgundy; all of which are honoured in their respective Sacella, or chapels. The finest and most grand of these is that of St. Wenceslaus, which shines on all sides with precious stones, especially jasper. To these may be added the noble and stupendous tomb of St. John Nepomucene, secured by a double chancel, on which if any person carelesly treads, he will inevitably, according to the Bohemians, soon meet with some remarkable misfortune, or disgrace. This, they say, has frequently been proved; so that it passes for an indisputable truth amongst them. Upon this tomb there stands the foot of a candlestick, of unknown metal, brought hither from Milan, when that place was laid level with the ground, by Frederic Barbarossa, in 1162, where it had long been kept as a most invaluable treasure. In fine, here is deposited such an infinity of sacred relicks,

collected from all parts of the Christian world by the Emperor Charles the Fourth, that nothing like it of the kind is to be met with out of the walls of Rome.

2. The Strahovian church on Mount Petrzin, and the hill or tract called Ratzin, or Ratschin, belongs also to the Little Town. This church may justly be reckoned amongst the ornaments of Prague, and has annexed to it a noble monastery of the White Order of Præmonstrants, founded and richly endowed by Wladislaus the Eleventh, Duke of Bohemia, at the instigation of Henry Zdik, in 1143. Having received some additional revenues, it was again consecrated by Albert Archbishop of Saltzburg, by the consent of Valentine Bishop of Prague, near forty years after its foundation. It was laid in ashes about 1258, but, to the great surprize and admiration of the citizens of Prague, rebuilt in a more splendid manner, at the sole expence of John the Abbot, in about five years time. The Austrian writers affirm, that it was destroyed by the Hussites, in 1421, and erected again, with the addition of two Odæa, in honour of the Blessed Virgin MARY assumed into heaven, and St. ROCH. Here is deposited the body of St. Norbert, Archbishop of Magdeburg, and patriarch of the Præmonstratensian order, which was brought hither from Magdeburg, in 1626.

3. The church of St. George, with a religious house, inhabited by virgins of the rule of St. Benedict, annexed to it, stands in the castle of Little Prague. This nunnery is one of the most antient religious houses in Prague, having been built by Wratislaus the First, Duke of Bohemia, and father of St. Wenceslaus, in the year 912, according to Hagecius. Conrad Prince of Znaim reduced it to ashes, in 1142; which obliged the nuns first to retire to a house upon one of the banks of the Moldau, and from thence to the church of St. John Baptist: where they remained till their former habitation was capable of receiving them. Agnes, the daughter of King Wladislaus the First, the Lady Abbess here, not only adorned this convent with her virtues and sanctity of life, but likewise greatly inriched it, in the thirteenth century. The Hussites expelled these ladies a second time, in 1421; but they afterwards recovered their former situation. Amongst other privileges, that these nuns enjoy, may be ranked two, which are pretty remarkable. 1. Their abbess is exempt from all archiepiscopal jurisdiction, and even subjection to the Benedictin order; being subject only to the pope, as having been taken under the immediate protection of the Holy See, by Pope Eugenius the Third, in 1145. 2. The same lady has the sole right and privilege of crowning, with her own hands, the Queen of Bohemia. Besides the crucifix, which the Bohemians pretend emits blood from the foot of the cross, when any signal calamity is to happen to their country, there are here the remains of St. Ludmilla, the Blessed Mlada or Milada, and the founder, on whose tomb the title Blessed is inscribed.

4. The elegant church of the Carmelites, from whence the protestants were ejected in 1624, belongs to the hill or tract called Radtschin, or the upper part of the Little Town.

5. As does the church of St. Joseph, with the Carmelite nunnery appertaining to it.

6. Wenceslaus the Second, sirnamed the Good, added a religious house appropriated to the Augustines to the church of St. Thomas, whose first prior Theobaldus, or Dipoldus, was of the royal family. The church of St. Thomas is a fine edifice, and famous for the fine piece of painting of the great altar. It stand likewise in the district abovementioned.

7. The church of St. Lawrence, with the religious house inhabited by virgins of the order of St. Dominic translated to this place from Olmutz, was built by Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, a little before her death, in 1330.

8. The church of Sancta Maria de Victoria, with the monastery of the Servites adjoining to it, owes its erection to the Emperor Ferdinand the Second, in the year 1628.

9. The house of the professors of the society of Jesus, besides a numerous Gymnasium consisting of six schools, has two churches, one of which is called the German church, the other the Bohemian. The German church is famous for the singular neatness of its images, and the remains of St. Crispus and St. Caius deposited in it; the Bohemian, which has a pretty large parish appertaining to it, goes under the name of the church of St. Wenceslaus.

10. The two churches of St. Martha and St. Mary Magdalen belong to the order of the Prædicants.

11. Of the two churches appropriated to the Knights of Malta, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Procopius, the second was erected, at the persuasion of St. Procopius in a dream, by Saluslaus and his wife Dobromila, and consecrated by Daniel Bishop of Prague in the presence of Ottocar the First, King of Bohemia, A. D. 1213.

12. The churches of St. John the Evangelist under the rock, of St. John at the water-side, of St. Charles Borromeo in the Italian hospital, of St. Peter and St. Paul at the ferry, and St. Mary Magdalen in the vineyards, are not to be passed over in silence. Lastly, the churches of the Theatines, dedicated to the Blessed Mother of GOD, of the Barnabites at St. Benedict, and of the Capuchins, with their house of Loretto, shall conclude our observations, with regard to the places set apart for religious purposes, not only on Mount Petrzin, and the hill or tract of Radtschin, but in every part of Little Prague.

13. The Parish church of the Blessed Virgin assumed into heaven, is famous on account of its antiquity, being built by some of the Christian Dukes of Bohemia, and its beauty, both within and without. This stands in the Old Town.

14. Not far from the former, a traveller meets with the church of St. James, famous for its height, as well as for its escaping the fury of the Hussites, by the bravery of the butchers who defended it. In honour of these butchers, and to perpetuate the memory of this glorious event, the Minorites erected a sort of trophy over the door of their convent, adjoining to St. James's church, which likewise owed its preservation to the valour of the butchers, in 1598.

15. The Church of our Saviour, which is called the German church, towards the beginning of the seventeenth century, was built by the protestants, who were afterwards dispossessed of it, and succeeded by the

religious of St. Francis de Paula. These last adorned it in a most beautiful manner, after it came into their hands.

16. The Blessed Agnes, sister of Wenceslaus the First, King of Bohemia, gave the hospital at the bridge, together with the church of the Holy Ghost, to the Crutched Friars, who, by the indulgence of Pope Innocent the Fourth, carried a red star below the cross, in 1238. These religious, after the taking of Jerusalem by Saladine, settled themselves at St. Peter's church, in the village of Porzicz contiguous to Prague. There is likewise another order of the Crutched Friars, viz. that of St. Cyriacus, instituted in 1250, and confirmed by Pope Alexander the Fourth. The general, or chief, of this order has resided in Old Prague, at the Holy Cross, ever since the first institution of it.

17. The two churches, and convents, of the Dominicans, one of which appertains to the nuns of St. Anne, and the other to the religious of St. Giles, famous for its uncommon breadth, which they took possession of in 1620, deserve next to be mentioned. This order was first settled upon the spot where the present academical college of the Jesuits stands. The first Dominicans that came here were a colony sent by St. Hyacinth, under his brother, the Blessed Ceslaus, in 1222.

18. The churches of St. Clement and our Saviour belong to the Jesuits, who have likewise a famous college here. These fathers were invited to Prague by the Emperor Ferdinand the First, in the year 1552. In the former of these churches the Jesuits preach in High Dutch; and in the latter, which was built chiefly at the expence of the family of Lobkowitz, in Bohemian.

19. The churches of the Blessed Virgin assumed into heaven, erected, by Peregrine Bishop of Prague, about 1224, and used chiefly by the Italians, and that at St. Eligius, where the solemnities of the goldsmiths are celebrated, occur likewise to a traveller visiting Old Prague. These churches are smaller than those of St. Clement and our Saviour, and likewise belong to the Jesuits.

20. Besides the churches and religious houses mentioned in the seven last articles, we meet with the following places, worthy of notice, in Old Prague. The churches of St. Martin, of the Benedictines, of the Fratres Misericordiæ, of the Servites, of the Carmelites, of the Premonstratenses, of the nuns of Santa Clara; as also the churches of the Blessed Virgin born at the Lake, St. Leonard, St. Valentine, St. Castulus, St. Paul in the hospital, St. John Baptist at the Mills, St. Stephen the Less, the Holy Ghost, which had formerly a nunnery of the Benedictin order, founded by Nicolaus Rockanerus, in 1346, adjoining to it, and St. Andrew. The Bohemians pretend, that, when this last church, with every thing else in it, was reduced to ashes, by an accidental fire, in 1538, the venerable host remained untouched amidst the flames.

21. The monastery called Emmaus, founded by the Emperor Charles the Fourth, for the Sclavonian nation in 1347, and dedicated to St. Jerom the Dalmatian, stands in the New Town. The divine service here is performed in the Sclavonian tongue, by virtue of a privilege granted this monastery, which belongs to the Benedictines, by the See of Rome.

22. The college of the regular canons of St. Augustin, in the New Town, with the beautiful church appertaining to it, was begun by the same prince, about the year 1351, but not finished before 1377.

23. The church of St. Maria ad Nives, formerly a very grand and stately edifice, with the convent of the Carmelites adjoining to it, owed its erection to the abovementioned Charles the Fourth, in 1347. In the place of this, destroyed by the Hussites, was afterwards substituted that at present belonging to the Minores Observantes of St. Francis, who have likewise another church, called The Church of the Conception of the immaculate Blessed Virgin. These religious are known by the name of the Irish Religious, or the Irish Franciscans.

24. The Jesuits College, in New Prague, is a noble and superb building, adorned with a Gymnasium of six schools, and surrounded by three churches; of which the first, being a grand structure, is dedicated to St. Ignatius, the founder of the Jesuits order; the second to St. Francis Xavier, the apostle of the Indians; and the third, which is the oldest of the three, being built by the Emperor Charles the Fourth in 1364, and sometimes assigned to the academical doctors of the Bohemian nation, goes under the denomination of The Church of the Body of Christ.

25. The parochial church of St. Henry's, in the New Town, deserves to be viewed by every curious traveller.

26. The church of the Augustines at St. Catharine's, facing a high tower, was built by Charles the Fourth, who founded that religious house for the virgins of the rule of St. Benedict.

27. The monastery of St. Wenceslaus, inhabited by discalceated friars, stands likewise in the New Town.

28. The same may be said of the convent of the Capuchins, called the convent of St. Joseph.

29. The Ursuline nuns have likewise a religious house here.

30. The Servites also have a monastery in the New Town, built and endowed by the Emperor Charles the Fourth, in 1361.

31. Besides which, the churches of The Trinity, St. Clement, St. Peter, St. Adalbert, St. Elizabeth, St. Nicholas, St. Michael, St. Lazarus, St. Bartholomew, St. Apollinaris, and St. Stephen the Greater, all in New Prague, deserve to be seen by all foreigners who make any stay here.

We must not omit observing, that the Hussites destroyed many churches in Prague, which were never afterwards rebuilt. In the Wischehrad only, according to Balbinus, they levelled fourteen with the ground. But, tho' the violences committed by them were undoubtedly great, yet we question not, but they have been aggravated by the Austrian and Bohemian historians.

The castle or cittadel of St. Wenceslaus, which belongs to the Little Town, is seated in the district or hill of Radtschin, and includes within its walls several noble buildings. Nay, whether we consider its most commodious situation, its delightful prospect, its vast capaciousness and extent, or the salubrity of its air, it may justly be esteemed as one of the finest, most beautiful, and most august palaces belonging to the house of Austria. It owes its chief beauty to the Emperor Ferdinand the

Third, who reduced it to the more elegant rules of architecture. Amongst the most remarkable parts of it may be ranked the vast parlour, or hall, of Wladislaus, called the sala, or hall, and the mathematical house, which stands in the royal gardens. The former is two-hundred twelve feet long, and sixty broad; and the latter cost the Emperor Ferdinand the First, who built it, one hundred-thousand florins. The gardens, in which this is situated, are adorned with many rare and select trees brought from Spain, Italy, and even several parts of Asia, in the reign of Rudolphus the Second. One of the principal curiosities, to be met with in the castle of St. Wenceslaus, is a celebrated equestrian statue of St. George, of bell-metal; the workmanship of which is so exquisitely fine, that the Bohemians think it cannot be parallelled. In this castle the states of the kingdom of Bohemia assemble, on all publick occasions; and all the tribunals are held in it. When the Emperor comes to Prague, he fixes his residence here.

The town-hall, or council-house, in Old Prague, is eminent for its bulk; for the election of George, King of Bohemia; and for the sumptuous banquets, and grand entertainments, given in it, by several Emperors and Kings of Bohemia.

The old town-house, called Rychta, is a very proper place for boxing-matches, wrestling, or any such like diversions.

The two large houses or palaces, where some of the Kings of Bohemia have formerly resided, one of which, from the money coined in it, is stiled Domus Monetaria, or the Mint, the other still retaining the name of the Old Palace, may be considered as some of the ornaments of Prague.

But, in our opinion, one of the finest things Prague can boast of, is the famous clock in the council-house, or town-hall, of the Old City, already mentioned. This, or rather the maker of it, deserves a peculiar encomium. For, besides the Bohemian, or Italian, and German hours, it presents the whole face of the heavens to one's view at once; exhibiting not only the day, month, and year, but likewise the risings of the sun and moon, the new and full moons, the eclipses, the motions of the other planets, the signs of the zodiac, the cycles, and chief festivals of the calendar. This curious and most admirable machine is not to be parallelled in Germany, nor, perhaps, in any other part of the world.

The custom-house and toll-booth at the bridge will be esteemed by all persons, who have any skill in architecture, as fine and magnificent buildings.

The Little Town, particularly the upper part of it, or the district or hill called Ratzin, or Radtschin, abounds with noble and superb palaces, more than any other part of Prague. The Old and New Cities, however, are not void of magnificent structures. As the limits of the present piece will not permit us to enumerate all the fine edifices of this metropolis, we shall content ourselves with mentioning these that follow, which are the principal of those that chiefly engage the attention of every curious traveller.

1. The palace of Count Czernin is seated in the tract abovementioned. There are many pieces of painting here, done by the most celebrated

hands of several nations. This palace has likewise a noble gallery, which is generally esteemed as a great ornament to it.

2. In the same tract stands the palace of the Archbishop of Prague; which is very magnificent, and well worth seeing.

3. The palace of the Prince de Schwartzenburg, in the same part of Little Prague, must be allowed a very splendid and superb edifice.

4. Our guide shewed us a palace, in the district or hill of Radtschin, which he called the Great Dutchess of Tuscany's. This seemed very stately; but we were not within it.

5. Count Martinitt's palace, in the upper part of the Little Town, makes a fine appearance.

6. That of Count Thun, in the Little Town, is an elegant and magnificent structure.

7. That of Count Waldstein, in the same town, is admired by most foreigners.

8. The same may be said of that of the Prince de Lichtenstein, in the same town.

9 The palace of Count Martzin, in Little Prague, is generally allowed to be a fine structure.

10. That of the Count de Collowrath, in the same town, is not inferior to many of the preceding.

11. That of the Count Wratislau, in the same town, is a stately and superb edifice.

12. That of the Prince de Furstemburg, in the same town, is a splendid and magnificent palace.

13. The noble palace of Count Gallas stands in the Old City.

14. As does that of Count Kinski, which ought to be seen by all the strangers that come to Prague.

15. The fine palace of the Prince de Piccolomini stands likewise in Old Prague; but our guide informed us, that he had a seat much surpassing this, about two German miles out of town.

16. The last palace, we shall take notice of, is that of Count Schafgotsch; which ought to be viewed by every curious foreigner, that visits this metropolis.

According to the author of an ancient Chronicon, cited by Balbinus, Prague must have been a very antient seat of literature, since he asserts that the Muses were banished that place, about the year 1248. Wenceslaus, King of Poland and Bohemia, near fifty years afterwards, at the persuasion of Tobias Bechinius, Bishop of Prague, declared his resolution of reinstating them in their power and authority here; but, as he was opposed herein by the magistracy and noblesse, that salutary design could not be put in execution. But the Emperor Charles the Fourth founded an university at Prague, in 1347, settling large revenues upon it, and granting it the same privileges as those enjoyed by the universities of Paris and Bologna; which was confirmed by the Popes Clement the Sixth, Urban the Fifth, Boniface the Ninth, Innocent the Seventh, and Nicholas the Fifth. As the clergy of Prague contributed much to inrich this university, the archbishop of the city was appointed the perpetual chancellor of it. The year following, viz. 1348, it was divided into four nations, viz. the Bohemians, which comprehended the

Moravians, Hungarians, and Sclavonians, the Poles, the Bavarians, and Saxons. Four faculties were likewise instituted here, viz. Theology, law, physic, and philosophy. The first professors of which were M. Hermannus de Vintswik, M. Fridmannus de Praga, M. Vigtoldus de Osnaburgo, M. Henricus de Sicha, M. Jenikus de Praga, M. Nicolaus de Moravia, M. Dytherus de Widena, and M. Henricus Volerus. The Emperor Charles the Fourth also erected a large and noble college for these, called the Caroline College; and appointed them to succeed to the prebends of the royal church of All-Saints, belonging to the castle or palace already mentioned, founded by him in 1342, according to their seniority. Besides the Caroline College, that prince built two others in Prague, according to Hagecius. Amongst other colleges, here were likewise formerly the Collegium Cæsareum, or the college of King Wenceslaus, who founded it in 1399; Queen's College, founded by Hedwig, Queen of Poland, for the Lithuanians, lately converted to the Christian faith, in 1397; the college of St. Wenceslaus, founded long before the year 1407, for the Bohemian nation, but then richly endowed by Wenceslaus de Chotlow, minister of the royal church, or chapel of All-Saints, who was therefore considered as its founder; the college of the Blessed Virgin Mary, erected for the use of the same nation, by John Reczko de Ledecz, chief magistrate of the Old City, in 1438; the Collegium Nazarathenum, or Nazareth-College, founded by one Crux, a sort of factor, in 1412, near the church called Bethlehem, sacred to the Apostles St. Matthew and St. Mark; and lastly, the college of the Apostles, or the college of Lauda, built by M. Matthias Lauda de Chlumczan in 1407, according to Hagecius, or, as Balbinus will have it, in 1451.

The number of students at Prague is not near so considerable now as it was in the time of John Hus, if any credit may be given to the Austrian and Bohemian historians. Hus, being in great favour with the Queen, by her means obtained of King Wenceslaus a decree, which gave the Bohemians the same privileges in the university of Prague, that the French enjoyed in the university of Paris. This so incensed the German students and professors, that, in about eight days time, forty-thousand of them are said to have abandoned Prague. The universities of Leipsick, Ingoldstadt, and Rostoch, according to the Bohemian writers, owed their origin to this secession. Hagecius asserts, that, before this fatal accident, which happened about the year 1408, there were at least forty-four thousand foreigners, who studied in Prague; whereas the highest accounts, we received of the number of students at present seated here, did not make them to amount to ten-thousand, even including the boys instructed in grammar and rhetoric. Nay, some accounts reduced them to little more than half that number. We were told that the scholars had frequent skirmishes and engagements with the Jews, to whom they bear a mortal aversion; and that one-thousand of them had lately taken on in the Emperor's service. The Emperor Ferdinand the Third united the academies, founded by his predecessors Charles the Fourth and Ferdinand the First, in the Clementine college of the Jesuits; so that at present the principles of theology and philosophy are explained in the latter, and those of law and physic in the former. This college,

frequently called the Carolino-Ferdinandean college, is extremely noble, stately, and grand, and possessed by the Jesuits, to whose care the education of youth here is chiefly committed. The doctors in all faculties are created, and take their degrees, and all solemn acts of the university, as in our convocation and senate houses at Oxford and Cambridge, are performed in this college. We were told, that the quarrels between the scholars, who are divided into Humanists and Facultists, as our guide informed us, and the Jews were sometimes attended with such fatal consequences, that the imperial troops in garrison found themselves obliged to interpose.

Prague being a place of no great strength, and of a very large extent, requires a garrison of at least thirty-thousand men to defend it, if attacked by a numerous and well-disciplined army. The walls may be easily scaled, except defended by a sufficient body of troops, by soldiers endued with a common degree of resolution; neither can the Wischehrad, the only part of Prague capable of making any tolerable resistance, hold out long against a powerful enemy. The garrison of Prague, at present commanded by General Ogilvy, of Scotch extraction, is said to consist only of a single battalion of regular troops, though upon any emergency a body of militia might easily be thrown into the town. Our guide informed us, that Col. Montgomery and Col. Mackawly, the first a Scotchman and the latter an Irishman, two officers in the Emperor's service, resided here; but we did not see either of them. Some skilful engineers, after viewing the place, are said to have declared, that Prague, though possessed by a numerous garrison, can never be so fortified as to make a very long defence against a much superior force.

The noble college of the Jesuits, already mentioned, has a fine library; where, as we were informed, the works of Luther, Calvin, and some of the other first reformers are deposited. But these, as we likewise learned, are not to be looked into by any, except some few of the senior fathers. The college is exceeding large, both with regard to the extent of its buildings, and its foundation. The number of fathers belonging to it, according to some authentic accounts we received, amounts to between two and three-hundred, including those imployed in the missions. We were two or three times to see this college, and were always received by the fathers with great affability and politeness.

Some of the churches here are adorned with tolerable good paintings, though, in our opinion, none of them can be deemed exquisitely fine. The best we saw was one representing the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, in the church of the Capuchins, on the hill or tract called Radtschin; and some in the church of the Crutched Friars, in Old Prague, done by Rayner a German. The church of the Carmelites of St. Gallus has likewise some internal decorations of this kind, which deserve to be seen.

In several of the churches, where the bodies of saints are deposited, may be seen hanging up printed papers, with the theses defended by some of the students of Prague, under the auspices of some saint, and cuts or devices, representing the subjects of these theses, or that saint, upon them. To omit others that might be produced, we saw one in the church of St. Vite, were St. John Nepomucene, who was the saint

of the piece, had the most pompous titles given him. The saint generally used on these occasions, in Prague, is the famous St. John Nepomucene, canon of St. Vite, and confessor to the Queen of Wenceslaus the Fourth, who ordered him to be drowned in the Moldau, because he would not discover the particulars of her confession. The theses in this paper were proposed to be defended by one Paulus Woloczka, a learned Bohemian youth, as is therein insinuated. Papers of this kind may likewise frequently be met with in the public houses of the villages and towns for eight or ten German miles round Prague, as has been already observed.

Amongst other places, we visited the convent of the Irish Franciscans, who received us with great civility and respect. They have a good library, keep their rooms exceeding neat, and live in a very comfortable manner.

Dr. Smith, to whom we were recommended by Mr. Robinson, has exceeding good practice here. He is much esteemed by people of all ranks and degrees, and is physician to most of the noble families in Prague. He seems to have great skill, and to be very eminent, in his profession. We were greatly obliged to him for the kind reception he gave us, and for the many curious particulars relating to Prague, and the great families in it, that he communicated to us. These it would be too tedious at present to recite, neither will the limits we have here prescribed ourselves permit it. One thing, however, that he related of General Mercy, who now commands the Imperial army in Italy, with whom he had the honour to be very intimately acquainted, we cannot pass over in silence. That general, though now far advanced in years, is still extremely choleric; and whenever he falls into a passion, which frequently happens, he loses his sight, and is affected with an apoplectic disorder, as long as it continues. This is more or less violent, in proportion to the intenseness or excess of the fit of choler he labours under. This weakness sometimes has been attended with no small inconveniencies; but, in other respects, he has the character of an able and experienced general.

Prague being the capital of Bohemia, before we resume our march, it will be proper to say something of the kingdom it which it stands.

Bohemia, called by the Germans Boheim, is bounded on the east by Silesia and Moravia, on the south by Austria, on the west by the Upper Palatinate and Voigtland, and on the north by Misnia and Lusatia. It is almost of an oval figure, and in a manner circumscribed by the Hercynian forest, so celebrated amongst the antients. Its greatest length, exclusive of the county of Glatz, is about thirty-eight German miles, its breadth about thirty-four, and its circumference above an hundred such miles. Its air is salubrious, though, by reason of the northern winds, pretty cold. The soil produces all things necessary to the support of human life, except wine and oyl, in vast abundance. The crops of wheat, barley, and hops here are, for the most part, exceeding copious; and no small quantity of gold, silver, tin, copper, lead, iron, mercury, sulphur, and alum comes out of the Bohemian mountains. The rivers and standing waters abound with fish, the woods with wild beasts, and game of various kinds, &c. Gems likewise of different sorts, as amethysts, emeralds, topazes, sapphires, &c. are dug out of

the bowels of the earth in Bohemia. Saffron also and other aromatic herbs, to the great advantage of the inhabitants, are found to flourish here.

The Emperor Charles the Fourth divided Bohemia into twelve circles, or provinces. These were the circles of Caurzim, Pilsen, Leitmeritz, Konigingratz, Rakonitz, Chrudim, Prachin, Slaney or Schlan, Buntzlau or Buntzel, Saatz, Czaslau, and Bechin. To which King Wladislaus seems to have added those of Podbrd and Wltava. In the years 1569 and 1579, Prague was rendered independent on the governors of the circle of Caurzim; but had no particular district assigned it. Some geographers add to the circles or provinces abovementioned the districts of Egra and Elbogen, and the county of Glatz; the last of which has, for a long time, been looked upon as a part of Silesia. Our readers will not be displeased to find here a brief description of the abovementioned circles, which will give them a better geographical idea of the kingdom of Bohemia.

The circle of Caurzim, so denominated from its principal city, is said to have been formerly subject to its own dukes, and to have been a considerable state. It is bounded on the north by the Elbe, on the east by the circle of Czaslau, on the south by that of Bechin, and on the west by that of Wltava. This fine territory abounds with salmon, and with woods, out of which vast quantities of timber are carried down the Moldau and the Sazawa to Prague. The city of Caurzim is supposed to have been built by Czech, the founder of the Bohemian nation, soon after his arrival in these parts, and consequently to be the oldest in Bohemia.

The circle of Konigingratz is larger than any of the rest. It is limited on the north by the Cerconossian mountains and the great Silesian woods, on the east by the county of Glatz, on the south by the circle of Chrudim, and on the west by that of Bnnztlau. It deduces its name from that of its principal city; and abounds with fish, venison, and pheasants. It is also reckoned to produce the best horses in Bohemia.

The circle of Chrudim, so called from Chrudim its chief city, is terminated on the north by the last circle, on the east and south by Moravia, and on the west by the circle of Czaslau. This circle, which is none of the largest, is said to abound with fish-ponds and standing waters more than any of the others.

The circle of Czaslau, which assumes its name from the city of Czaslau, is surrounded on the north by the circle of Konigingratz, on the east by that of Chrudim, on the south by that of Bechin and Moravia, and on the west by that of Caurzim. It is said to produce a good quantity of silver, which is of considerable advantage to the Emperor.

The circle of Bechin is bounded on the north by the circles of Wltava and Caurzim, on the east by that of Czaslau and Moravia, on the west by that of Prachin, and on the south by Austria. It receives its name from Bechin, the capital city, about twelve German miles from Prague.

The circle of Wltava, so called from the Wltava or the Moldau, on the north and east is contiguous to the circle of Caurzim, on the south

to that of Bechin, and on the west partly to that of Podbrd, and partly to that of Prachin. This is the least of all the Bohemian circles or provinces, and is washed by the Moldau or the Wltava.

The circle of Podbrd, so denominated from the Brdian mountains, at the foot of which it is situated, on the north is adjacent to the circles of Slaney and Rakonitz, on the east to those of the Caurzim and Wltava, on the south to that of Prachin, and on the west to that of Pilsen. It abounds with iron, and is famous for the vast numbers of stags it produces, which far excel those to be met with in any of the other circles.

The circle of Prachin, do denominated from the antient castle of Prachin or Prachn, that now lies buried in its own ruins, on the north is joined to the district or circle of Podbrd, on the east to those of Wltava and Bechin, on the south to Austria, and on the west to the circle of Pilsen. This district is said to abound with gems, and a particular species of small shell-fish, that produces the pearl called union. It is remarkable, that, though these pearls are found in great numbers, not any two of them are alike; from which circumstance their name seems to be derived.

The circle of Pilsen, so called from its primary city, on the south is connected with Bavaria, on the west with the Palatinate and the district of Egra, on the north with the circles of Saatz and Rakonitz, and on the east with those of Podbrd and Prachin. This province consists chiefly of spatious pastures, and abounds with sheep more than any other part of Bohemia.

The circle of Saatz, so denominated from the city of Saatz, the chief town in it, has for its northern limit Misnia and the circle of Leitmeritz, for its eastern the circles of Slaney and Rakonitz, for its southern that of Pilsen, and for its western that of Elbogen. This province produces the best hops in Bohemia, and its crops of wheat equal those of the circle of Slaney itself.

The circle of Rakonitz is bounded on the east by the districts of Slaney and Podbrd, on the south by those of Podbrd and Pilsen, on the west by that of Saatz, and on the north by those of Saatz and Slaney. This province is full of woods and mountains, and is of the least extent of any, except that of Wltava, in Bohemia.

The circle of Slaney, or Schlan, which some call the granary of Prague, is limited on the south by the circle of Rakonitz, on the west by that of Saatz, on the north by that of Leitmeritz, and on the east by that of Caurzim. It is commonly called Slansko, from the royal city of Slaney, Schlan, or Slana, and Zrzitsko, from Mount Zrzit, or Zrzito, which is situated in it. The appellation just mentioned may be considered as a proof of its great and surprizing fertility.

The circle of Leitmeritz is of a pyramidal figure, and seated, for the most part, at the foot of the Montes Sudetes. Its limit on the east is the circle of Bunztlau and Lusatia, on the West Misnia and the circle of Saatz, on the south Misnia and Lusatia, and on the north the circles of Rakonitz and Bunztlau. This province is famous for its baths, and its mines of tin, from which the Emperor reaps considerable advantage.

The circle of Bunztlau, or Buntzel, touches on the east the circle of

Konigingratz, on the south that of Caurzim, on the west that of Leitmeritz, and on the north Silesia and Lusatio. It receives its name from Alt Buntlzau, or Old Buntzel, the chief city seated in it, and is famous for the great number of gems it produces. It is one of the largest provinces in Bohemia.

The circle of Elbogen, or Elenbogen, called by the Bohemians Loket, is in a manner surrounded by Voigtland, and the circle of Saatz. Elbogen, or Elenbogen, is its German name.

The circle, or district of Egra, so called from Egra, its principal city, has its limits defined by Voigtland, the circles of Saatz and Pilsen, and the Upper Palatinate. The county of Glatz, as already observed, has, for a long time, belonged to Silesia.

But notwithstanding this division of the provinces of Bohemia, observed by the more accurate Bohemian and Austrian geographers, the country we are now upon is generally considered at present as divided into the twelve following circles: Caurzim, Pilsen, Leitmeritz, Konigingratz, Rakonitz, Chrudim, Prachin, Buntzlau or Buntzel, Beraun, Saatz, Bechin, and Czaslau. These geographers make the district of Slaney or Schlan to be a part of the circle of Rakonitz, and the provinces of Podbrd and Wltava to compose the circle of Beraun. The district of Egra, according to them, belongs to the Upper Palatinate, and that of Elbogen to the circle of Saatz. And let this suffice for a general geographical description of the kingdom of Bohemia.

The first migration of the Boii from Gallia Comata to this country, a considerable part of which was then covered with the Hercynian Forest, under the conduct of Sigovesus, nephew to their King Ambigatus, happened, according to Livy *, in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, about six-hundred years before the commencement of the Christian æra. The tract they possessed was from them called Boiohæm, or Boiohcim, i. e. The Habitation, House, or Seat, of the Boii; which by contraction became Boheim, the present German name. This is countenanced by Ptolemy †, who calls the Bæmi a great nation, and places them near the Quadi, making their territories to extend from the Hercynian Forest to the Danube; and by Tacitus ‡, when he fixes the Boii at the Hercynian Forest, and affirms, that the name of the region they inhabited was called in his time Boiemus, or Boiem. The testimonies of Ptolemy and Tacitus receive likewise some accession of strength from Strabo ||, to whom, for farther satisfaction on this head, we beg leave to refer our curious and inquisitive readers.

It is probable that, before the abovementioned migration of the Boii, some small colonies of the Celtes were dispersed over this tract. But who they were, or how they came there, we cannot determine, for want of sufficient light from ancient history, which supplies us with no particulars at all relating to them.

About six-hundred years after the settlement of the Boii in these parts, the Marcomanni, a people of Germany, having either expelled or subdued the former inhabitants, seated themselves here according to

* T. Liv. Dec. i. Lib. 5. Vell. Paterc. Lib. ii. † Ptol. Geogr. Lib. ii. Cap. ii. ‡ Tacit. de Mor. German. || Strab. apud Cluver. in Germ. Antiq. Lib. iii. Cap. 30.

Tacitus *; which is confirmed by Velleius †, Rufus, ‡, and Strabo ‖. It likewise seems to appear from Tacitus §, that the Hermunduri occupied one part of Bohemia.

The Marcomanni did not keep possession of Bohemia so long as their predecessors the Boii. That nation, together with several others, seated on the Elbe and the Danube, were in a manner swallowed up at once by an inundation of the Huns, who came into these parts from Scythia, under their leader Attila, about A. D. 440, insomuch that we find no mention made of the Marcomanni, Quadi, or Hermunduri, by any writer after that period. Perhaps these nations, in order to avoid the fury and barbarity of the Huns, took refuge in Noricum, and other neighbouring countries, and left the region, called Bohemia, in a manner destitute of people; which, if it be allowed, will account for Czech's finding this tract, upon his arrival here, almost desolate and uninhabited. He was a Sclavonian, born in Illyricum, or, as it is now denominated, Croatia; and, either through dislike of his own country, or by reason of a murther he had committed, or for some other cause, came into these parts at the head of a vast colony of Sclavonians, in company with his brother Lech. Czech settled in Bohemia, and Lech in Poland. Some writers however maintain, that Czech came directly from Sarmatia, the original country of the Sclavonians, after having traversed the territories of the Getæ and Daci, into Bohemia; but, with ** Hagecius, Dubracius, Æneas Sylvius, and many others ††, we are inclined to embrace the former opinion. With regard to the time of this migration, authors are not agreed; ‡‡ some placing it A. D. 12, 278, 407, 451, 454, 457, 496, 550; and others A. D. 583, 600, 611, 639, 644, &c. But, from Procopius, and Paulus Diaconus ‖‖, it seems probable, that Czech entered Bohemia, some time between the years 548 and 595. According to Ptolemy, Tacitus, Ammianus Marcellinus, and others, the Vendi or Venedi, a tribe of Sclavonians, advanced into Bohemia, long before the time of §§ Czech; which probably induced that leader to settle in the same country. Be that as it will, he must have behaved himself extremely well amongst the people he conducted hither; since they dropped their antient name, and stiled themselves Czechites or Czechians, which is the appellation the Bohemians go by, amongst themselves, even at this day.

Czech, the first Duke of Bohemia, was an idolater, as were all his successors to the year 864. Radislaus, King of Moravia, then invited Borzivoius, Duke of Bohemia, to Welehrad, in order to draw him into a confederacy against Lewis, King of Germany. He there met with St. Cyril, and St. Methodius, who converted him to the Christian faith. This established the Christian religion in Bohemia, where it had been, before, but faintly introduced. Wenceslaus, Borzivoius's grandson, lived so holy a life, that, after his death, he was honoured with the title

* Tacit. ubi sup. † Vel. Paterc. Lib. ii. ‡ Ruf. in Epit. ‖ Strab. Lib. vii. § Tacit. ubi sup. ** Hagec. Chron. Bohem. ad Ann. 644. Dubrav. Hist. Bohem. Lib. i. Æn. Sylv. de Bohem. Gest. Cap. xiii. †† Piasecius, Codrellus, Weleslavinus, Vapovius, Reusnerus, Matthias a Sudetis, Spandenberg. Car. Cuthen. Chyhræus, &c. ‡‡ Rhenan. Rer. Ger. Nov-ant Lib. i. Balbin. Miscel. Bohem. Dec. I. Lib. ii. Cap. 9. Velser. Hagec. ad Ann. 644. Calvis. &c. ‖‖ Procop. de Bell. Goth. Lib. viii. Paul. Diac. de Gest. Longobard, Lib. vii. Cap. 4. §§ Balbin. Miscel. Boh. Dec. I. Lib. ii. Cap. 6. Dubrav. Hist. Bohem. Lib. i.

of St. Wenceslaus, and is at this day looked upon as one of the principal Bohemian saints. He was declared the first King of Bohemia, by the Emperor Henry the Fowler, in 935, and was inhumanely murdered by his brother Boleslaus, in 938. The title of King did not however descend to his successors. But Wratislaus the Second received that title and the royal diadem from the Emperor Henry the Fourth in 1086, and was crowned by Jaromir, Bishop of Prague, assisted by the Archbishop of Triers, and Benno, Bishop of Misnia. In the year 1162, the Emperor Frederic the First declared Duke Wladislaus the Second King of Bohemia; but his successors were not adorned with that title till 1206, when the Emperor Frederic the Second not only conferred it upon Przemislaus, but likewise extended it to all his successors. The crown was however elective, at least for some time, since after the assassination of Wenceslaus the Third, the last of the Przemislæan family, in 1306, the Bohemian nobility elected Rudolph, Archduke of Austria, son to the Emperor Albert the First, King of Bohemia, in opposition to Henry, Duke of Carinthia, who was the other candidate for that crown. The throne was afterwards filled by princes of several families till the year 1527, when Ferdinand the First, Archduke of Austria, ascended it; and since that time Bohemia has made up part of the hereditary dominions of the august House of Austria.

We must not omit observing here, that the crown of Bohemia is rendered more illustrious by the electoral dignity added to it, as well as the office of chief cup-bearer of the empire. This appears from the Golden Bull of the Emperor Charles the Fourth, which greatly distinguishes the prince that wears it, and confers several singular prerogatives upon him. The principal of which are, that he shall always sit on the right hand of the Emperor, or the King of the Romans, whenever either of them appears at the head of the Imperial court, or the diet of the empire, immediately after the Archbishop of Mentz, or Cologn; and that, at the election of an Emperor, the elector of Mentz shall call his vote as soon as the electors of Triers and Cologn have given theirs, as being the first of the laic electors. The King of Bohemia may, as chief cup bearer of the empire, if he pleases, claim the privilege of first giving the cup to the Emperor, or the King of the Romans; though he is by no means obliged to do this. In all processions, the King of Bohemia is also, by the Golden Bull, to be preceded by none, but the Emperor and the King of the Romans.

The weather was excessively cold whilst we were at Prague; though milder in this climate might then have been expected, the spring being pretty far advanced. All the time we staid upon Mount Petrzin, and the hill or tract called Radtschin, from whence we had a noble view of the city of Prague, we found the air extremely sharp. The same night we saw an Italian opera, which continued till near twelve o'clock; but the scenes were nothing near so fine and magnificent as those exhibited in Italy. The author of this narrative was so affected by the cold weather here, that he was confined to his bed a day or two by a rheumatic disorder, and could scarce get into the chaise, when we set out for Saxony. In fine, Bohemia has a sharp and piercing air, its atmosphere

being loaded with cold moist vapours, and does not at all agree with many foreigners, especially at certain seasons of the year.

As Bohemia is a very fertile country, it is no wonder that there should be so vast a supply of all kinds of provisions continually brought into Prague, and that the market there should be one of the finest and most plentiful in the world. Venison, fowl, both wild and tame, fish, and all kinds of butcher's meat are very cheap, though not near so cheap as in Hungary. Amongst the vast variety of provisions, with which the citizens of Prague are constantly furnished, the thighs of frogs, at certain seasons of the year, find a place. They are then brought in very large jars, and seldom fail, as we are informed, of being soon bought up. Though it has been already hinted, that wine is not so common in Bohemia as in many other parts of Germany, yet we ought to observe, that this liquor is far from being scarce here. But, in its fine qualities, it does not come up to the Austrian wine, much less to that of Hungary.

Our guide informed us, that some of the Bohemian nobility were immensely rich, and had very overgrown estates. He said, that the Prince de Lichtenstein had five hundred-thousand florins per ann. the Count de Czernin three hundred-thousand, the Prince de Schwartzenburg five hundred-thousand, the Count de Gallas three-hundred thousand, and the Count de Czernin's younger brother two-hundred thousand. Several heads of noble families, according to him, are proprietors of tracts of land six or seven German miles in extent. In the Little Town, if he may be depended upon, they generally speak High Dutch; but in the Old and New Towns chiefly Bohemian. The extensive language, of which the Bohemian, Polish, and Moravian are dialects, is called Ratz. 'Tis the old Sclavonian, and is at present spoken in a good part of Hungary, Sclavonia, Croatia, Ratzia, Servia, Dalmatia, Carniola, &c. The Poles and Moravians, as is said, understand the Bohemians perfectly well; but the latter, we are assured, do not so well understand the former. Nay the Moravian dialect, if any dependence may be had upon the same authority, differs very considerably from those used both in Poland and Bohemia. The Jews here have long beards, wear ruffs, hats covered with coloured silk, and have some other peculiarities in their habit, in order to distinguish them from the other inhabitants. Not only the students but the citizens of Prague have a great aversion to them. They are entirely addicted to trade, and deal chiefly in the jewels which are the produce of this country. As they bring a good deal of cash into the Emperor's coffers, they have, for a long time, been protected, and even encouraged, by the House of Austria.

Though the greatest part of the Bohemians are Roman-Catholics, and even bigots, yet there are many *secret* protestants amongst them. Nay, we were told that many Hussites might still be found here, who have the Hussite liturgy and confession of faith. But, as this intelligence came from Roman Catholics, who are seldom disposed to give a true representation of the principles of those they differ from, perhaps these Acatholics, as their adversaries sometimes affect to call them, when discoursing with protestants, are all of them either Lutherans or Re-

formed. Be that as it will, we saw none of them, and therefore can say nothing, of our own knowledge, concerning them.

Before we conclude our imperfect description of the city of Prague, it will be proper to inform our readers, that many of the particulars it contains were related to us by our guide, and therefore depend intirely on his authority. However, as he seemed to us an honest man, and could have no end to serve in imposing upon us, we ourselves are very well satisfied as to the truth of them. 'Tis true, he seemed not a little inclined to bigotry; but, as the abovementioned particulars bear no relation to religion, this will not in the least affect their credibility. Besides, as he talked and understood Latin tolerably well, had a good share of common sense, was versed in the history of Bohemia, appeared to be well acquainted with every thing in this city, and was even a native of it, we see no reason to doubt his veracity on this occasion. Amongst the fine monuments in the church of St. Vite, may be reckoned that of Count Schlik, erected in the year 1723. At the tomb of St. John Nepomucene here, on which is this inscription, *Divus Joannes Nepomucenus, Canonicus hujus Ecclesiæ, et Reginæ Joannæ Confessarius*, there are generally an infinite number of people performing their devotions. In this church there is a Madona with two Jesus's, one in each arm, which we remember not elsewhere to have met with; as likewise a very good head of our Saviour. We were told, that the number of churches in this city amounts to an hundred and seven. All, or, at least, the greatest part of the rich furniture of the Imperial palace here has been removed to Vienna, if our guide deserves any credit. That quarter, inhabited by the Jews, goes under the name of the Jews Town. Prince de Lichtenstein, besides his palaces in Vienna and Prague, already mentioned, has a noble country seat at Crumau in Moravia, where he frequently resides. It stands in the circle of Znaim, and has a very considerable tract of land appertaining to it. As the author of this narrative conversed with our guide altogether in Latin, he sometimes found it a difficult matter to express the modern terms made use of by the Bohemian in our language; especially, as these related to customs, posts, offices, places, &c. to which we have nothing in England that intirely corresponds. An inaccurate expression, therefore, or such a one as does not clearly enough exhibit the idea it is intended to convey, may now and then possibly occur; though we hope, these will prove so rare, that they will be easily pardoned by all our candid and ingenuous readers.

THE CONCLULION

OF

The TRAVELS of THREE ENGLISH GENTLEMEN, &c.

MS.

To the Readers of the Harleian Miscellany.

Gentlemen,

Being obliged, by necessary business, to reside, a great part of the summer, in a village, above an hundred miles from Oxford, where all my books and papers have for many years been deposited, I found it absolutely impossible to attempt preparing for the press the following sections, before the beginning of September. Neither would a severe cold and feverish indisposition, under which I have laboured since the middle of October, with little intermission, permit me to put the finishing hand to them before the beginning of this month. However, this delay will be abundantly compensated by the present situation of affairs in those parts of Bohemia, Saxony, and Brandenburg here described; which renders the publication of this description much more seasonable and *a propos* now, than it would have been in May, June, or July. As many of you have expressed a great desire of seeing the conclusion of The Travels, &c. and some authors of note have already had recourse to that part of this piece about a year ago published, I thought it proper to communicate to you and the publick the reasons why the remainder could not sooner see the light. These, it is hoped, will have their due weight, and prove satisfactory to you; and consequently clear Mr. Osborne, as in justice they ought, from the imputation of having, with sinister views, retarded the publication of it. I am, with great respect, Gentlemen,

Your most faithful, and

Oxford, Dec. 5, 1745. Most obedient, humble servant,

THE AUTHOR, &c.

SECT. VI.

A Journey from Prague to Dresden, the metropolis of the Electorate of Saxony.

ABOUT two hours and a half after our departure from Prague, we came to Tursko, or, as Vidari calls it, Tursklo, a small village, with a church, between two and three German miles from Prague. The

greatest part of this road was mountainous and bad. Tehnitz, Podhaba, and some other small places stand between the extremities of this post. The western bank of the Moldau, corresponding with it, is, for the most part, mountainous. At Podhaba, not far from the Moldau, near a German mile north of Prague, we passed a rivulet, which is a small branch of the Moldau. As Tursko is a place of little note, we did not stay there much above half an hour. This village is in the circle of Rakonitz, though upon the borders of that of Caurzim.

The next place we stopped at, in order to take fresh horses, was called Welwarn. This post is a short one, the road good, and the country appeared fertile and pleasant. Welwarn is a small walled town of Bohemia, in the circle of Rakonitz, about two German miles north-west of Tursko. It is seated on a rivulet that discharges itself into the Moldau, and consists principally of one street. The houses, of which it is composed, made a tolerable good appearance, and the inhabitants seemed clean and neat. We observed some ponds, or standing waters, between Tursko and Welwarn, such as those formerly mentioned. The villages we passed through this post were Minitz and Mikowitz. Minitz stands upon the bank of a rivulet, but is a small and obscure place. Mikowitz is seated at a small distance from the opposite bank, and has a castle; but, in other respects, it is very inconsiderable.

The following post, which is a fine verdant plain, ends at Budin, Budein, or Budyn. Budin is a little walled town of Bohemia, in the circle of Rakonitz, two long German miles north-west of Welwarn, and about the size of that town. It is not far from the southern bank of the river Egra, upon the confines of the circle of Leitmeritz. The country, in which Budin stands, abounds with corn, as the postiglioni informed us; and indeed this sufficiently appears from the present face of it. The principal, if not only villages that occurred this post, were Czernowitz and Martinowitz; the first of which is situate upon a rivulet that empties itself into the Moldau, and the other a little to the south of one that may be deemed a small branch of the Egra. The road was good, but the post something longer than the preceding.

From Budin, we advanced to Lowositz, or, as some call it, Labasitz, two good German miles north-west of Budin. Lowositz is a pretty town of Bohemia, in the circle of Leitmeritz, at a small distance from the Elbe. This post is good road, and a fine open country, throughout. There are two villages between Budin and Lowositz, called Brzesan and Dolanek; of which the former stands about a quarter of a German mile from Budin, and the latter in the post-road, at almost an equal distance from Brzesan and Lowositz. We passed the Eger, or Egra, one of the principal rivers of Bohemia, this post. This river runs between Budin and Labasitz, which stands upon the banks of it. We did not stay above an hour here.

The postiglioni next conducted us to Aussig, a post and a half, or three German miles, north of Lowositz. Aussig, in Latin Austa, or, as Dresserus will have it, Austia, is a considerable city of Bohemia, upon the Elbe, in the circle of Leitmeritz, with a castle of pretty great antiquity. According to Æneas Sylvius, the Emperor Sigismund gave it to the Marquisses of Misnia and the Dukes of Saxony, to be defended by

them as a frontier. It was besieged by Ziska, who was repulsed with great loss, in an assault he made upon it; notwithstanding which, he continued the siege, and defeated an army of a hundred thousand men, raised by the Elector Frederic, in Franconia, Thuringia, Saxony, Misnia, Voigtland, and Lusatia. After which, it immediately surrendered to him. The Austrian and Bohemian writers affirm, that halberds were first used in this engagement by the Germans; and a crooked instrument, then of a new invention, by the Bohemian infantry, to strip the enemy's cavalry of their horse-harness and accoutrements. After this blow, Aussig remained three years in a ruinous condition; but then revived, and was ranked amongst the royal cities of Bohemia. It was almost intirely laid in ashes, in the year 1538. The Saxons made themselves masters of it, in 1631, as did the Swedes, in 1639. The antient monastery of the Prædicants here was destroyed by the Hussites, but in the room of it was substituted another, within the walls, dedicated to St. Adalbertus, in 1618. At present, it seems to be no very considerable town, though the market-place is a tolerable good square, and the town house new, and built upon pilasters. Here we lay all night, but the accommodations we met with were very indifferent, and the bill handed to us in the morning pretty extravagant. The post-house was the inn we put up at, as do most other English gentlemen who come this way. We passed by Czernusek, Kwalen, and some other small villages upon the Elbe, before our arrival at Aussig. There is a pretty high and extensive hill, a little to the left, at a small distance from Lowositz; and another on the same side, about a German mile nearer Aussig. The greatest part of this post, we rode along the western bank of the Elbe, and found the road there, in some parts, mountainous and bad; besides which, nothing remarkable occurred.

Peterswalda, Peterswald, or, as some called it, Veiderswalda, terminates the following post, which is a pretty long one, being near three German miles. As the road here is, for the most part, mountainous and bad, we were above four hours upon it. Peterswalda is a small inconsiderable place, upon the borders of Saxony, and the last village in Bohemia. It stands in the circle of Leitmeritz, on the post road to Dresden. Here is a defile, which it is pretty difficult for a body of troops to pass. Not far from Aussig, on the left-hand of the post-road, there is a village upon a hill, the name of which we did not learn. We were very hungry, when we came to Peterswalda; but could meet with nothing there, except a few eggs and a little small white wine, which scarce deserved that name. The people here were clean and neat, and some of them talked Latin, though they appeared extremely poor. We must not omit observing, that the air, through the two last posts, was very cold and piercing, and the hills or mountains in that tract covered with snow.

Soon after we left Peterswalda, we entered the Marquisate of Misnia, and the Electorate of Saxony. The first village we passed through in this electorate was called Hellendorf; and this seemed to be but a poor inconsiderable place. From thence we advanced to Gishubel, or Gishibel, which is a town that made a better appearance. Sehist, or Ziehst, a village only remarkable for being on the post-road, received us

next. This is something above two German miles north of Peterswalda, and supplied us with fresh post-horses for Dresden. We must here remark, that, from Sehist, travellers pay a florin a horse, for every post through the empire, and that sixteen grosse only in Saxony go to a florin. The Imperial postilions have strings over their right shoulders, striped with yellow and black, and a horn at the bottom; whereas those of the Elector of Saxony use strings striped with yellow and blue. In the hereditary dominions of the House of Austria, three Karantani make a gross, and twenty grosse a florin; but, in Saxony, a florin consists of sixteen grosse, and a gross of four Karantani. In the territories of the Emperor, an Ungar, or Hungar, is composed of four Austrian florins and three grosse; but, in Saxony, an ungar goes for four Saxon florins and two grosse. After a short stay at Sehist, we resumed our march for Dresden, by the route of Pirna.

Pirna is a large town, containing four or five-hundred houses upon the Elbe, about half a German mile north of Sehist. Here is a fine bridge over the Elbe, which is an ornament and advantage to the place. Between this place and Dresden, at a small distance from the Elbe, is a village called Leuben. This last post, from Sehist to Dresden, may be considered as three German miles. The road is, for the most part, good, but the latter part of it indifferent. At half a German mile's distance from Dresden, a traveller has a good prospect of the town. The King of Poland's officers were very civil and obliging, and examined our baggage with great lenity. The catalogue of posts between Prague and Dresden stands thus:

From Prague to Tursko, two German miles and a half.
From Tursko to Welwarn, two German miles.
From Welwarn to Budin, two German miles.
From Budin to Lowositz, or Labasitz, two German miles.
From Lowositz to Aussig, three German miles.
From Aussig to Peterswalda, two German miles and a half.
From Peterswalda to Sehist, or Ziehst, two German miles.
From Sehist to Dresden, three German miles.
Total eight posts, nineteen German miles.

Dresden, in Latin Dresda, is a fair, large, and strong city, in the circle of Upper Saxony, the metropolis of the Marquisate of Misnia, and the seat of the Elector of Saxony. It is about nineteen German, or seventy-six English miles, north-west, or rather al. north of Prague, in 51 deg. 8 min. north lat. and 13 deg. 40 min. east of London. It consists of two parts, called the Old Town, and the New Town, which stand on the opposite Banks of the Elbe, and are joined together by a fine stone bridge supported by seventeen arches. Though it seems to be well fortified, after the modern way, yet many people doubt, whether it would be able to make a defence, if attacked by a powerful and well-disciplined army. Be that as it will, this whole electorate found itself obliged to submit, without making any resistance, to the victorious arms of Charles the twelfth, King of Sweden, in 1706. The streets of Dresden are wide and clean, and the inhabitants extremely neat. The New City, in

which is the electoral palace, is much stronger, being fortified, and more beautiful than the Old Town, or Alt Dresden, as it is termed by the natives. As this city was formerly denominated Dresen, some imagine, that it derived its name from three lakes (in High Dutch, *von den dreyen Seen)* at a small distance from it; but this etymon must be allowed to be a little precarious. Be that as it will, Dresden is, undoubtedly, a place of considerable antiquity, and an exceeding fine town. The houses appeared so neat and clean, that the generality of them seemed to be new. Every evening, upon the approach of the dusk, most of the houses have a candle or lamp lighted over their doors; which renders it easy to walk in the streets all night, prevents many disorders that might otherwise happen, makes the city appear illuminated throughout, and consequently enables it to exhibit as fine a nocturnal appearance, as any city in Europe.

The Saxons are all Lutherans, and so strict and rigid, that the Roman Catholick religion, though the religion of the court, is scarcely tolerated amongst them; the people of that persuasion having no place of worship to resort to, but the King of Poland's chapel, in Dresden, and that of the castle of Pleissenburg, at Leipsick. Near the market-place, which is large and spacious, and serves the soldiers of the garrison, who are frequently exercised there, for a parade, a fine new Lutheran church is erecting, which has been a long time in building, and is not yet finished. The principal church here is fair and beautiful, and the others sufficiently neat. We did not however observe many pictures, or internal decorations of that kind, in them; the Lutherans not being so fond of such ornaments for churches, as the Roman Catholicks are. The Roman Catholick religion seems to be fixed in the electoral family, by the union of that family with the house of Austria.

We were several times at court, whilst at Dresden, and found it brilliant and shining enough. The King of Poland, Elector of Saxony, was returned hither, some time before our arrival from Cracow, and that in so great a hurry, that his subjects here, as well as his friends at Vienna, and the Imperial court, were exceedingly alarmed at it, or at least appeared so to be. The Queen of Poland, the Emperor Joseph's daughter, is a little woman, has a red face, the Austrian lip, a pretty large mouth, and none of the finest features; so that she cannot be looked upon as a beauty. However, she has a piercing eye, and, by reason of her good qualities, though of a different persuasion, is beloved by the Saxons. The King is a tall lusty man, pretty corpulent, and of a portly and majestick countenance. He has a florid look, and is about thirty-eight years of age; he seemed to be very affable and gracious, even to some of the meanest of his subjects, who were admitted to kiss his hand; and, to speak the truth, he is generally esteemed as a prince of a very humane and benevolent disposition. I had seen the King's picture at Rome, in Cardinal Albani's palace, which being extremely like his Majesty, I knew him at first sight. He was dressed in red cloath, covered with gold lace, and the Queen in black velvet. We saw the whole royal and electoral family performing their devotions in the chapel belonging to the palace, where they appeared very devout. This chapel seemed to have very few internal ornaments and decorations, which is agreeable enough

to the taste and genius of the Saxons, and which consequently demonstrates the King of Poland to be a wise prince. The palace is large, but, in our opinion, neither grand nor elegant. However, the court is very polite, and the King gives all strangers of distinction here a very gracious reception.

In this palace, however, there are many fine apartments; but the most splendid part of it, if we regard the furniture it contains, is the gallery, wich is one of the greatest curiosities in Dresden. This furniture consists of antique busts, vessels, pictures, and other curiosities. The hall is noble and spacious, and adorned with many draughts of cities, &c. which have been more than once taken notice of by travellers. There are likewise here several chambers full of rarities and treasure, not in many places to be parallelled. These consist of images, and curious devices cut in ivory; a vast quantity of plate, and vessels adorned with granates, amethysts, topazes, emeralds, &c. a great variety of Saxon porcellane, most beautiful to behold, and rich snuff-boxes set with gems and precious stones of various kinds, &c. Some of the rooms, where these are deposited, seem, if one may use the term, to be wainscotted with a surperfine large glass; and one of them has three or four glass pilasters in it, which make a very beautiful and grand appearance. Amongst other curiosities in these chambers, we saw two exceeding large onyxes, of an oval figure, extremely beautiful, which, according to the person who attended us, cost the elector several thousand florins. We likewise met here with swords, scimitars, watches, &c. adorned with diamonds, emeralds, rubies, opals, sapphires, topazes, and other kinds of precious stones; as also with a vast number of diamond buttons for coats, waistcoats, breeches, &c. and several rubies, emeralds, sapphires, &c. of an uncommon size; so that, with regard to his personal estate, the Elector of Saxony may be considered as one of the richest princes in Christendom. In one of these chambers, is a piece of the great Mogul, walking in state, with all his attendants, which, we were assured, cost King Augustus the Second thirty-thousand florins. The chambers, or apartments, above-mentioned, shining with jewels, and things ornamented with them, are called the Treasury.

The Turkish palace, or Turkish house, so called from the furniture within it, is seen, with great pleasure, by every foreigner of taste who comes to Dresden. This is adorned with pictures representing the civil, military, and ecclesiastical officers of the Turks, all in their proper habits. Here are likewise portraits of the Turkish, Greek, Armenian, Persian, Georgian, Circassian, &c. women in theirs. In one room of this house, or palace, we saw part of a tea equipage, set with several kinds of precious stones, made, as we were told, at Ispahan in Persia; and others that came from Constantinople, according to the information we received, which were exceedingly curious. Here we likewise saw a variety of Turkish, Barbarian, and Persian pipes, of different forms, one of which went upon wheels, that a person might make use of, either walking, standing, or in any attitude whatsoever. We were likewise shewn here a Persian small vessel, holding about a quart, which the late King of Poland frequently drank off to the friend he introduced into this place, and obliged that friend to pledge him in the same. This he

did in order to welcome him; but we were told, that this practice had, for some years, been discontinued.

The new bridge over the Elbe is extremely curious, as is likewise the Palais d'Hollande, where the porcelane is kept. The garden belonging to the Palais d'Hollande is adorned with many fine statues of white marble, and extends as far as the Elbe. The arsenal also contains a great number of curiosities, but, as a catalogue of these has been published, it would be impertinent here to give a detail of them.

We must not omit taking notice of the King of Poland's wild beasts, which are numerous and various. Amongst others, we saw several monkies and baboons, which seemed to have something very peculiar in them. One of the baboons was of a very large size, laughed or grinned at us, in a remarkable manner, and frequently farted whilst we stood gazing upon them. One of the young lions here was so tame, that the keeper played with him, as if he had been a puppy. The Hungarian wild cats appeared to be the fiercest creatures here, though leopards, lions, tigers, &c. made up part of the collection. This collection has been inriched by the gentlemen sent by the late King Augustus the Second to Africa, who brought with them home to Dresden several African foxes, and other creatures, before unknown in Germany. The two principal persons attending Dr. Hebenstreit into Africa were M. Ludowick and M. Eversbach. We were told that these gentlemen, whom we had not the honour to see, made honourable mention of Mr. Shaw, chaplain to the English factory at Algiers, from whom they had received great civilities. This gentleman I had the honour to be acquainted with, above a year ago, in Italy.

The people of Dresden are very polite, and seem to have much of the French taste. They have a vast regard for their prince, and royal family, though of a different persuasion. The King of Poland, Elector of Saxony, has at present six children: 1. Frederic Christian, the prince royal and electoral, born September the 5th, 1722. 2. Maria Amelia, born September the 13th, 1727. 3. Maria Anna, born August the 29th, 1728. 4. Xavier Augustus, born August the 25th, 1730. 5. Maria Josepha, born November the 4th, 1731. 6. Charles Christian, born July the 13th, 1733. The King of Poland's eldest son has the title of Royal Highness, and his Royal Highness's eldest son, as we were informed, that of Piast, which, we were likewise told, descended to all future generations.

According to the most celebrated authors, who have treated of the affairs of Germany, the best High Dutch is spoke in Saxony. The women here are likewise reckoned, for the generality, to be more beautiful than those in any other part of the empire. But, with regard to the last article, we must own ourselves to differ from the most common and received opinion. The women of Austria and Bohemia, both in their persons and dispositions, come up at least, as we imagine, to those of Saxony.

It is well known, that the Elector of Saxony is one of the most potent princes of the empire. He has now on foot an army of twenty-eight thousand men, nineteen-thousand of which are in Poland. The troops we saw were in exceeding good condition, and perfectly well

versed in the military art. His Popish Majesty, however, in case of need, can make a considerable augmentation to his forces; and this, it is said, he will do, as finding it absolutely necessary, in the present conjuncture.

We lodged at Zimmerman's in the market-place, an inn frequented by the English gentlemen that travel through Saxony, and one of the best in Dresden. Here we lived elegantly enough, but, at our departure, were presented with a most enormous bill. But this we were not surprised at, since most countries, even our own, love to prey upon foreigners. The landlord, however, to do him justice in all respects, was very complaisant and obliging. Having gratified our curiosity in Dresden, we made the necessary preparations for our journey to Berlin, where we proposed some time to stay.

SECT. VII.

A Journey from Dresden to Berlin, the residence of the King of Prussia, Elector of Brandenburg.

THE first place we stopped at, after our departure from Dresden, was the town of Meissen, in Latin Misna, or Misnia, which gives name to the marquisate in which it stands. It is about a post and a half, or three German miles, north-west of Dresden, and was formerly the capital of the marquisate of Misnia, though it now makes no great figure. It is seated on a small river of its own name, on the western bank of the Elbe, over which it has a very good bridge. Its situation is partly in a valley, and partly on the declension of a hill, on the top of which are the antient palace, or castle, and the cathedral. Here was formerly a monastery, which, since its becoming subject to the Elector of Saxony, in 1581, has been converted into a publick school. We were told, that there were formerly here some indecent pieces of painting, representing the intrigues and debaucheries of the Monks. The manufacture of porcelane at Meissen renders that place famous all over Europe. This porcelane is much more beautifully painted and enamelled than that of China and Japan; and a suite of it, as we were told, sometimes went off at auctions in Holland for above twelve-hundred florins. The elector, into whose coffers this porcelane brings very considerable sums, frequently makes presents of great quantities of it to foreign princes in alliance with him. Some people here affirm, that the art of making this fine and beautiful ware was accidentally discovered by an adept, in his attempts to find out the philosopher's stone. Be that as it will, we were assured, that the artificers, or operators, were a sort of prisoners, being confined to this place, for fear this art, so advantageous to Saxony, should be communicated to other nations. The road, this post, we found mountainous and bad. There are many fine vineyards on the banks of the Elbe, between Dresden and Meissen. The chief villages between those two places are Niderwarte and Scharfen-

berg on the western, and Ketzchen on the eastern bank of the Elbe. The place where the porcelane is made at Meissen cannot be seen without an express order from the veldt-marshal Count de Wackerbarth.

From Meissen our postiglioni conducted us to Stauchitz, or Stoschitz, where we were supplied with fresh horses. Stauchitz is about two German miles and an half almost west of Meissen. This is a village of no great note. Here we stopped about half an hour, and refreshed ourselves. The wine was very indifferent, and the other accommodations bad; so that, including the greasing of the wheels, we did not spend here two florins. The country made much the same appearance this as the preceding post.

Hubertsburg, or Hubertsberg, the next place we arrived at, and which terminated the following post, is a village that makes no considerable figure. However, the King of Poland has a palace, or hunting-house, here, which he visits several times in a year, and particularly when he goes to the fair of Leipsick; and this a little distinguishes the place. Hubertsburg stands about two German miles from Stauchitz. The tract between these two villages is, for the most part, a corn country, though woods sometimes occur.

From Hubertsburg we advanced to Wurtzen, which is a long post, consisting of about two and a half German miles. This post throughout we found good, and met with a village or two in it. The country appeared open, and had several young woods. Wurtzen is a small village, though seated in a pleasant country. The inhabitants seemed to be very neat and clean. Here we saw a stork's nest, with four young ones, and were told, that these birds were pretty numerous in this part of Saxony. We took up our lodging at the post-house in Wurtzen, where we met with very good accommodations.

The distance between Wurtzen and Leipsick, or, as the Germans call it, Leipzig, is about three German miles. The road we found very indifferent. The country, however, appeared agreeable enough, especially as the spring was now pretty far advanced. The King of Poland, Elector of Saxony, keeps his roads in very good order and condition; and travellers, to their great satisfaction, frequently meet with a sort of column, having an inscription upon it, exhibiting the number of miles to the next considerable town, as in many parts of England. Many of these, that we met with, were erected in the years 1722 and 1723. About two English miles, or half a German league, from Leipsick, we had a good prospect of the town, and thought it made a very fine appearance. Leipsick being one of the most celebrated cities in Germany, our readers will expect a short description of it here.

Leipsick, or Leipzig, in Latin Lipsia, or, according to some, Lipsurdum, is the capital of a circle, or district, of the same name, in the marquisate of Misnia, and electorate of Saxony. It stands about ten German miles north-west of Meissen, and thirteen almost west of Dresden, 51 deg. 21 min. north lat. and 12 deg. 48. min. east of London. As the country round it is a charming, beautiful, and fertile plain, diversified with woods, orchards, corn-fields, meadows, &c. and it stands at the conflux of the Elster, Pleissa, and Barde, its situation must be

allowed very delightful; especially, as it is at no great distance from the Saal and the Moldau, two extremely fine rivers, and the tract appertaining to it abounds with all the necessaries, and many of the elegancies, of life. Some assert it to have been built by the Vandals, about the year 700, and to have derived its name from Lipzk, a lime tree, with which sort of trees the same persons suppose the country in general abounded in to have formerly abounded.

It has been already observed, that the university of Leipsick owes its origin to the departure of a great body of German students from Prague, about the year 1408, or 1409; so that it may justly be looked upon as a colony of the university of Prague. The four colleges, of which it consists, are adorned with twenty four professors, who are generally very learned men. The nations, of which this university is composed are the Misnians, Bavarians, Saxons, and Poles; though under some one of these they will admit, as we were told, the students of most other nations. The university is said to be subject to the town, and not to the elector; which we thought pretty extraordinary.

The library of the university, or rather of the senate, of Leipsick, which must be allowed to be a very good one, is inriched with a great variety of MSS. taken out of the monasteries at the reformation. There is likewise a considerable collection of curiosities; a catalogue of some of the principal of which, as well as of the most valuable MSS. we may perhaps hereafter oblige our readers with. The very worthy and learned librarian, Dr. Mascou, made me a present of a small piece, containing the catalogue abovementioned, and an elegant description of this library, wrote in Latin; which has prefixed to it the following title:

Q. D. B. V.
BIBLIOTHECAM
MAGNIFICI. AMPLISSIMI. QVE
SENATVS. LIPSIENSIS
EX. DECRETO. EIVS
BONAE. MENTI
IAM
DEDICANDAM. ATQVE. APERIENDAM. FORE
INDICIT
GOTTFRIDVS. CHRISTIANVS. GOETZIVS
PRAETOR. ET. BIBLIOTHECARIVS.
LIPSIÆ,
MDCCXI.

The city of Leipsick is very populous, and the houses therein, especially those about the market-place, very stately and grand, and built of free stone. Some of these are, at least, six or seven stories high. The roofs of some of the houses are exceeding steep, and even approaching to a perpendicular to the horizon. The streets appear beautiful enough, being broad, clean, and well paved. Near the market-place are two extremely fine houses belonging to M. Appel and M. Heuman, both merchants, as we were told. M. Bosen and M. Appel, both merchants, have likewise most beautiful gardens near the gates of Leip-

sick. That of M. Bosen is full of exotic plants, and managed by M. Hebenstreit, or Hebenstreet, one of the gentlemen sent by King Augustus the Second into Africa, who is the director of this garden.ngM. Bosen has likewise a very fine collection of natural curiosities, he being a man of great substance, and having a passionate fondness for everything rare and uncommon in this branch of literature. The number of students here, as we were informed, amounted to above a thousand.

I must not omit observing here, that I was extremely obliged to M. Maurice George Weidmann, bookseller in Leipsick, and counsellor, as he informed me, to the late King of Poland. He was so good as to give me a full and ample account of the town and university of Leipsick; and to introduce me to the very learned and famous Dr. Mascou, whom I found a gentleman of uncommon erudition and politeness. Dr. Baudisius and Dr. Gebauer gave me the meeting one evening at Dr. Mascou's, where, in all respects, I was entertained very agreeably. All these gentlemen, to do them justice, expressed the highest regard for the English nation, and allowed it to be inferior to none in the world, in point of literature. However, they seemed a little too much prejudiced in favour of M. Leibnitz, and spoke, in my opinion, rather too coldly of Sir Isaac Newton, of whom yet their character ran in a very high strain. This a little warmed me, so that I could not forbear saying some things, which I found the company did not perfectly relish. But, by mutual agreement, we dropped this subject; and spent the evening, not only in perfect harmony, but in perfect friendship, neither did I ever in my life meet with any company that appeared to me more agreeable.

Dr. Mascou is certainly a gentleman of most profound erudition, and intimately acquainted with the whole circle of literature; though he seems to shine most in antient history, particularly that branch of it relating to his native country. All the other gentlemen of this university, that I had the honour to be in company with, I found likewise to be very learned, polite, and ingenious men. In short, no one can wish better to the learned university of Leipsick than I do, as no one can be more fully convinced of their learning and politeness. Neither can any one more heartily desire, that a good understanding between the members of the universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and Leipsick may be always preserved; and that they may always, if any disputes betwixt some of them should happen to arise, behave towards one another with candour, charity, and good-nature; which, I am firmly persuaded, will be for mutual interest and advantage.

The literary journal published here, intituled at present, *Nova Acta Eruditorum publicata Lipsiæ*, is the most famous and most universal literary journal in Europe. It first began to be published, under the auspices of M. L. Otto Menckenius, in 1682; and was continued by his son, M. Joannes Burchardus Menckenius, who died in April 1731. Its title, from the beginning to the death of this polyhistorian, as the gentlemen of Leipsick stile him, was *Acta Eruditorum, &c.* But his son, M. Frid. Menckenius, who succeeded him in the direction of this monthly paper, has given it the titld of *Nova Acta Eruditorum.* 'Tis published the first day of every month, and dispersed over every part of

the learned world. The title of *Nova Acta Eruditorum* commenced in January 1732. This journal comprehends all subjects, gives an account of the productions of the most celebrated authors of every nation, and contains a considerable number of small polemical pieces not elsewhere to be found. I bought here the *Nova Acta Eruditorum* for the months of the year 1734, elapsed before we arrived at Leipsick, the last of which first saw the light, just before our arrival there. Not only the editors of these *Acta*, but all the other academicians of the university of Leipsick, that I had the honour to be in company with, expressed a great desire to keep up an epistolary correspondence with me. The principal of these were Dr. Mascou, Dr. Baudisius, Dr. Gebauer, Dr. Rechenberg, and M. Jöcher, professor of philosophy. I was told likewise, that M. Plattner and M. Walther, whom I had not the honour to see, were very learned men.

We were informed, that there is here a high court of judicature independent on the elector, and before which he himself, if summoned, is obliged to appear. This seemed to us very strange, considering that the elector is generally looked upon, in England, as an absolute and despotic prince. But, as several German authors have set this affair in a true light, we must beg leave to refer our readers to them for a farther account of it.

The fairs at Leipsick, towards the beginning of the new year, at Easter, and Michaelmas, are very celebrated and remarkable. Such vast quantities of valuable merchandize, and rich curiosities, are then brought hither by the principal merchants of all nations, that perhaps the like is not to be seen in any other city. This induces sometimes a great number of persons of distinction, and even many princes and princesses of sovereign families, to honour the city of Leipsick with their presence on these occasions.

Leipsick is a place of no great strength, though fortified with ramparts and a ditch. The castle of Pleissenburg, however, seems capable of sustaining, at least, a short siege. Notwithstanding which, it surrendered to Charles the Twelfth, King of Sweden, without making any defence.

Though the town is not large, the streets are very regular, and some of them even grand. The town house is a noble structure; as is likewise St. Nicholas's church, abounding more with internal ornaments and decorations, than perhaps any Lutheran church in the empire. The ground-floors of most of the merchants houses are warehouses, as in the cities of Lisbon, Genoa, Leghorn, &c. It must not here be forgot, that the merchants, who frequent the fairs of Leipsick, are, by the elector's order, exempted from tolls.

Most of the young women here have fine complexions, and appeared to us extremely beautiful. Such vast numbers of them walking in the streets seemed to be pregnant, that we remember not to have seen any where the like. We heard a minister preach at St. Nicholas's church, who had an hour glass placed by him, and saw it near twice out. The congregation, during the time of divine service, appeared very devout.

M. Linckius, an apothecary here, fellow of the royal society of

London, has a noble collection of curiosities, and is a very great virtuoso. We did not see him, but take him to be a man of note, as he bears a high character amongst the principal members of the university of Leipsick. In the garden of M. Bosen may be seen a plant, supposed to be a species of the musa of the Arabs, the pala of Pliny, and the pisang of the Javanese. This plant, being then three years old, and six feet and a half high, in ten weeks time, arrived at the stature of sixteen feet, and had a considerable quantity of fruit upon it, in 1733.

The chief inn in Leipsick is Joachim's Stall, which is a house of very good note. Here we met with exceeding good accommodations, though the bill handed to us, at our departure, was pretty extravagant. The physic garden of Leipsick is full of exotic plants, some of which are of a very extraordinary nature. Having taken a view of every thing worthy of observation here, we set out for Berlin, which was the next place we proposed to visit.

From Leipsick we advanced to Hogelheim, a village of no great note, where we took fresh horses. This post consisted of about two short German miles. The country, through which we passed, appeared open and pleasant, and, as we were told by the postiglioni, is very fertile. We staid about an hour here.

The next place we arrived at was called Duben, and stands, at least, two exceeding long German miles almost north of Hogelheim. Duben is situate in such a country as that just mentioned, and may be considered as a very pretty town. We did not stop above half an hour here. Both Duben and Hogelheim appertain to the electorate of Saxony.

Gamberg, or Kemberg, which terminates the next post, is three good German miles north of Duben. It is a place of no manner of note, consisting, as we supposed, of not above fifty houses. The tract between Duben and Kemberg seems to abound with firs. As nothing curious presented itself to our view here, as soon as we could be accommodated with fresh horses, we set out for Wittenberg, which is not above a German mile from hence.

Wittenberg, or Wirtenberg, in Latin Witemberga, Witeberga, Wittemberga, Vitemberga, Vittemberga, Vitenberga, Viteberga, or Viturum Mons, stands on the eastern bank of the Elbe, in 51 deg. 58. min. north latitude, and 13 deg. 10 min. min. east of London, about thirty-eight German miles north east of Leipsick It was formerly the seat of the electors of Saxony, and is at present very well fortified both by nature and art. We observed that Wittenberg consists chiefly of one large street. There is a strong castle here, built by the Elector Frederic the Third, who likewise founded here an university, in 1502. St. Ursula's church, the principal one in Wittenberg, in the castle, was founded by the Elector John Frederic, in 1518. The castle itself likewise, and the bridge over the Elbe, are intirely owing to his munificence. This town and university are famous on many accounts, as will appear to every one in the least conversant with the German historians. Before we entered Wittenberg, we passed the Elbe, which is very broad and rapid at this place. The streets are broad and clean, and the houses well built. We were told that the university at present does not make near so considerable a figure as those of Halle and Leipsick.

The post house here, where we lodged, is very much frequented by travellers. The Elector of Saxony's garrison in Wittenberg does not exceed four-hundred.

Our postiglioni conducted us from Wittenberg to Crobstadt, a village of no repute. This post is two easy German miles. The road is good, and in it we met with a tolerable plenty of fir-trees. Crobstadt does not seem to consist of above thirty houses.

The next post, terminated by Trevenbrietz, or Treuenbritzen, is an exceeding short one, and the road very good. Though the tract is a little mountainous, yet it seems pretty open. Some woods of firs likewise here occurred. Trevenbrietz is the first town, on the borders of Saxony, in the electorate of Brandenbourg, and, as we imagined, is composed, at least, of three-hundred houses. The inhabitants seemed more robust and large than the Saxons; especially the women, who were very masculine and strong. Treuenbritzen stands upon the river Nielpelitz, and not far from its source.

From Trevenbrietz we went to Belitz, a considerable walled town on the river Ada, two German miles north of the former place. We found the road this post exceeding good. The women here appeared extremely handsome. We were told, that the King of Prussia's garrison in Belitz did not exceed two-hundred men.

Our postiglioni carried us from Belitz to Potsdam, a place, at present, of great note. Potsdam is a fine new city of the marquisate of Brandenburg, on the river Havel, about four German miles almost north of Belitz, and above three almost west of Berlin. This city, in a manner, owes its being to the present King of Prussia, since before his time it was a poor inconsiderable town. He has a noble palace here, lately built, that has a fine saloon, which, for its extraordinary height, is scarce to be parallelled in Europe. The King, when here, entertains the foreign ambassadors, and other persons of the first distinction, in this saloon. In the middle of the town is a new beautiful canal, on both sides of which stand several magnificent and superb houses, belonging to some of the Prussian generals, and other persons of quality. We saw the King exercise two battalions of his tall grenadiers in the gardens of his palace, and afterwards in a plain at a little distance from the town. They made a surprizingly fine appearance, and performed their exercise with the utmost regularity and exactness In fine, they are the finest troops we ever saw. The third battalion of these grenadiers is quartered at Brandenbourg. We put up at the city of Hanover, which is a very good inn, where we were very well used Since the beginning of the present King's reign, the inhabitants of Potsdam have received an augmentation of some thousands of families. The King is a short squat man, very fat, and extremely bloated. All his Ritrats that we have seen are very much like him. His face seemed almost as blue as his coat; he, as well as the prince royal, and all his generals and officers, wearing the uniform of the tall grenadiers. As we made some short stay at Potsdam, we picked up a great many curious particulars relating to the King, the royal family, the court, the army, and the place; all of which we hope to have an opportunity of communicating to the publick in a short time.

From Potsdam to Berlin, the road was fine and pleasant. We met with many fir-trees this post, several of which had been blown down by tempestuous weather. The same thing we observed between Belitz and Potsdam; as we had before done, in the tract between Bistritz and Dnespeck, in Bohemia. The prospect of Berlin, at about the distance of an English mile, is noble and grand. The principal villages, in the post-road, between Potsdam and Berlin are Stelpe, near the point where the Saar dischargeth itself into the Havel, Zehlendorff, Steglitz, and Schoneberg; none of which can be deemed very considerable. But Charlottenburg, which stands between those two places, not far from the point where the Havel and the Spree unite their streams, is a fine town, and, on many accounts, not a little remarkable. There is a fine palace here, called at first Lutzenburg, from the little village of Lutzen, near which it stands. Frederick the First denominated it Charlottenburg, in honour of his Queen, mother to the present King; and built a town near it, which has always gone by the same name. Of this that prince was pleased to declare himself burgomaster, or mayor, and the margraves, or princes of the blood, principal ministers of state, and generals, aldermen and common-council. He also appointed two noblemen of the court to execute the office of bailies. His Majesty expended immense sums, in beautifying and increasing the buildings of the palace, which contains several wings, grand apartments and a fine orangery. Before the Dorotheastadt-gate, there is a park, through which a fine road has been made from Berlin to Charlottenburg; and contiguous to that end of this park, near the latter place, a charming pleasure-garden, appertaining to the palace there. In the late King's time, the road between Berlin and Charlottenburg was adorned with two rows of lamps on each side, which appeared like two columns of fire. We stopped, this post, at a small village called Seldano.

The catalogue of posts between Dresden and Berlin stands thus:

From Dresden to Meissen, one post and a half, three German miles.

From Meissen to Stauchitz, one post, two German miles.

From Stauchitz to Hubertsburg, one post, two German miles.

From Hubertsburg to Wurtzen, one long post, two German miles and a half.

From Wurtzen to Leipsick, one post and a half, three German miles.

From Leipsick to Hogelheim, one short post, two short German miles.

From Hogelheim to Duben, one long post, two exceeding long German miles.

From Duben to Kemberg, one post and a half, three German miles.

From Kemberg to Wittenberg, half a post, one German mile.

From Wittenberg to Crobstadt, one short post, two easy German miles.

From Crobstadt to Treuenbritzen, one short post, one German mile and a half

From Treuenbritzen to Belitz, one post, two German miles.

From Belitz to Potsdam, two posts, four German miles.
From Potsdam to Berlin, two posts, four German miles.
Total, seventeen posts, thirty-four German miles.

Berlin, the residence of the King of Prussia, is one of the largest towns in Germany. It stands upon the river Spree, in 52 deg. 28 min. north lat. and 33 deg. 48 min. long. Though this city now makes the greatest figure of any in the King of Prussia's dominions, Brandenburg has always been esteemed the capital of the marquisate and electorate of the same name. Berlin was built by the Margrave Albert, in the year 1163, but has, since that time, been greatly enlarged, and consists at present of eight parts: 1. The city of Berlin, properly so called, on the eastern bank of the Spree. 2. Coln on the opposite bank, where the Margraves had formerly a palace. 3. Frederick's-Werder, built by the Elector Frederick William the Great. 4. The Dorothean Town, or New Town, erected likewise by the same elector, in honour of his second wife Dorothea, of the house of Holstein Glucksberg. 5. The King's Town, formerly called the Town of St. George, terminated by the King's-gate, known antiently by the name of St. George's-gate. 6. New Coln, into which travellers enter by the Copenick-gate. Adjoining to New Coln is a suburb, which has the appearance of a pretty handsome town, and a church of considerable note. 7. The Sophian Town, or Sophiastadt, formerly called the Spandau suburb, because fronting the Spandau-gate. It was greatly augmented and enlarged by Frederick the First, King of Prussia, in 1712, and then denominated Sophiastadt, in honour of that prince's third wife, and the present Queen, then princess royal, whose name was Sophia. 8. Frederick's-street, or Frederickstadt, bounded on the side of Saxony, by the Leipsick-gate. This street, which seems to be one of the most famous in Europe, was begun by the present King in 1730, and has now, though unfinished, above eight-hundred houses, many of which are palaces, appertaining to Lieutenant-General Schwerin, Lieutenant-General Schulemburg, the Privy-councellors M. de Happe, M. de Marshal, &c. Frederickstadt is said to be at present above a German mile long. The houses, for the most part, are built of free stone, but some of them of brick. This street is likewise very broad, and makes an exceeding fine appearance. The King being now at Potsdam, there is no court at present there.

Though every one, in the least acquainted with the present state of Europe, must have a tolerable good idea of the royal family of Prussia, we believe our readers will not be displeased to find the following brief account of it here: 1. Frederick William, King of Prussia and Elector of Brandenbourg, was born August the fourteenth, 1688, married Sophia Dorothea of Brunswick Lunenbourg, November the twenty-eighth, 1706, and succeeded his father, as King and Elector, in 1713. 2. Sophia Dorothea, Queen of Prussia, was daughter to George Lewis, Elector of Hanover, and afterwards King of Great Britain, born March the sixteenth, 1687, and married, as aforesaid, November the twenty-sixth, 1706. 3. Charles Frederick, prince royal of Prussia, and Electoral of Brandenbourg, Prince of Orange, &c. was born January the twenty-fourth, 1712, and married Elizabetha Christina of Bruns-

wick-Bevern, March the tenth, 1732. 3. Elizabetha Christina, spouse to the hereditary prince, &c. was born November the eighth, 1715. 4. William Augustus, Prince of Brandenbourg, born August the eleventh, 1722. 5. Frederick Henry, Prince of Brandenbourg, born January the eighteenth, 1726. 6. Augustus Ferdinand, Prince of Brandenbourg, born May the twenty-third, 1730. 7. Frederica Sophia Wilhelmina, married to the hereditary Prince of Brandenbourg-Bareith, was born September the twenty-eighth, 1709. 8. Philippina Charlotta, Princess of Brandenbourg, married to the hereditary Prince of Brunswick-Bevern, was born March the thirteenth, 1716. 9. Dorothea Sophia, Princess of Brandenbourg, born January the twenty-fifth, 1719. 10. Louisa Ulrica, Princess of Brandenbourg, born June the twentieth, 1720. 11. Anna Amelia, Princess of Brandenbourg, born November the ninth, 1723. 12. Sophia Louisa of Mecklenbourg, Dowager of Frederick William the First, born May the Sixth, 1685. To enumerate all the princes and princesses of the different branches of the house of Brandenbourg would render us too prolix.

The King's character is not to be easily described, as containing a contrast of good and bad qualities; and the odd stories we heard of him in Berlin, his metropolis, however absolute he may be, were almost innumerable. Some of the principal of these we have an intention to publish hereafter. At present it may be sufficient to observe, that he is short in stature, has a stern martial look, is very fat and bloated, eats much, and drinks to great excess. All the accounts we received of him agree in this, that he has something extremely brutal in his deportment; which may be attributed to the vast quantity of English strong beer he daily drinks, as well as to the ferocity of his nature. The highest pleasure he seems capable of, as we were told by some of his own subjects, is to get drunk with his general officers, and to vent his spleen and resentment against a prince, with whom he ought to be in the strictest manner united. The difference betwixt these two princes is certainly a very melancholy affair, if we consider the protestant interest in general, but particularly in the empire; and this difference, it is said, has been greatly increased and fomented by Count Seckendorf, the Imperial minister. That gentleman, though a protestant, being a favourite of the King of Prussia's, has created a thorough aversion betwixt the houses of Brandenbourg and Hanover, in order, at the instigation of the Jesuits at the Imperial court, to weaken the protestant interest in the empire. This, if we may be allowed to give our opinion, is a very impolitic point of conduct in the court of Vienna, and may hereafter prove of very ill consequence to the House of Austria.

The Queen is a lady possessed of many amiable qualities, and greatly beloved by the Prussians, but said to meet frequently with ill treatment from her husband, of which, were it proper, we could produce several instances. She has a good affection and esteem for her brother, the King of Great Britain; but of late years has not dared to express it. Her spouse was so polite as to tell her, in the year 1729, when he had assembled an army of forty-thousand men, to invade the electorate of Hanover, that, before his return to Berlin, he intended to lay in ashes the

city where she was born. Neither the many children she has had by him, nor the sweetness of her disposition, nor her dutiful deportment towards him, have been able thoroughly to engage to her the King's affection.

The prince royal and electoral was neither at Berlin, nor Potsdam, when we were there; but with his regiment, according to the information we received, at Custrin. He is said to have been a most charming and amiable prince till of late, when, in order to recover his father's favour, he found himself obliged to comply with the most disagreeable foibles, the worst and most vitious inclinations, of that prince. This has so altered him, that many of the Prussians fear he will one day turn out a most ambitious, perfidious, avaritious, and cruel tyrant; though others, it must be owned, expect and hope for much better things from him.

With regard to the King's other children, the people we conversed with were almost intirely silent; though several persons seemed to promise themselves no great matters from them, especially the princes, on account of the bad example shewn them daily by the King, who very frequently, as was said, whilst we were at Berlin, both by his words and actions, expressed little regard either to virtue, decency, or religion. Notwithstanding which, we were told, that he had given frequent proofs of his zeal for the protestant religion, and of his aversion to popery; as also, that sometimes he seemed to be acted by a true spirit of devotion. He is likewise said sometimes to be very impartial in the administration and distribution of justice; though it is notorious, that he has, on many occasions, demonstrated himself capable of the greatest partiality in this particular.

It is well known, that the King of Prussia has on foot an army of, at least, seventy-thousand effective men; and these, perhaps, the best troops in the world. They are undoubtedly better disciplined, and more frequently exercised, than the forces of any other potentate; and made by much the finest appearance of any troops we have hitherto seen. The King is extremely fond of his tall grenadiers, which he has collected out of almost all parts of Europe. These, or rather two battalions of these at a time, he reviews most days, whilst at Potsdam, in his gardens there, from five till nine of the clock in the morning; and afterwards on a plain, on the other side the Havel, till eleven. Though these grenadiers are the King's greatest favourites, yet, as most of them have been either forced or decoyed into the service, they take all opportunities to desert; neither are his other forces over closely attached to him. This disposition of the Prussian soldiery enabled a certain French minister, at the court of Berlin, to rally the Baron D'Ilgen, with a good deal of poignancy. That minister having expostulated with the baron, on account of the King of Prussia's failing in the execution of a certain treaty, and expressed his master's disapprobation of that prince's conduct with some warmth; the latter said, That more decent terms ought to be used in a conference with the prime minister of a monarch, who kept on foot an army of seventy-thousand men: To which the Frenchman replied, That these men were not soldiers, but slaves, and required an army of at least seventy-thousand soldiers to keep them firm in their duty. The King, every time we saw him, appeared in the uniform of

his tall grenadiers, esteeming it the greatest honour to be considered as the head of that corps.

His Prussian Majesty sometimes takes delight in hunting, though he is rather too corpulent and unwieldy for that sort of exercise. He has a very short neck, his face is often of the colour of gunpowder, and, with regard to his features, most of his Ritrats pretty much resemble him. He is capable of sustaining toil and fatigue to a tolerable degree, and of using rather more than moderate exercise; which he actually does, and which, with rising early in the morning, probably keeps him alive. But, as he is dropsical, eats and drinks immoderately, is fond of the strongest kinds of liquors, which he frequently intoxicates himself with, has of late had repeated twitchings and convulsive motions, cannot sleep in any other posture than sitting, is lethargic, and, upon the least cessation of exercise, often falls asleep, it is generally believed, that he will not be long-lived. And this seems the more probable, as he has already been attacked once by an apoplectic fit, which had like to have carried him off.

We met with no wild beasts, appertaining to the royal palace at Berlin, as at Vienna and Dresden, the King not having a taste for such creatures. However, we saw at Potsdam an eagle, and seven or eight vultures, of a very large and uncommon size. In lieu of wild beasts, his Prussian Majesty keeps several jesters, or buffoons, who, on many occasions, afford him a most agreeable entertainment.

The principal places, in and about Berlin, worthy the attention of a curious traveller, are the royal palace, the arsenal, and Monbijou. Every gentleman of taste, who peruses this narrative, will expect a short description of these.

The royal palace stands in the Frederickstadt, and consists of two large courts. Every thing belonging to it, particularly the windows and entries, appear sufficiently grand. It has a noble prospect towards the grand parade, where formerly were the royal gardens. That part of the palace, to the right of the parade, contains the royal library, the royal apothecary's apartments, the royal confectionary, the royal laundry, and several other rooms occupied by the domesticks of the court. To this adjoins the grotto-work, made of shells; contiguous to which, is the fine orangery, in form of a half moon. The library contains a noble collection of printed books, all bound in red Morocco, and gilt on the backs. Near to this, is a large chamber, full of MSS, and books that may pass for exceeding great curiosities. Some of the principal of the latter are several Chinese books, and the Koran in the original, sent, as we were told, about a century ago, by the Grand Signior to Mecca. This, according to the same persons, was seized by the wild Arabs, and sold by them to some merchants, from whom it came into the hands of the Elector of Brandenbourg. It is rolled round a pretty large piece of solid gold, resembling a short stick, or staff. It is adorned with precious stones of various kinds, and has two knobs of gold, at each end; but the workmanship seems clumsy and rude, at least, far from being elegant. The library of the late learned Baron Spanheim was purchased by Frederick the First, and annexed by him

to the royal library, though it stands in a room by itself. It is opened only once or twice a week; though the King's library is opened twice every day, once in the forenoon, and once in the afternoon, except in the Dog Days, when it is shut every afternoon. In the palace, we likewise meet with a bed adorned with pearls, which is much admired. We saw many things in the chamber of rarities, which were extremely curious. The principal of which were a figure in wax of Frederick the First in an easy chair, adorned with a red coat, star, and order of the garter; many tables, bureaus, &c. of amber, with the figures of leaves, insects, &c. upon them; a piece of amber weighing an hundred pounds; a piece of amber, with the fish, called Barbatula, in High Dutch, Schmerling, in it; other pieces of amber, with beetles, horse flies, fish-bones, shells, sea-weeds, moss, &c. in them; and lastly, a most invaluable collection of ancient Egyptian, Persian, Phœnician, Punic, Greek, and Roman medals, of which M. de la Croze, the King's librarian, has published a complete catalogue in quarto, with a great number of plates exceedingly well done. Other chambers of the palace are remarkable for the great number of large tables, locks, and almost all sorts of furniture of massy silver, they contain. In the royal chapel there is an organ likewise, whose pipes consist of silver. The greatest part of the amber-curiosities abovementioned came from Prussia, particularly, the district of Koningsberg, the capital city; though several of them were the produce of his Majesty's German dominions.

In that part of Berlin, called Frederick's-Werder, the King has two armories, or arsenals, known by the names of the Old Arsenal and the New Arsenal. The Old Arsenal is contiguous to the wall, between the Leipsick or Frederickstadt-gate and the New Town or Dorotheastadt-gate. It is a long low building, that makes no grand appearance; but it contains a vast quantity of arms, and has always two centinels posted before the door. The New Arsenal, by way of eminence, called the Arsenal, stands near the Dorotheastadt gate, opposite to the palace, which formerly was the governor's house, but now belongs to the prince royal; and is one of the most superb and magnificent buildings in Europe. It forms a square, is built of free stone, has large sash-windows, and on the top a stone gallery. This gallery is adorned with statues, trophies, and several historical figures, all of stone. Several statues, trophies, and figures of the same kind are likewise placed in nitches round the building, all done in an elegant taste. From the New Arsenal, you have a delightful prospect of the royal palace. Before this edifice, opposite to the grand parade above-mentioned, at the distance of about ten paces, may be seen an immensely large cannon, carrying a ball of an hundred pounds weight, and called Europa. The reason given by some for this name is, because the cannon is the largest piece of artillery in Europe; but this does not appear to us altogether satisfactory. Round this arsenal are placed immense quantities of bombs, cannon balls, and grenadoes in a pyramidal form. Here are arms more than sufficient for an army of two-hundred thousand men, all beautifully polished, and kept in the nicest order. Cannons likewise, of various sizes, mortars, &c. it is most plentifully furnished with. In the reign of Frederick the First, this

arsenal was looked upon to be the largest in Europe, and since that time it has been continually increasing. In the year 1717, the present King cast a new train of artillery, consisting of ninety pieces of cannon and twenty-four mortars, and placed it here; and many additional trains of field-artillery have since been cast. An infinity of cuirasses, helmets, and all other offensive and defensive instruments of war, and, in fine, all kinds of military accoutrements, are likewise to be met with in this arsenal. Parties of the artillery company keep guard here alternately. They are besides employed in filling the patronen, or charges, and in casting leaden balls for carbines, musquets, pistols, &c.

Monbijou is a small delightful summer-palace, with very beautiful and magnificent gardens, and several buildings round it, appertaining to the Queen. It can scarce be deemed an English mile from the Spandau-gate, and is visited by all travellers that come to Berlin. The name is French, and equivalent to *my jewel*, or *my delight*, in English: the reason of which no one, who has seen this palace, will be at a loss to discover. The Czar Peter the Great, with his consort Catharina, had the curiosity to see the palace and gardens of Monbijou, and was most magnificently entertained there, by the Prussian court, in 1717.

The King has no taste for literature, nor is he an encourager or patron of learned men. There are, however, at Berlin several persons of great erudition, of whom Mr. Christfried Kirch, the King's astronomer, and member of the academy of sciences, M. Alphonse des Vignoles, and M. Maturin Teyssiere la Croze, the royal antiquary and librarian, are the most celebrated and considerable. M. Kirch I was not in company with above once or twice; but his character is so well known, and established, in the learned world, that it would savour of vanity to attempt it here. Mr. des-Vignoles is a most venerable old gentleman, being, as he informed me, eighty-four years of age. I was several times in company with him, at M. La Croze's, when he discovered an immense fund of learning. He is now publishing a learned and curious piece, intitled *Chronologie de Histoire Sainte et des Histoires Etrangeres qui la concernent, depuis la Sortie d' Egypte, jusqu' a la Captivite de Babylone.* to which he did me the honour to invite me to be a subscriber. M. La Croze is a very great critic in antient learning, and the oriental languages, particularly Coptic and Armenian. The celebrated pieces he has obliged the republick of letters with will eternize his name. He entertained me several times with his curious researches into antiquity and discoveries, for which I held myself greatly obliged to him. He affirmed, that Dr. Wilkins was a novice in the Coptic language, and that no European had sufficiently applied himself to the Armenian tongue. The Armenian, he said, was nearly related to the old Persic, as he had found by comparing Dr. Hyde's piece, 'De Religione veterum Persarum,' with all the best authors treating of the subject, and his own observations. He affirmed, that he had drawn up a dissertation, which proved this to demonstration; and that he had composed Coptic-Latin Latin-Coptic, and Armenian-Latin Latin-Armenian Lexicons, that formed two very large volumes in quarto, which, as he said, he never intended to publish. This so excited my curiosity, that I could not be

easy till I had seen them; and, upon his shewing them me, I used all the arguments I could think of to persuade him to make them publick, but without effect; he persisting in his resolution to the contrary. He told me, the King of Prussia had the finest collection of bibles, in different languages, to be met with in the world, and that his Majesty was still augmenting this collection. He was turned of seventy-six years of age, and in a very infirm condition. He assured me, that he wished for nothing more than that we should keep up a constant and regular correspondence, and that he should always retain a great regard and friendship for me.

Though we have postponed several odd and unaccountable stories of the King of Prussia to another opportunity, yet we have been prevailed upon to insert one or two of them here. Mr. Guy Dickens, the English resident, with whom we several times dined, and who is a very obliging and accomplished gentleman, assured us, that he had waited above six weeks in vain for an audience, though the King had granted audiences to all the other foreign ministers, as soon as desired; and that his Majesty scarce ever used him as a gentleman, much less as a publick minister, though the King of Great Britain, his master, and that monarch were in friendship and alliance. But Mr. Dickens added, that this happened to the extreme regret of all his subjects. We ourselves likewise are witnesses of the savage and brutal disposition of this prince. For, when we went one morning at five o'clock, to see him exercise his tall grenadiers, in his gardens at Potsdam, just as he went off, he set an officer to the author of this narrative, to enquire who we were; who answered, three English gentlemen, on their return to England, who, having frequently heard of this celebrated body of his Majesty's troops, were extremely desirous of seeing them. To which no reply was made. But when we followed his Majesty over the Havel to the plain, where he constantly reviewed his gredadiers after the exercise at Potsdam, we were surprised to meet with an officer, who told us, by his Majesty's order, that the King never suffered any foreigners to attend him over the Havel, and therefore we were enjoined to return to our inn at Potsdam. But as we were returning, in compliance with this order, Mr. Wentworth, a near relation to the Earl to Strafford, in the King of Prussia's service, met us, and, upon hearing our story, placed us behind a large overgrown oak, where we could easily see the King exercise his grenadiers. But the same gentleman informed us, that we ran a considerable risk, since, if the King discovered us, he could not tell what might be the consequence of a non-compliance with the order abovementioned.

The same Mr. Dickens informed us, that the King of Prussia and all his ministers drank extremely hard, and were frequently guilty of very odd pranks. But the most unaccountable instance of hard drinking, according to this gentleman, was General Jagosinski, the Russian ambassador. He once or twice a week dined with Mr. Dickens, who went to dinner about one o'clock. From that time till twelve, the bumper went incessantly round, and Mr. Dickens's company, except M. Jagosinski, were generally twice overpowered before that time, as a half-pint glass of wine was circulated without intermission. But M.

Jagosinski took his bumpers, without solicitation; foiled the rest of the gentlemen twice; and then left them, seemingly, as cool and unconcerned as when he first came amongst them. What renders this the more strange and surprizing is, that M. Jagosinski, every morning, as soon as he arose, drank off a full half-pint of brandy, and sometimes a much larger quantity.

From what has been already observed, it must plainty appear, that Berlin is one of the largest, finest, and most populous cities in Germany. Nay we may venture to affirm, that in some respects no other town of Germany can vye with it. Since the revocation of the edict of Nantz, vast numbers of French protestants have settled here, as well as in many other parts of the King of Prussia's dominions. We were told, that they make up near one third of the inhabitants of this city. These inhabitants are said to amount to eighty-thousand souls.

The prince royal, where we put, up is an exceeding good inn, neither was the bill brought us by the landlord at our departure very extravagant; since the whole expence we incurred, by eating, drinking, and lodging, did not amount to above fifteen florins per diem. We gave as a gratuity to the servant, who shewed us the palace, an hungar or ducat; to him who shewed us the armory or arsenal, six florins; and to him who shewed us the house and gardens of Monbijou, two florins. Having satisfied ourselves with the sight of every thing curious at Berlin, we next proposed visiting the city of Hanover, and viewing whatever occurred to us worthy of attention there.

SECT. VIII.

A Journey from Berlin, the residence of the King of Prussia, to Hanover, the capital of the Electorate of Brunswick-Lunenburg.

THE road to Spandau, the first place we arrived at after our departure from Berlin, appeared pleasant and agreeable enough. There are, however, some woods in this tract. Spandau is a considerable walled town of the Marquisate of Brandenbourg, upon the western bank of the Havel, about two German miles north west of Berlin. Prisoners of distinction, as well as others of an inferior rank, are frequently sent to the castle here; insomuch that it is scarce ever without some of them. There are at present here, as we were told at Berlin, betwixt forty and fifty soldiers, who some time since came to a resolution to desert in a body, and, in order to facilitate the execution of this design, proposed to dispatch every person they met with in their route. But one of the party discovered the whole affair to the King, who immediately ordered their ears and noses to be cut off, and then sent them to the castle of Spandau, where they are to be confined with chains about their legs, for life. At a small distance from the town, we saw a gallows, and some wheels, erected for the execution of criminals and malefactors. According to information received from persons of good authority at

Berlin, the King is for the most part his own prime minister. However, he permits his ministers of state and privy-councillors to deliver their opinions upon any scheme he forms, and even to offer to it whatever objections they think proper twice; but, if any one of them presumes to attempt invalidating the King's answers to these, he is presently sent to the castle of Spandau. Nay, as the same persons assured us, when his Majesty is in an ill humour, which pretty frequently happens, after he has answered the first objections urged against his project, he draws upon a piece of paper the castle of Spandau, a gallows, gibbet, wheel, or something of that kind, and orders it to be posted over the objector's door. This is very well understood, and not one of the ministers of state dares afterwards offer any arguments against what the King has been pleased to advance.

From Berlin, through the King of Prussia's territories, we paid three grosse per post, for each of our post-chaises. This he allows the post-masters, in order to compensate the loss they sustain by their post-waggons, or brouëttes, lying idle; which our readers will allow to be a great imposition.

From Spandau we proceeded to Wustermarck, or Woostermart, a small inconsiderable village. Woostermart stands about two German miles north-west of Spandau. Nothing remarkable occurred this post. The road was sandy, and for the most part an ascent. We must not forget observing, that the people at Wustermarck, as well as at Spandau, were very civil and obliging. The post-office at Spandau seemed a tolerable good house.

We found the following post, terminated by Barnovitz, or Barnewitz, about the same length as the preceding. The road likewise betwixt Barnewitz and Woostermart continued sandy. As Barnewitz is a place of no note, and nothing worthy of a traveller's attention presented itself to our view, we did not stay above half an hour there.

The next place we arrived at was Ratenau, or Ratenou, about three German miles almost west of Barnovitz. Ratenau is a pretty considerable town upon the Havel. We found some Prussian foot in garrison here. We took up our lodging at Ratenau, and met there with very good accommodations.

Setting out early the next morning, we breakfasted at Tangermiinde, or Tangerminden. Tangerminden is a large town, on the western bank of the Elbe, about two German miles west of Ratenau. This post we crossed the Havel and the Elbe, and passed through a sort of morass. We found several Prussian companies of foot in garrison at Tangerminden.

Gardeleben, the place we next visited, stands about four German miles almost west of Tangermiinde. This post the road was sandy and heavy. Between this town and Tangermiinde we passed through a village, called Stendel. There are at present two or three companies of foot posted here, but the worst Prussian infantry we have hitherto seen.

From Gardeleben we advanced to Steincke, upon the frontiers of the Duchy of Lunenburg. This is a small village, about three German miles almost west of Gardeleben. The road being very bad this post.

we found ourselves a little fatigued, and therefore agreed to lodge at Steincke. The accommodations here were very indifferent; but, as we set out very early in the morning, this was no great inconvenience to us.

Between Steincke and Brunswick, or, as the Germans call it, Braunschweig, the road was very bad; insomuch that we were frequently in danger of being overturned. The country, however, appeared very agreeable and delightful, and not unlike some parts of England. Steincke stands about five German miles off Brunswick, in a north east direction. We met with nothing worth any attention this post.

Brunswick is a very large, strong, and antient city of Germany, upon the Ocker, about one and a half German miles north of Wolfenbuttle, and about seven German miles east of Hanover. It is subject to the Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbuttle, and famous for a liquor called mum, which was formerly exported from hence into several parts of Europe, and particularly England, but is not now in very great vogue. The Latin names of Brunswick are Brunopolis, Brunswiga, and Brunsviga. According to the German historians, this city was built by Bruno, a Duke of Saxony, A. D. 861. It is two miles in compass, and surrounded with double walls and ditches. Each of the five corporations, into which it is divided, has its proper magistrates, publick hall, and courts of judicature; but in matters relating to the common interest, they all unite. It was formerly a noble Hans town, and then in a much more flourishing condition than at present; though it may be considered now as a rich and populous city. The principal curiosities to be seen here are the following: 1. The Duke of Blanckenburg's palace, a fabric of very considerable antiquity, and, for the time when it was built, sufficiently grand. 2. The new palace built by the present Duke Lewis Adolph, which is magnificent enough, and of a very large extent. 3. The town-house, which merits the attention of every curious traveller. 4. The church of St. Blaise, which is the principal one of the town. Here several of the Dukes are interred. 5. The lion of brass, in a square opposite to the church of St. Blaise, representing the animal of that name, which followed Duke Henry, surnamed the Lion, wherever he went. 6. The fortifications of the city, which are so complete, that it cannot be besieged without a numerous army. 7. The rich furniture, fine pictures, cabinet of curiosities, &c. in the new palace. 8. The citadel, which is a place of great strength. The Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbuttle always keeps a good garrison here.

We put up at the Golden Eagle, which is looked upon by most English gentlemen, that have travelled of late through this part of Germany, to be the best inn in Brunswick. The women here did not seem so modest and reserved in their behaviour, as we found them in the dominions of the Emperor, the King of Poland (Elector of Saxony), and the King of Prussia. The mum we met with here was much inferior, in fineness of flavour, to the liquor of the same kind we had drank in London. But this is not to be wondered at; since the mum sent to London is not only, as our landlord informed us, the best brewed here, but the flavour of the liquor itself is likewise vastly improved by its

passage to London. Though Brunswick is a place of considerable note, the entertainment we met with in it was by no means elegant. They have an exceeding good coffee-house here. The Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbuttle's postilions have strings over their right shoulder striped with red and white. Brunswick stands in 52 deg. 14 min. north lat. and 10 deg. 44 min. east of London. This post we traversed part of the Bishoprick of Hildesheim.

The next place we arrived at was called Payn, Pein, or Peina. Peina is a considerable town near the borders of the electorate of Hanover, about three German miles west of Brunswick. It stands upon the river Eubse, in the Bishoprick of Hildesheim. Peina being a place of some strength, there was a garrison in it, which the postmaster informed us was a detachment of the Hanoverian forces. We were extremely hungry upon our arrival at Peina; but could meet with nothing, except a few eggs and a little bread, there.

From Peina to Hanover, we found it four long German miles. There are several considerable woods in this tract, which may be deemed part of the Silva Hercynia of the antients. That this forest, which was of such a prodigious extent, consisted chiefly of firs, seems probable, not only from what we have observed of the woods in the hereditary dominions of the House of Austria, but likewise from Hartz-Forest, the modern name of part of the remains of the Silva Hercynia. For Hartz, in the High Dutch, or German language, signifies the juice, sap, or exsudation of fir-trees. The latter part of this post was sandy, and, consequently, the road tolerably good. The number of posts between Berlin and Hanover stands thus:

From Berlin to Spandau, one post, two German miles.
From Spandau to Wustermarck, one post, two German miles.
From Wustermarck to Barnewitz, one post, two German miles.
From Barnewitz to Ratenau, one and a half posts, three German miles.
From Ratenau to Tangerminden, one post, two German miles.
From Tangerminden to Gardeleben, two posts, four German miles.
From Gardeleben to Steincke, one and a half posts, three German miles.
From Steincke to Brunswick, two and a half posts, five German miles.
From Brunswick to Peina, one and a half posts, three German miles.
From Peina to Hanover, two and a half posts, five German miles.
Total, fifteen posts, thirty-one German miles.

Hanover, in Latin, Hanovera, the capital of the duchy and electorate of the same name, is situate on the river Leine, in a sandy soil, about eight German miles west of Brunswick, and seven south-west of Zell. It is a place of considerable strength, and the seat of the elector, our present most gracious sovereign. The river Leine divides it into two parts, known by the names of the New and Old Town. Though it cannot be deemed a very grand and stately city, yet the streets are

regular, broad, and well-paved, as well as extremely clean and neat. There is, properly speaking, no court here, in the absence of the King of Great Britain. But the states of the electorate are governed by a council of regency; some members of which reside in London, as long as his Britannick Majesty remains in England, and the rest at Hanover. For this reason, scarce any thing very magnificent presented itself to our view here. The houses in general make no very grand appearance, most of them consisting of timber and clay; though there are many likewise of brick and stone. The Leine, that runs through Hanover, being a delightful river, gives the town a pleasant aspect, and renders the situation much more charming and agreeable. The streets are finely illuminated every dark night, during the winter season. We were told, that the air here is very salubrious, that the citizens are seldom visited by any epidemical disease, and that many of them arrive at a good old age.

Provisions of all kinds the city is supplied with in great plenty, and the inns, if we may form a judgment of them from the City of London, where we lodged, as good as any in Germany. That inn we take to be as polite a one as ever we saw; though we have traversed the best part of Europe. The landlord was extremely civil, and did what he could to oblige us. We had our dishes served up both in the English and French way, with the utmost elegance. One article the cook was resolved to oblige us in, whether we were English or French, for we did not at first discover to what country we belonged; and that was the dressing of a hare. That we might not fail of being pleased, the hare was roasted, one half larded, and the other plain. We met likewise here with a considerable variety of wines, every species of which, that we tasted, was extremely good. And our landlord, civil and obliging as he was, in order to be consistent with himself by his bill at our departure, treated us as persons of the first distinction.

The principal things worthy of a foreigner's notice in Hanover are the following: 1. The Elector's palace, founded upon the ruins of a monastery, and adorned with a vast quantity of rich furniture. The tapestry and paintings here are extremely fine. Much of the furniture, as tables, &c. consists intirely of silver; with which valuable metal the elector is supplied most copiously from the rich silver mines in the Duchy of Lunenburg. Here is likewise a cabinet of curiosities, and a noble collection of antient and modern medals. This palace is of a large extent, has several courts, and a very fine chapel. In this chapel, under the communion-table, as we were informed, the body of King George the First lies interred. We must not omit observing, that the whole is a structure of free stone. 2. The church of Santa Croce, or the Holy Cross, which has a double row of galleries round it from the altar, and upon the first the history of the gospel in fifty-three parts, painted with exquisite art. 3. The church of St. James, which is adorned with many fine pictures of Apostles and Saints, all done by very able masters. 4. The Roman Catholick church, which the Emperor Leopold obliged the present King of Great Britain's grandfather to grant to those of his communion, when he invested him with the electoral dignity, in 1692. 5. The church built by the Princess Sophia for the French refugees, to which King William the Third was a bene-

factor. 6. The churches of St. George and St. Giles, &c. 7. The printing-press, from whence pieces of erudition are now and then sent out into the learned world; as also the hospital, and Orphanotrophium, every one of which deserves to be seen.

When the King of Great Britain resides here, the court is very brilliant and polite. Besides the frequent concerts, balls, assemblies, festins, &c. they have, as we were informed, for the most part, French comedies acted several times a week, in the theatre appertaining to the palace. And as people of all ranks and degrees are admitted gratis to this last diversion, of which they are very fond, the arrival of his Britannick Majesty at Hanover always occasions great festivity and rejoycing. Indeed, that monarch is extremely well beloved, and even almost adored by all his electoral subjects; insomuch that they never part with him, but with the utmost regret. Operas, we were told, of late years, have not been so much in vogue here; though the elector has a fine opera-house, adorned with paintings, &c. that render it a real curiosity. Perhaps, in some respects, it is not inferior to any thing of the same kind in Europe.

Hanover was formerly a Hans town, and enjoyed a very flourishing commerce. It has at present four fairs a year, to which many foreign merchants resort. This brings considerable wealth to the place, which is increased by the produce of the silver mines at Lunenburg. In fine, we saw no signs of poverty here: On the contrary, a plenty of money is visible, and all kinds of provisions, tho' by no means scarce, fetch a pretty high price; both indisputable indications of a very considerable share of wealth. Hanover stands in 52 deg. 23 min north lat. and 10 deg. 16 min. east of London.

The Elector of Hanover is one of the most potent princes of the empire. He has at present on foot an army of twenty-two thousand men, all regular troops; and can augment his forces with a body of thirteen or fourteen-thousand men, without burthening his subjects. The accession of the Duchies of Lunenburg, Saxe-Lawenburg, Zell, Bremen, &c. to the patrimonial estates of the elector, render him above twice as powerful as he was about forty years ago. His revenues arise not only from the silver mines abovementioned, but likewise from several others of iron and copper; from taxes on land, cattle, merchandize (particularly from Brewhan, a thick sweet liquor brewed at Hanover, and exported from thence into all the neighbouring parts) publick houses, and inns; and from the salt-pits, or springs, that rise within the walls of Lunenburg. These revenues at present are said to amount to above five hundred-thousand pounds sterling per annum.

The King of Great Britain, as Elector of Hanover, is thought to be one of the richest princes in Germany. He has some troops of life-guards, and two regiments of foot-guards, of one battalion each, clothed in red lined with blue; which made an exceeding fine appearance. He has also five or six courts, or councils; and officers of state, usual in courts of crowned heads. But, for a particular account of these councils and officers, we must beg leave to refer our readers to several modern writers, who have treated of the German affairs, and given us a minute and circumstantial description of them.

Lutheranism is the established religion in this electorate, though both Roman Catholicks and Jews are tolerated here. The latter have a synagogue at Hanover; and the former are pretty numerous there. These are, however, people of low rank; almost all the nobility and gentry being Lutherans. Before the Emperor Leopold would grant Duke Ernest the investiture of the electoral dignity in 1692, he obliged him to admit of an Apostolical vicar in his dominions, and to permit him to reside at Hanover. A toleration is not only granted to the Calvinists here, but likewise to people of all other persuasions. We did not hear of many learned men at Hanover, though, we doubt not, many are there to be found. However, the fame of M. Heumannus soon reached us, as it will many future travellers who visit this place. That gentleman has a vast fund of erudition, as clearly appears from the numerous learned treatises he has already published. A list of these treatises is inserted in the preface to a learned piece of his, the third edition of which was printed the last year at Hanover, with the following title:

CONSPECTUS REIPUBLICÆ LITERARIAE,
SIVE
VIA AD
HISTORIAM LITERARIAM
JUVENTUTI STUDIOSAE
APERTA
A
CHRISTOPHORO HEVMANNO D.
Editio tertia locupletior.
HANOVERAE,
APUD JO. JACOBUM FOERSTERUM.
MDCCXXXIII.

This piece is dedicated to the famous Dr. John Burchard Menckenius, Aulick councillor and historiographer to Augustus the Second, King of Poland, fellow of the royal society at London, and publick professor of history in the university of Leipsick. Mr. Heuman was born in the year 1682, and, from the list abovementioned, it appears, that the books, tracts, dissertations, &c. he published between 1701 and 1730, amount to one-hundred-forty-four.

The two elegant seats in the neighbourhood of Hanover, called the Fantasy, or the Whim; and Montbrillant, or Mount Pleasant, are viewed by all foreigners that traverse this part of Germany. They were built by Madame the Baroness de Kilmanseck, and the Countess de Platen. But the noblest seat, or palace, out of town, is Herenhausen, on the Leine, about one and a half English miles, as we guessed, north of Hanover. The gardens here are most charming and delightful, and the wilderness of ever-greens scarce to be parallelled. The orangery likewise, and theatre cut out into green seats, with arbours and summer-houses on both sides of it, for the actors to dress in, are justly celebrated all over Germany. But the greatest ornament of these delicious gardens, are the large basons, beautiful cascades, and water-works here, which, by all good judges, are looked upon to be the finest in Europe. We

found a Yorkshire man, who, as he said, came hither in the beginning of King George the First's reign, and had the management and direction of the water-works committed to his care. He gave the highest character of that excellent prince; as, indeed, did all the people we conversed with at Hanover, but more especially his domesticks. His Majesty, for the most part, held his residence in the castle of Herenhausen, during the time he found his presence necessary in this German dominions.

When we went out of Hanover, in order to take a view of Herenhausen, some soldiers, posted at the gate we passed through, seemed to look upon us with an evil and malicious eye, the reason of which we could never discover. The post-master likewise, to whom we applied for post-horses the day before we left the place, insisted, at first, upon our taking an additional horse to each of our chaises. But, upon our acquainting him, that we were English gentlemen, and could not avoid thinking it hard, that people under the same sovereign with ourselves should treat us more harshly than the subjects of the Emperor, the King of Poland, and the King of Prussia had done, he permitted us to pursue our journey with the same number of horses we brought with us to Hanover: And, in palliation of what he had done, alledged that he had been informed we were Frenchmen, and consequently belonged to a nation then at war with the empire. Whether this was the real cause of his unpolite behaviour, or only a pretext, we will not take upon us to determine; be that, however, as it will, it was some matter of comfort to us to find, that, of all the nations in the world, the French, at this juncture, were the most disagreeable to the Hanoverians.

Having seen every thing worthy of a curious traveller's attention at Hanover, we made the necessary dispositions for our departure from that place; proposing to finish our travels in the empire, by continuing them to Hamburg. To that famous emporium therefore we resolved next to direct our march, and in order to this, to take the route of Zell.

SECT. IX.

A Journey from Hanover, the metropolis of the electorate of Brunswick-Lunenburg, to Hamburg, the second of the Hans Towns.

WE arrived at Zell, about four o'clock in the afternoon. The tract between Hanover and Zell is, for the most part, heathy and sandy; though part of it is very well cultivated and manured. The postiglioni told us, that it abounded with hares, and we ourselves saw two of those animals, as we passed the road. There are likewise some woods in this tract, which may be looked upon as certain small remains of the Silva Hercynia of the antients. The city of Zell, at about the distance of an English mile, has only the appearance of a very large village.

Zell, the capital of the duchy of the same name, stands in 52 deg.

43 min. and 10 deg. 17 min. east of London, near the conflux of the Aller and the Eubse, about seven German miles north east of Hanover. It is situated in a sandy plain, and has some large woods at a small distance from it. The city has a very rural aspect, and nothing very remarkable in it, but the ducal palace. The terrass round the town is, however, curious enough, as being adorned with trees planted all along, and rendered more delightful by the fine gardens, orchards, and grottoes adjacent to it. The palace is very large; but, there having been no court here since the year 1705, when the late duke died, the furniture in the rooms is gone greatly to decay. None of these rooms, except that in which King William lay, made any tolerable figure. The servants shewed us a room, wherein was a bed with curtains of black velvet lined with damask, which they affirmed to be above two-hundred years old. In this bed, they said, Lord Harrington lay, when he came with the King last into Germany. The palace stands near the Hanover-gate, and is a square building of a large extent, with a platform at each corner moated round. The houses are all of timber; but the churches, which are very mean, of brick. The several rows of trees planted in the streets give Zell the appearance of a large country-town, in which but little business is stirring; and this is pretty much the case with the inhabitants, who seem much poorer than the people of Hanover. We put up at the Wine-Cellar, an inn in great repute amongst the English gentlemen, who have been at Zell; but met with an enormous bill and very indifferent accommodations. The printing-press here deserves to be remembered, as sending out into the republick of letters now and then a learned piece. Though Zell has been in a manner deserted by the court near thirty years, and is not looked upon as a place of any great consequence, it is tolerably well fortified, and has an Hanoverian garrison in it. The terrass abovementioned is so broad, that several coaches may meet thereon abreast. There is a pretty little theatre appertaining to the palace here, which at present appears in a ruinous condition.

From Zell we went to Vitzendorf, which is a village of no great note. The country this post was sandy, and, for the most part, a heath, interspersed with some spots of cultivated ground. Several large woods are likewise to be found in this tract. These woods consist chiefly of firs, as do most others in the Duchy of Lunenburg, though sometimes oaks and elms are to be found. Several hares, with which animal this country is said to abound, appeared this post, some of which our Swiss servant attempted to shoot. We lay at the post office of Vitzendorf, and met with better accommodations than at Zell. The distance between these two places is at least four German miles.

We advanced from Vitzendorf to Sorensdorf, a small inconsiderable village. The road and country this post agreed in all particulars with the preceding. We could meet with nothing to dine upon at Sorensdorf, but a bit of cold a-la-mode beef, which was very acceptable to us. Both Vitzendorf and Sorensdorf are in the Duchy of Lunenburg. That Duchy abounds in heaths and woods, some remains of the Silva Hercynia; and more especially the northern part of it. We might here mention many curious particulars relating to Hartz-forest, which would

be entertaining enough; but, as we have already the natural history of that remarkable forest in our own language, our readers will consider this as altogether unnecessary. Sorensdorf is above four German miles north of Vitzendorf. We saw last night, about half a German mile from Vitzendorf, an infinite number of chafers, or beetles, of a very large size, a little after sun set.

The next post was terminated by the town and port of Harburg, and consisted of, at least, four German miles. I was informed at Berlin and Leipsick, that some of the Wenden, or posterity of the antient Venedi, were seated in the Duchy of Lunenburg. Neither is this to be wondered at, since their chief seats in this Duchy are Danneberg and Luchow or Lochow on the river Tetze; but we did not meet with any of them. The greatest part of the remains of that antient nation, to the number of 10,000 men, women, and children, is, as they told me at the places just mentioned, settled in Lusatia. They have an aversion to the German, are half Catholicks and half Lutherans, partly subject to the King of Prussia, and partly to the Elector of Saxony; and occupy the tract between Lubben and Budissin. They are likewise a strong hardy people, and will sustain toil and fatigue to an uncommon degree. They still use their antient language, have a dress different from that of the Germans, retain many of their old customs, and in several points agree with their ancestors, who lived in the time of * Tacitus. They are most of them servants, and remarkable for their singular fidelity to their masters. But, as we have some years since received a very ample and particular description of this people from the reverend and learned Dr. Jablonski, it would be intirely superfluous to expatiate any further upon them here. The following table exhibits the number of German miles between Hanover and Hamburg.

From Hanover to Zell seven German miles.
From Zell to Vitzendorf four German miles.
From Vitzendorf to Sorensdorf four German miles.
From Sorensdorf to Harburg four German miles and a half.
From Harburg to Hamburg, about two German miles.

Harburg, or Harborg, is a pretty strong and flourishing town of the Duchy of Lunenburg, upon the river Loze or Lotze, and near its influx into the Elbe, almost opposite to Hamburg. The streets are pretty broad, clean, and well paved; and almost all the houses are built of brick, most of them seemed perfectly new. It is a long town, about twelve German miles and a half north of Zell, and has a Hanoverian garrison. It has a good harbour, a handsome church, and several elegant squares. The people, in their air, behaviour, and manner of dress, are said to resemble the Dutch more than the Germans; as also in their language. This is supposed to retain much more of the old Saxon in it than the High Dutch, though the inhabitants and all the people of the adjacent country write in High Dutch. The castle is very strong, both by nature and art, and has sluices, which, in case of need,

* Tacit de Mor. German. sub Fin.

can drown a considerable extent of the adjacent territory. The garrison consisted of some of the best Hanoverian troops we have seen. We saw a vast number of pregnant women here. The town, which consists principally of one long street, is perfumed in every part with pitch and tar, which to me was by no means unpleasant or disagreeable. The King's Arms is the best publick house in Harburg.

In our passage over the Elbe to Hamburg, we met with several islands surrounded with dikes, which were covered with a most beautiful verdure. It is said, that these islands are so fertile that their owners are amply paid for their cultivation of them.

The city of Hamburg was reckoned the metropolis of the Duchy of Holstein, before it became a free state of the empire. It is situate on the northern bank of the Elbe, in 53 deg. 41 min. north lat. and 10 deg. 11 min. east of London, about fourteen German miles and a half north of Zell. This famous city, according to the German historians, owes its origin to Charlemagne, who built a fort upon part of the ground on which Hamburgh stands, before the year 810. It was erected first into a bishoprick, and afterwards into an archbishoprick, by Ludovicus Pius, that prince's son. It was formerly under the jurisdiction of the Saxons, but became subject to the empire in 1215. The Danes took it from the empire in 1220, and sold it to Albert Count of Orlamund and his heirs; and he soon after sold his pretensions to the citizens, who then declared it a free and independent city. The Emperor Charles the Fourth took it under his special protection in 1359; though, according to some, that Emperor enjoined the Hamburghers to acknowledge the immediate sovereignty of the county of Holstein in 1375. Others deny that fact. The Kings of Denmark, succeeding the Counts of Holstein in their dominions, upon the failure of the male line of those counts in 1459, succeeded them likewise in their pretensions to the sovereignty of this city. Those pretensions still subsist. But the neighbouring princes, not judging it consistent with their interest to permit the Danes to make themselves masters of Hamburg, have hitherto preserved its independency. Notwithstanding which, the Hamburghers have been several times fleeced by the neighbouring princes, since the beginning of this century. They are always, and particularly at present, extremely jealous of the Danes.

Hamburg, by its situation, enjoys all possible advantages of trade, both foreign and domestick; and has actually a better inland trade than any city in Europe, except London and Amsterdam. The English merchants here are the great support of the place, and are very numerous. They have several extraordinary privileges granted them, that are denied to the merchants of other nations. And this is not to be wondered at; since the greatest, and almost only, protection the Hamburghers have, notwithstanding they pay eighty-thousand crowns a year to the Emperor to protect them, is from the English nation.

The constitution and polity of the city of Hamburgh are so very well understood, and we have had of late such full and ample descriptions of them, that we shall not touch upon them here. Our readers, we doubt not, will excuse us, as the present relation of our travels has so far exceeded the limits we at first proposed confining it to, if we entertain

them only with some simple observations of our own, that we made, whilst at Hamburg.

The Hamburghers are most fierce Lutherans, and almost as much addicted to persecution as the Roman Catholicks. That incendiary Erdman Nieumeister, a Lutheran preacher, so well known for his bitter, furious, and antichristian spirit, is in the highest repute amongst them. They are said to behave with as much rancour to the Calvinists, or reformed, as to the Jews, Roman Catholicks, or Mohammedans.

The cathedral, with the chapter, and many houses belonging to it, are under the protection of his Britannick Majesty, as Duke of Bremen. It was built above nine-hundred years ago. There are five very large parish churches here, and eight of a lesser size. A branch of the Elbe separates the Old from the New Town. Hamburg is very well fortified, but the garrison serves only for a shew. We were told, that two companies of burghers guard the walls every night. The city of Hamburg contains about two hundred thousand souls. The number of coaches here amount to above three-hundred; which, in proportion, exceeds that of any other city in Europe. The cathedral goes generally by the name of the Dome.

At present the burghers keep guard day and night in Hamburg. This is owing to the King of Denmark's being encamped at Ottensee, a small village of Holstein, about four English miles from Hamburg, with six thousand men; which he is sending, as his contingent, to the imperial army upon the Rhine. We saw these troops reviewed, by his Danish Majesty; and they made a very fine appearance. The King of Denmark, at present, resides for the most part in the neighbourhood of Altena. He seems to be of a very thin habit of body. We were told, that General Morner commanded the abovementioned corps.

There are six lofty steeples in Hamburg, some of which are covered with copper. St. Catharine's, one of these, has a stately front, and many statues in niches. Round the middle of this steeple is a crown, richly gilt. In the church of St. Catharine we saw a piece of painting, representing the crucifixion of our Blessed Saviour between two thieves, one of whose souls was carried by an angel to heaven, and the other by a devil to hell. This is tolerably well done, and seemed to me to be a piece of considerable antiquity.

All the churches in Hamburg, except New St. Michael's, are said to be older than the reformation. It is no wonder, therefore, that they should abound with crucifix's, statues of the Virgin Mary, &c. It is said there is an image of the Virgin Mary, in St. Peter's, for which the Roman Catholicks have offered twenty-thousand rixdollars. The spire of St. Peter's is by much the highest of any in the city.

From the Lombard Bridge, over the river Alster, a person has a very good prospect of the town. This river forms a fine bason within the town, which to me seemed to be in the form of an amphitheatre. The source of the Alster is about thirty English miles from Hamburg. This river, as it is called, does not seem to be a running water, but to be supported by imperceptible subterraneous springs.

The walls of Hamburg are said to be between five and six English miles in circumference. The walk round them is very pleasant and

agreeable. The New Town, we were told, was built in the year 1621. The senate-house is adorned, both within and without, with statues of themodern Roman Emperors, the nine worthies, &c. The exchange is opposite to the senate-house, on one side is adorned with several fine trees, and has a most pleasant situation on a branch or canal of the Elbe. That river forms several canals in the Old Town, by means of which the merchants have their wares brought to the back part of their own houses. At a small distance from Hamburg stands a Fortezza, called Hornschantz, between which and Hamburg there is said to be a subterraneous communication. The garrison here does not consist, as we were informed, of above thirty men; but, according to the same persons, by means of the abovementioned communication, it may be continually reinforced, and supplied with ammunition, provisions, &c. from Hamburg. The greatest part of the garrison in this city, if our friends may be depended upon, is composed of the lower kind of mechanicks. The whole is said to amount to above two thousand men.

It is a common maxim amongst merchants, that no town can enjoy a flourishing trade, except its inhabitants permit the Jews to settle amongst them. This maxim as it should seem, has prevailed in Hamburg; since there are above thirty-five thousand Jews in that city. Many of these inhabit part of the New Town, towards Altena. The streets occupied by the Jews are pretty large, but consist of very poor houses. They have here, as in other places, several marks of distinction, by which they are easily known.

Our friends here informed us, that every person who walked the streets of Hamburg, between Michaelmas and Lady-Day, after ten o'clock at night, without a lantern, ran a considerable risk of being arrested. There is a fine library belonging to the town. In many of the churches here, which are constantly open, we we surprized to meet with booksellers shops. The Lutheran nuns here marry whenever they please. We were told, that few were found amongst them, but such as have some deformity, or defect. Nay, some of our acquaintance said, that none but such were qualified to live amongst them. But, this we know not how to give credit to.

The Hamburghers are the most charitable people in the world. All real objects of charity amongst them are provided for; but the sturdy beggars, that in other places infest the streets, are sent to the workhouse, that they may be thereby rendered serviceable to the publick. Hence it comes to pass, that a beggar is scarce ever to be met with in the streets of Hamburg. But, as soon as we came into the King of Denmark's dominions, we were accosted by several of them. The Hamburghers bear a great antipathy to the Danes.

If a native of Hamburg is found guilty of fornication, he is obliged to pay a considerable fine; but the English are exempted from this mulct. We were told of an apparition at St. Peter's church, that frequently alarmed the neighbouring inhabitants. The person, who mentioned this, is a merchant of great substance and reputation. He assured us, that scarce any body in Hamburg doubted of the reality of it. But, notwithstanding this is so well attested, we leave our readers, as we

have done upon a parallel occasion, to believe as much or as little of it as they please.

We saw once or twice Dr. Nieumeister, a Lutheran clergyman of very intemperate zeal. He has great influence in Hamburg, though all men of sense look upon him as a most furious incendiary. We were told, that his works, and those of M. Esardus, professor of philosophy here, had been burnt by the common hangman at Berlin. M. Esardus is a prodigious bigot, and has wrote with great acrimony against the reformed. There is a tun here, which is said to contain seventy-six hogsheads; and a cellar containing above four-thousand tuns of wine. The academy, or Gymnasium, here has produced many learned men, and is at present adorned with some persons of great erudition. Of these M. Wolfius and Dr. Fabricius are the chief.

Mr. Thomas, chaplain to the British factory, or Hamburg company, here, a gentleman that I can never sufficiently praise for his great capacity, politeness, and erudition, introduced me to Dr. Fabricius. That venerable and truly learned old gentleman charmed me with his conversation. The scholar, the gentleman, and the Christian perfectly shone in him. He has a most noble and magnificent library; and in it a vast number of literary journals, in several languages. His librarian is a modest, worthy, and learned gentleman; and intirely of the same disposition with himself. Dr. Fabricius expressed a great desire of keeping up a constant literary correspondence with me.

The clocks in Hamburg strike half an hour before the hour expires. Thus, for example, at half hour past ten the clock strikes eleven, which the Hamburghers call half eleven; and at eleven it strikes again, which they call eleven. The sounds of these two pulsations are so different, that a person may easily distinguish the one from the other.

Hamburg is almost of a circular form, and reckoned near six miles in circumference. It is a place of considerable strength, a great part of it being situated upon islands. It is divided into the Old and New City, by a canal. Besides the abovementioned bason within the town, the Alster forms another, much larger than the former, just without the town; and then, passing by several sluices and canals through the whole city, falls into the Elbe. The funeral processions at Hamburg, especially of persons of fashion and distinction, are very grand, attended by many of the senators, principal elders, graduates in law, divines, regular physicians, &c. The bearers appear all in black, and have a very particular kind of habit. The body, as we were informed, is for the most part thrown into the grave, without any service or ceremony; though the Sunday following, if the same authority may be depended upon, there is generally a funeral sermon. M. Wolfius here bears a very excellent character; and M. Esardus, professor of philosophy, is reported to be a man of great learning, but a most violent enemy to the Reformed.

We were several times at Altena, a large and populous town, subject to the King of Denmark, and the residence of the governor of Danish Holstein. It is joined by a row of houses on the Elbe, to Hamburg, being a little to the north-west of that city. Altena was laid in ashes, by the Swedish army under Count Steinboch, in 1712; but has since

been rebuilt, and makes now a finer figure than ever. It has, at present, a very commodious harbour, and enjoys a flourishing trade. The Roman Catholicks, Calvinists, Anabaptists, Quakers, Jews, &c. are all tolerated here, the King of Denmark judging this a proper expedient to extend and enlarge the commerce of the place. We were told, that the town consisted of about two-thousand houses, and contained near twelve-thousand inhabitants. The King of Denmark's palace here, or rather that of the Danish governor, makes a very mean appearance. The streets are clean, neat, and well paved; and the houses, for the most part, built of brick. A small part of the town is said to belong to the Hamburghers. We saw several ships in the harbour here, appertaining to merchants of different nations. Our friend that conducted us to Altena, who was a Hamburg merchant, assured us, that, within the space of fourteen or fifteen years, a considerable spot of ground had been recovered from the Elbe, on which one of the best streets in Altena at present stands. Some pieces of erudition, elegantly printed, are now and then emitted into the learned world, from the printing-press here. M. Wilh. Ern. Ewaldus, a clergyman of Altena, has lately published a book, which has gained him great reputation in many parts of Germany. Our learned readers will not be displeased to see the title of it; which therefore we have thought proper to insert in this place.

WILH. ERN. EWALDI, V. D. M. ALTONAVIENSIS,
Emblemata sacra miscellanea.
Altonaviæ, apud Jonam Korte,
1732.

We heard this treatise highly commended at Hamburg, where the author is considered as an eminent member of the republick of letters. Altena is, however, more properly a seat of merchants, than learned men; as evidently appears from the great number of Jews settled there. Besides Altena, we saw several other places in Holstein, as Relling, Stelling, Barnvelt, &c. all in the neighbourhood of Hamburg. The White Swan in Altena is a tolerable good inn. The six-thousand Danes abovementioned were assembled at Relling, whilst we were at Hamburg.

The cellar in Hamburg abovementioned is a sort of cave; and the wine in it chiefly old hock. This cellar may be considered as a kind of tavern, since it is kept by a select number of the magistrates, under the direction of a deputy; and strangers, as well as natives, of the best fashion, frequently take a chearful glass in it; it is said to bring in a considerable revenue to the state. The merchants settled at Hamburg, and particularly those of our own nation, treat strangers with great elegance and liberality. The streets of this city are generally crooked, but pretty wide, and famous for their high and stately houses, most of which are built of brick. Just out of town, we saw a gallows, with the skeleton of a woman hanging upon it intire, with all the hair on the skull reaching down almost to the knees; which made a very gastly appearance. The Little English Arms here is a very good house. Several ingenious and learned pieces are published every year, in

Hamburg; as sufficiently appears from the foreign literary journals, and particularly from the *Nova Acta Eruditorum Lipsiæ*, which we take to be more extensive and universal, and consequently better, than any of the rest.

We had the honour to be invited once or twice to dine with Sir Cyril Wich, envoy extraordinary of his Britannick Majesty to this state. He seems to be a gentleman of a good political capacity, and of great affability and politeness. The late Czar of Muscovy, Peter the Great, as he informed us, did him the honour once to dine with him. To which he added, That, some time after dinner, a Russian Lieutenant-General, pursuant to former orders, waited upon his Czarish Majesty, who took him to a corner of the room, and there had a short confabulation with with. Which being ended, his Czarish Majesty took the said Lieutenant General, who was a short squat man, with a black curled head of hair, by both his ears, knocked his head several times against the wall, and at last kicked him out of the room. This fact Sir Cyril urged, as an argument of the absolute and unlimited power of the Czar, as well as the mean, slavish, and savage disposition of the Muscovites. He likewise told us, that the daughter of the Czar, that was married to the Duke of Holstein, was the most amiable and beautiful creature in the world. The reverend Mr. Thomas, chaplain to the factory, was so good as to accompany us to the envoy's. Sir Cyril's wife is a Danish lady, and of a most amiable disposition. One James Mac Geoghegan, an old Irish poetaster, for some time, perpetually infested us here. Though we at present conclude our travels at Hamburg, we have an intention to visit Holland and Flanders, and that by the way of Bremen.

A LETTER

TO

THE RIGHT REVEREND THE LORD BISHOP OF CLOYNE,

By a Gentleman in the Army, in the year 1739.

The following Letter, which is now first printed from a manuscript, appears to have been written about the year 1739, on occasion of a dissertation published by the Bishop, on this text, 'Gallio cared for none of these things;' in which he explained the necessity of asserting, by the secular authority, the reverence due to religion. The effect, which his arguments have had, may appear, in part, from the

following letter, which contains so many touches of elegance and judgment, that we could not refuse it a place in this collection; in which, though it was our original design to recover such pieces as begin to disappear, by their antiquity, we shall not neglect sometimes to preserve those writings from destruction, which, by accidents or envy, have been hitherto kept secret. J——*.

My Lord,

AT my return from recruiting, in which duty I was employed for many months, I was informed that the author of the Minute Philosopher had published the second edition of an excellent address to the magistrates against open blasphemy. I was impatient to read it, and, tho' I am an officer of pretty long standing and service, I cannot but admire, with some amazement, the courage of a man, not only to appear openly for things so much out of fashion, but to demand the aid of laws, and the secular arm of the magistrate, in defence of speculative opinions, as these great criticks affect to call them; which piece of wit I am told they borrowed from one Tindall, once a profligate apostate to popery, and always a disguised missionary for it. It is true indeed, and you prove evidently that all our actions are directed by our thoughts, opinions, and desires; and that the civil peace of the world, and all the comforts of social life (the whole of religion and its obligation, according to the free thinkers, who aim at a little reasoning) are concerted in the principles which men entertain about God, virtue, and even that offensive enemy to their present ease, called religion; and that, therefore, such avowed declarations of war, against all the bands and fences of society, are properly objects of the magistrate's care, and of his indispensable duty to repel the attack, and punish the actors. I have heard all their stock of learning, which consists in chiming three or four words a thousand times over, with great clamour and insult, "Freedom of thought, freedom of speech, liberty of the press, are all of them natural rights, and unalienable from a free people; the contrary is popery, slavery, arbitrary power, priestcraft, and the pretender." But let us take this even according to the lowest notion of any who are willing to exclude a divine right in every sort of government and system, and are therefore most particularly averse from every notion of a church, as a regular formed society, with powers, positive institutions, and officers, independent of every man's own sweet self, in the sincerity of his heart, according to whatever principles he is pleased to prescribe to it; according to which most orderly principle, every man of every nation (for societies these men's wise schemes will not allow) has full liberty of thinking, speaking, and acting; but the rulers, the princes, senators, or other chief magistrates, who being trustees for the people and their rights, it is plain that they can have none of their own, but are and must be the only ultimate subjects in every community; yet even such allow our church and religion the sanction of acts of parliament, consequently the law of the land, and to be an essential part of our constitution, to preserve which no millions of money, or of men, were ever thought too much; and therefore I say, that magistrates may take cognisance of, and severe

vengeance for all outrages committed against it, otherwise the whole frame of the state is in the utmost danger, whatever the church may be; and, for that very reason, no doubt, many a man has been for helping her at some critical times, who never understood much of her, or cared for her; nay, who derive all government, and consequently all law, both civil and religious, from the people, who every day of their lives have drank the Litany Health, as it is called, against her. I will venture to go even a step lower in moderation, if that can well be done. I will suppose that Christianity has only a share in that toleration which is extended to the several sorts of dissenters; sure an application may properly lie to the magistrate to make good this toleration to it, and to protect it from being insulted in the very church, and in the midst of divine service, as was done in the church of Omah, county of Tyrone, and diocese of Deny, about twenty months ago (if I am rightly informed) in the most blasphemous and riotous manner. One would think that the two acts of uniformity were repealed; for in them there are penalties provided for any thing said or done in contempt of, or derogation to any part of the divine service contained in the book of Common Prayer. And, if these statutes continue still in force, ought not the magistrate, both spiritual and temporal, to put them in execution? Has not our bible the sanction of law; and if so, May not a bold magistrate appear in defence of it without just imputation of bigotry? I will ask but one question more, What would the magistrate, what would mankind say, but above all, what would the free-thinker and Latitudinarian libertine say and do to a man who should be always railing against the act of toleration, forming cabals against it, running into coffee houses and play-houses to sputter against it, and breaking into meeting-houses to disturb and affront the society, in the midst of what they call their devotions, with a down with tolerations, rumps, and round-heads? I should not despair of seeing such a club in Newgate or Bridewell, *sed Deorum offensæ Diis curæ.*

I think nothing can possibly be more plain, than that all our first notions must be prejudices, received either by the meer authority of some instructor, or taken up on credit from the publick; and very many things there are in life, which all mankind must, and the wisest ought to receive on authority, for by authority only they can be proved, as all divine institutions, and all human ones not inconsistent with them. *Vir bonus est quis? Qui consulta Patrum, qui leges juraque servat.* I really believe that even very learned men do take up conclusions in parts of learning that they are great masters of, without examining every one of them minutely, nay without being able to investigate them through the whole precedent chain of demonstrations; as I have heard some people say particularly of a book called Sir Isaac Newton's Principles, as your Lordship has very clearly shewn, in the instances of all those professions or trades which depend on mathematical reasoning, which they can use in work, but never understand in theory. I am far from being a great engineer, but I am not the very worst in the army. I can do several things in my way pretty cleverly, but, were your Lordship to examine me as to the grounds and reasons on which my work depends, you would be almost as much amazed at my ignorance in

mathematicks, as at that of a free-thinker, when he pretends to chop logick about any thing that looks like religion, virtue, honour, or good sense.

Without what they call prejudices, that is, early impressions before they can reason, mankind could have no opinions at all; because they could not have any knowledge without education. Pray, my Lord, give me leave to observe the impudence of these men, in obtruding such a bare-faced contradiction on us. All prejudices must be excluded, the young mind guarded from them, that is, no instruction, no information, no rules prescribed; then, when he is grown up, he is to make a compleat system of all he owes to God, his neighbour, and himself, founded on a moral sense, and the fitness of all things, resulting from the thorough knowledge of their natures, and all the several relations thereof, eternal and immutable. I really believe, my Lord, that all created beings, put together, do not know so much of the universe, as to be able to trace out the various relations, natural and moral, of all its constituent parts, which yet these modest gentlemen require from every man, that he should instruct himself in all this, and that what he thus discovers is his only rule of action and intercourse with all other men, and the origin of obligation to God as well as man. So that, according to this wise scheme, every man is supposed equal to every thing, and able to supply himself, out of his own inexhaustible native stock, with all knowledge; every man is born a compleat divine, lawyer, politician, chymist, physician, philosopher; in short, in all its branches, is this true! or else all men are equally knowing; what! is there no difference between the knowledge of the Bishop of Cloyne and Peter Lens? Yes, as much in their understanding and learning, as in their virtues and worth. One would think that the word learning should point out to us how he came by it; how can any one learn, but from a person, or a book which teaches him? I suppose that, according to these men, the original of libraries was, that some odd fellow took it into his head to invent an alphabet, then compiled an horn book, taught himself and others to read it, and thereby let them into a knack of composing as many and as large volumes as ever they should have a mind to. But was it not a silly and a wicked thing in him to do so? Is it not propagating prejudices, which no man ought to be fettered with, before he can judge for himself? No man ought to go into, or so much as bathe his hands in water, before he can swim perfectly well.

If I am capable of understanding these men and their assertions, for I cannot call them principles, they contradict themselves flatly. They require from every man a great deal more, not only than any one man ever was capable of, but than all mankind, and their abilities put together, could effect, and yet will not allow him any previous instruction or study, for fear of prejudices. Can any Saracen, Turk, or Fanatick, declare himself more a persecutor of learning and learned men, throwing all libraries into the fire, as contraband goods? But I suppose this is what our noble masters of free-thinking would be at; for, if there were a thorough cessation of all instruction and preaching for a competent number of years, till the present set of prejudiced folks were gone off the stage, there would be fine hopes of an utter cessation of all know-

ledge, learning, and religion, to the end of the world; and then what glorious days! the jolly free-thinkers, having rescued the world from prejudices, and got it all to themselves, might wallow undisturbed in their mire, and unstinted seraglio, without the importunate din of laws divine and human ringing in their ears, to no other purpose in nature, but to intrude upon and soure their diversions. Yet, for all this fine scene of a world, which they paint out so agreeably to us, I own, my Lord, that I cannot see why the discoveries of one man, age, or nation, in arts and sciences, may not be communicated and descend to another, as well as estates, houses, or any other kind of property; and why I may not procure, by exchange or purchase, a little knowledge from my neighbour, as well as any other toy to play with. I protest, my Lord, I would not be without the comfort and advantage I fancy I have received from the very few books that have fallen in my way to read; for, besides the health and frugality of passing a winter's evening agreeably with an author, I have received no small advantage in the knowledge of my profession, from the excellent treatises on military discipline (written by some worthy gentlemen justly intitled to the rank they have in our service) besides Vauban and Cohorn's Fortification, Les Travaux de Mars, &c. And I fancy, that even the greatest genius's, that make improvements, and carry things the furthest, must have been taught the first principles of those things, they afterwards so far excelled their masters in. What profession, what trade, without an apprenticeship? Captain Millan (who, though an officer, is actually a graduate doctor of physick) has declared a thousand times, that a physician's skill is altogether founded on the experience of other men, and his own grafted on it; and that the experience of several thousands must have concurred to form such a physician as Herman Boerhaave, in all the several branches of that voluminous science. How many thousand names o plants, of materials in a druggists, of preparations in an apothecary's shop, in a chymist's laboratory, in the dispensary, anatomy school, surgeon's hall, &c. When I was a young man, I imagined that great scholarship consisted in Greek, Latin, Hebrew, and such hard matters, but I had a severe conviction to the contrary, for I fell into a lawsuit, in defence of a very beneficial lease, which had been long in our family, by the sale of which, I flattered myself to be one day able to buy a regiment; but, after several warm campaigns in the courts, I almost carried my cause, but broke my heart, health, and fortune in it; for justice was so skilfully barricadoed, and obstinately defended by the outworks and troops of the law, and it took up so much time and ammunition, in the necessary methods of approaches and attacks, that, when we were almost within sight of her, our courage on each side sunk with our strength, we proposed a truce, at once, and, after a short conference, we saved the meer point of honour on both sides, and abandoned the field of battle to new competitors; for the invader owned that he he was sorry, on many accounts, that his ambition led him into a war, not altogether either clear as to the title, or necessary on any score; so we shaked hands, he withdrew his troops, I sold the disputed premises in order to discharge mine, and he mortgaged a wing of his estate for the same service; and ever since we continue a complaisant splenetick kind

of friendship with each other, whenever we meet. I was amazed, at our first hearing (which was within four or five years after the commencement of the suit) to hear as many books quoted, as I thought it possible for any man to retain the names of, and such a capping of cases pro and con, with as many hard terms as the surgeon of our regiment, or ever an apothecary of them all, many of which they have borrowed from the military and other professions; to open is common to the eloquence of the bar, and the hunters in the field; we open orders, trenches, and ranks; the law has its parties, challenges, motions, defences, recoveries, engagements, charges, discharges, indentures, investitures, traverses, conversions, entries, lodgments, possessions, surrenders, forges, confederates, spies, informers, assaults and batteries, but above all things contribution and pay, as well as we; and I have been told, that combates were once legal decisions in England; both professions deal much in prisoners and executions, and both, for the most part, leave them to rot, whether in prison or the field; and, as we have serjeants of the halbert, officers of no small consequence, for all the low discipline of the army depends chiefly on them, so they have right worshipful serjeants of the coif, and terrible ones at arms and of mace; but they say there never was a voluntier in the Militia Togata. Nay, not only the council learned in the law abounded in the specifick eloquence of the bar; but I saw half a dozen of books in my attorney's room, with five-hundred dozen of hard words in them, which he assured me were his necessary tools to work with; precedents and forms, I think he called them.

My Lord, there are two books about ancient history which I have read, Plutarch's Lives and Rollin, and in those, I find that one Lucullus read himself into a general, and that a famous Scipio was constantly reading Xenophon's Cyrus; and Morrison assures us, that Sir Charles Blount studied his military skill in books, not in armies; that he vastly out shone Norris, Essex, and all the great Martinet generals; and therefore he always carried his books along with him to the camp, as his most valuable equipage, and lodged them in his own tent. The late Prince Eugene left an huge library behind him, and his Grace of Argyle and General Dormer, they say, have choice collections; and I am told, that, in France, it is a custom for every officer almost to write his own memoirs.

But in this assertion, my Lord, that discipline is the life of an army, I shall have the publick voice on my side; and that, according to the several degrees of that discipline, such is the vigour and health of armies, to so vast a difference, that ten-thousand Athenians might easily be an over-match for three-hundred thousand Persians at Marathon, as Rollin assures me they were. I have read the story long ago, and lately the poem of Leonidas, and with both I am delighted: To what was that invincible greatness of mind owing? To their being bred up according to Lycurgus's rules, in Sparta, that tamer of men, all whose pupils feared more to transgress the laws, than to attempt to conquer all the world combined to force them so to do, as Demaratus said, and as Leonidas acted. Thus it was, and thus it continued for six or seven hundred years, as Plutarch and Rollin tell me, 'till one Lycander's

ambitious schemes and fatal victories brought Persian, Sicilian, and Athenian wealth and luxury into Sparta; which, in about a score of years or so, annihilated all their former valour with their other virtues. A most virtuous Theban beat them at Leustra with a much smaller number, and they became the most dissolute nation in Greece, and the most litigious: for, such as the polity at home, such is the conduct and discipline abroad; such as the citizens, such as the soldiers.

Nor is a good polity to be established or preserved only by advice, and the reason of the thing; it can prevail upon no other principles but that of a rigorous execution of obedience, an early, strict, and constant discipline, and, if possible, that they should see or know nothing else, 'till this national education become easy and natural; that all virtue was supposed to consist therein, and all the glory, strength, and happiness of the commonwealth, as it was in Sparta. Children cannot understand the reasons and grounds of virtue; grown persons, who are at their own disposal, will not pursue virtuous schemes merely from advice, unless they have been reconciled to them by a long and early practice; it is authority only and restraint, that can unite a large number of men in any uniform system of life; but above all men, the infidel and free-thinker are to be restrained with bitt and bridle, lest they fall upon thee, for they are like horse or mule, having no understanding, or, as is fully expressed in the xxvith chapter of Proverbs, *A whip for the horse, a bridle for the ass, and a rod for the fool's back.* As I take it, my Lord, the word fool has a moral sense also, and signifies a scoundrel as well as a blockhead, in all the writings of Solomon and David. I profess I never read the 10th verse of St. Jude's epistle, but it brings in full view before my eyes every deist, every infidel of my acquaintance: *But these speak evil of those things which they know not; but what they know naturally as brute beasts; in those things they corrupt themselves.* I shall never forget an observation of my first colonel, now General Clayton, that, whatever opinion he had slightly entertained of some smart free-thinking blades in the city, he had none at all of their military capacity in the camp, unless it were in a sutler's tent or a brothel; that all of that infidel stamp he ever knew were luxurious, lazy, mutinous, noisy companions, impetuous in drunken brawls, for their valour always required a bottle to whet it, and then Dulcinea's beauty was a sounder cause of war, than the Spanish depredations in America. I have been assured, that the most noted Breteur, about London, ran down under hold, in the Dutch war, and roared out all the time the great guns did; but, as soon as that battle was over, swore he would never go to sea again, and that he would fight any man on shore, who should but dare to whisper what he had done on shipboard; and I have been also assured, that a whole hell-fire club was actually put to flight, and chased out of the house, by a goose dropped down a chimney that was on fire, within at most twenty miles of Dublin, and about that number of years since.

Your lordship has a very remarkable and melancholy observation in the seventeenth page, in these words: "And, in effect, for several years past, while the reverence for our church and religion hath been decaying and wearing off from the minds of men, it may be observed,

that loyalty hath lost ground in proportion; and, now, the very word seems quite forgotten. Submission for conscience, as well as for wrath, was once reckoned an useful lesson; but now, with other good laws, is laid aside, as an obsolete prejudice."

My Lord, I agree so thoroughly with you, that I do not conceive how a bad Christian can make a good subject, nor how a bad subject can possibly make a good Christian; therefore I could never be prevailed on to drink to the pious memory of old Huntington, though, I am told, some heroes often do it on their bare knees, with great devotion, and to the mighty edification of the company; because I take it to be against some express acts of parliament, as well as the general tenor of our laws. I have long remarked, that they who hold loose principles, as to one kind of government, carry on the same to every other sort, and no more allow divine institutions and ordinances in the church, than in the state; and another small observation I have made, that these men generally exact the most implicit subjection, both in their families, and every other degree of power in their hands: All which, I think, may be easily accounted for, that they, whose pride sets them above ordinances, should hold all other men indispensably obliged to the observance of theirs.

This, my Lord, brings me to the impudent and senseless clamour of persecution. Atheism implies no religion, it would tolerate none; therefore, whatever forbearance the professors of one religion might expect from those of another, they are all to unite against a common enemy, a ravenous wolf who attacks all flocks alike, as hating the whole species, not the property only of any particular man, or society. No man can have any tolerable pretence to speak blasphemy, or treason; such discourse must proceed from the propense malice of the heart, and, Why should not the petulant tongue be restrained from railing either at God, or the King? Or punished for doing it? Mr. Salkeld, the worthy chaplain of Col. Blakeny's regiment, who has been at Jerusalem, assures us, that a man would be impaled in Turkey for such outrageous blasphemy against the person and religion of Christ, as is frequently, of late, used with all imaginable safety in these countries of liberty. I protest, my Lord, I am as much against persecution as any man living, but as the point, in debate at present, is only, Whether a negative may not be imposed, a meer silence enjoined on a few topicks, for the peace of society, without the imputation of tyranny, it is what I would be gladly resolved in. I would not, had I power, go about to convert Mahometans, jews, pagans, &c. by the sword, croisades, fire and faggot, with Rome, Spain, Portugal, and Presbytery; but should any jew, Mahometan, pagan, or infidel, thrust himself into the churches of Christians (which are set apart for, and they assembled together, to worship their God and saviour therein) and revile him whom they adore, and disturb them in doing it, I think, that such an one deserves to die the death, and that God will not hold that magistrate guiltless, who does not vindicate the honour of the Lord his God, so far as the laws impower and require him so to do. Your Lordship has shewn, that mathematicks are useful to artificers of every sort; suppose then, that it were made penal to rail at Euclid's elements, to form cabals against

studying them, running into the schools where they are taught, reviling the teachers, and disturbing the learners; until such reformers condescended to understand them, at least, if not to be capable of demonstrating their falsity, and substituting better in their place, pray, my lord, where would be the cruelty of all this? Not to insist a little on the decency of treatment with a little complaisance that which was thought the wisdom of their ancestors, and is still the law of their country. I can't help thinking, that the world owes its subsistence to the struggle, which the few virtuous men in it make against the universal prevalence of vice. Let us suppose an universal practice of every Christian virtue, Would not the condition of mankind be much more safe and delightful, than it is at present? Let us suppose every man universally abandoned to every vice. Would it not bring an hell upon earth? Could mankind be easy, could it subsist at all in such a state? Thus, we see, the infidel is to be restrained from undoing himself, as well as others, and from tearing down the fences which secure his property, his own ease and pleasure, as much as those of every other man; for your lordship has well observed, that there can be no such thing as wealth, any more than learning or virtue, in the meer savage state of nature; so that the infidel would soon find himself the miserable victim of his own project, were it suffered to go on. The law will condemn a man for setting fire designedly to his own house; and I knew a person who was sent to St. Lazare in Paris, for attempting to murder himself, and, in a few weeks proper diet and discipline, he returned to so sound a mind, that he found security for his future peaceable behaviour, and was restored to his liberty.

All, that ever I could hear any of these infidels chatter against religion, was some indigested stuff about mysteries, and articles of hard belief, concerning which, and other grounds of credibility, they never bestowed one serious thought; for, if they had, they could not fail to assent to the highest reasonableness of receiving for truths things proposed to them by the divine veracity; though all mankind must own, that they have not faculties to comprehend the whole physical and moral essence of God: Nay, I have heard learned men say, that no philosopher understands the essence even of the things he is most conversant about, nor what makes continuity, why grass is green, and a multitude of other properties in those, and every thing else, which we shall never be able to discover; but let us view his plain rational creed, and, I persuade myself, that we shall find it composed throughout of unintelligible difficulties, and contradictions in every article of it. The atheist tells me, that the world and we have been making one another from all eternity, but that religion and government are of a much later date; for that, immediately after the great showers of men, which used to fall in the Isle of Pines time out of mind, or that used to start up from the ground, when it was manured by proper prolifick rains (for their philosophy differs a little in that small circumstance) those same casual, or upstart, fellows fell a knocking one another's brains out, as soon as ever they popped up their heads; that this savage custom prevailed a huge while, till, at last, one wiser that the rest appeared, who roared out his prologue as loud as ever he could bawl, as he was descending gracefully

in his cloud, or like old Jack Falstaff, rising gradually to mount the stage (for their historians relate it both ways) O yes, O yes, silence there, a truce, a truce, and so he laid before them the uncomfortableness of that short life of theirs, and the great advantage of society; that, man, from his many wants, was plainly designed for a sociable animal, but that, if they continued to slay each other, as soon as they came into life, they could never try the experiment how long, and how merrily they might live; therefore, he advised them to a suspension of arms, that, for the future, they should chuse to come into the world with the help of a couple of parents, as the folks of all the other nations of animals did, whom, with a little management, they might make their slaves, or the instruments of their diversion, as we try it with great success in stags, bucks, hares, foxes, &c. and other nations in wolves, bears, and wild boars. And I have been told, that the Mogul's court never makes so fine an appearance as at a grand lion-hunting, and the French King at a grand hawking, or setting. The orator further proposed, that, in order to this, they should appoint committees to frame languages, that they might be able to chat with one another, and to carry on their affairs by free conferences, rather than club musket, besides the great comfort of making love in fine speeches to the fair sex: That other committees should be appointed to invent all the arts necessary for the convenience and pleasure of life, and, in short, for whatever they had a mind to; and that, if they did not like it after trial, they might renew the war, whenever they pleased: That, if they would not all of them come into this, for their own sakes, he devised such as were of sounder minds, and more comfortable dispositions, to range themselves on his side, and exert, at least, equal valour in a much better cause, in defence of the liberty and property of human nature, which the meer heroes were for overthrowing, only for the pleasure of hacking and hewing, whereby they would justly forfeit all their pretensions even to life itself. On this harangue they all put up their swords, shook hands together, signed the original contract, and fell to execute all the other parts of the scheme. Hence, pursues the atheist, it is evident, that the state of nature is a state of war, that the majority is the true decider of right and wrong, that *Vox Populi* is the only *Vox Dei* that should be suffered to speak, and that it ought always to be revered as such. But the deist pretends to mend it a little: He says, that a God had some hand in making the universe, but none in governing it, for that were needless, man having reason enough to find out what is fit to be done in all cases; so that to tell what his reason knows already, is not worth while, and to tell him what his reason does not know, must never go down. But that the wise architects of this noble system, considering that there would be mobs in the world, on the future increase of mankind, for at first they were all Duke Trinculo's every one of them, whom it would be convenient to keep in awe, with some shrewd device, invented religion, and notions of heaven and hell in a life after this: That, in pursuance of this piece of politicks, they chose Gods to worship, planets, kings, living and dead, their pictures, and every thing in nature, for emblems of such; but that none ever thought of making God Almighty one of them, till a despicable people, at his own request, chose him on a

mountain called Horeb, where they made a contract with each other, the people, of course, reserving their original power of revocation or dislike of the administration, which they often exerted in favour of Baal, Rimmon, Moluch, &c. This ingenious system was the fruit of all the studies in divinity, law, philosophy, and politicks of one Tindall, who was a furious renegado from religion to popery, in King James's time; but, when the revolution, in 1688, had blasted the avowed design of carrying on that cause by storm, he soon went a step further, and, taking a more silent way, he declared for the rights of mankind against priest-craft, and proceeded ever after against the church by the sap, and intelligence with traytors, if he could find or make any such within her walls. I have heard from a confident of the great Bishop Burnet, who had it from his lordship's own mouth, that he was credibly informed, at the very time in Rome, that Innocent the Eleventh had a most despicable opinion of that prince's understanding, and declared with much heat, That he should never play a game for him; he, who began it by shewing all his hand, and bragging what feats he would do, and yet threw all the cards up to his antagonist, because he lost a trick or two by his own fault, and then vamped fairly off with himself. I have really been told by very sober men, and good judges, that there are many popish strokes in that same book of Tindall's, called the Rights of the Christian church; insomuch that I cannot help having some fears, that, if genuine Christians were once clearly rooted up, popery, or fanaticism, might be raised instead of it: I dread the omen, and hope that our magistrates will join, to a man, on the Lord's side to avert it; for magistrates and parents must be told, that they are not only guilty of their own sins, but of other men's also, unless they exert their utmost abilities to prevent or redress them by proper instruction or correction. Why should the voice of authority be a moment silent in the cause of religion? I have heard, that *inter Arma silent Leges*, but we have had a long calm, so that I cannot see the least pretence for entering into the shortest cessation of hostilities against his infernal mightiness, or having measures to keep with any of his confederates.

I declare, my Lord, I can meet with no satisfaction in the infidel schemes, nor can I conceive any more safety in these originals, of what they call religion, law, or government, than the Trojans found in bringing an huge wooden horse, with a belly full of armed Greeks, within their walls, to garison the city. So far from any thing of light or order in their schemes, that they are bound up in chains of darkness, of darkness that may be felt, where they lie far exiled from the eternal Providence. But I easily and clearly understand this, that sin is the transgression of a law, and that without a law there could be no transgression. I have examined my own nature, as much as ever I could, and, if by that I can make any estimate what sort of a thing human nature is, I find it utterly incapable of inventing its own knowledge, as much so, as of creating his own existence, or forming all its other faculties and powers. I remember who taught me every scrap of that little I know, and I doubt not, but, in your Lordship's vast reading, you could name the authors which furnished you with it all. Therefore, since I find that all nations, in all ages, from the beginning, have placed

all hopes of pardon of sin, in the substitution of some other creature to suffer in their stead; and that this could not possibly be the result of human reason, because it is neither reasonable, nor indeed intelligible, in any other view, but that of its institution, as a type of the death of the son of God: Therefore, I say, that this universal observance of expiatory sacrifices, and of a priesthood to offer them up, is an authentick record of the divine original of both, as also that salvation through Jesus Christ, the lamb slain from the foundation of the world. Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, to day, and for ever, is the only rational religion of human nature, the only one that fits it; for I am sure, that *infinite* series of matter and motion, plastick forms, moral senses, fitnesses, and relations, eternally and immutably going on right, for, according to these profound philosophers and divines, God himself cannot act contrary to, nor break through the unchangeable nature of these relations, unless when men overturn them, wherein consists all their moral evil; all this stuff, I say, can satisfy no understanding, can quiet no conscience, and as to moral evil, however man and it have become acquainted, I do not see how they can ever be separated again, by any of these men's schemes; I see no other deliverance from the body of this death, but in that victory obtained over sin and death by our Saviour Jesus Christ. And for any schemes, but the revealed will of God, I disclaim them in the words of Moses, Deut. xxix. 29. *The secret things belong unto the Lord our God; but those things which are revealed, belong unto us, and to our children for ever, that we may do all the words of this law.*

My Lord, I have seen a book, called *Religio Medici;* I have read, and was well pleased with one, called the Gentleman's Religion, and have seen the Christian Hero, and I could wish to see a very good one, with a title of the Soldier's Religion. Our life here is called the Christian warfare, God is the Lord of hosts, and Christ the great captain of our salvation, into whose faith I was baptized, and under whose banner I am sworn manfully to fight 'against sin, the world, and the devil, and to continue his faithful soldier and servant unto my life's end:' And God grant that I may keep this solemn vow, which if I do, now in the time of this mortal life, while I am a member of the church militant here in earth, I know that he is faithful and just to forgive me my sins, and to make me a member of the church triumphant in heaven, which he has purchased to himself, by the all-sufficient merits of his blood-shedding; in which blessed communion of saints that I may participate, I request your Lordship's prayers, though unknown to you.

I am sincere, though inconsiderable,

and very much,

my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient

and most humble Servant.

APPENDIX.

[From peculiar circumstances, during the progress of the preceding volumes, a very few articles have been overlooked. It is proper, to render the original collection complete, to class them at the end, with various others, to which no specific date could be assigned, either for their being written or published; but, as many of these are of a general nature, they may be properly placed after the others.---*Editor.*]

The True and Wonderful

HISTORY * OF PERKIN WARBECK,

PROCLAIMING HIMSELF

RICHARD THE FOURTH.

Nullus sibi similis in periculis homo, quoties ad audaciam ex metu venerit. Eurip. Iphig. in Tauris.

London: Printed by E. G. for Nathaniel Butter, and are to be sold at his shop in Paul's Church-yard, at the sign of the Pyed Bull. 1618. Quarto, containing one hundred and twelve pages.

Historia est
- *Testis temporum.*
- *Lux veritatis.*
- *Vita memoriæ*
- *Magistra vitæ.*
- *Nuntia vetustatis.*

Historia nihil aliud est nisi annalium confectio, cujus rei memoriæque publicæ retinendæ causa, ab initio res omnes singulorum annorum mandabat literis Pontifex maximus, efferebatque in album, & proponebat tabulam domi, &c.
Cicero de Orat. Lib. ii.

To the Right Honourable Thomas Earl of Arundel, first Earl of England, one of his Majesty's most honourable Council, &c.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

SUCH as my poor self, that am only a looker on of your virtues as a passenger in a street beholding the frontispiece of some delicate edifice, but debarred the entrance and search into the inward rooms, must be contented, or, if you please, indebted to the opinion and report of others; which I have found so ample and enlarged concerning your

* Vide the 232d article in the catalogue of Pamphlets in the Harleian Library.

great honour, and greater worthiness, that I will forbear any further insinuation, lest I step into a kind of flattery, a vice incident to most men, refused of none, yet in all fortunes to be disclaimed of a gentlemen: Only I must add this, that I am proud of mine own assurance, that you are born to adorn our country, and illustrate our court, wherein your industry, loyalty, and immaculate truth shall make your virtues compleat and triumphant. Therefore, great Lord, have I chosen out this history, merely for the strangeness, and charactered you the patron of my endeavours for the observations, that the remarkable passages herein proposed, of which even Scotland had a part, may serve for all persons in such dignity and eminent places, both for precept and caution.

For precept, to flourish in their own honours, and move in their own orbs, sticking close to the glory of their country, and clinging to the sides of Majesty, that the King may ask, what shall be done to the man, whom he would honour, and the commonwealth follow them with panegyrical applauses, who preserve her peace from the ravishing and deforming of strangers, be the hopes to the contrary never so probable or inducive.

For caution, not once to put any confidence in deceivers, nor believe the devil himself, though he promise to give the kingdoms of the world, which are none of his: Yet, I confess him prince of the same, that is, of the abuses and impieties therein both raging, and reigning: And the rather, because the end hath ever been perdition of body, soul, honour, estates, and posterity. Nor can the pleading of simplicity in the seduction, or ignorance in the credulity, serve the turn: For though princes many times have been drawn to pardon the offences of subjects, and refractory delinquents, wallowing or rather sunk over head and ears in the miry bogs of such convulsions: Yet are they not always to be presumed upon, nor will the commonwealth endure the indignity, or give way to any person whatsoever in vilipending the government.

I humbly therefore request your honour to read over this true and strange story, and take in worth my good meaning, which presenteth the same unto you I protest without any other motive, than to see you flourish, as a supportation of our commonwealth, and jewel of our kingdom. As for the faults and my presumption, I expect, that that virtue and goodness, which must make you famous in this world, and happy in the world to come, will extend but her own properties to my pardon and admission, knowing that, if I have done ill, wisdom is not bought in the market, and yet God bids us come without money; if well, it is in your honourable favour, and noble acceptation.

Your honours humble observant,

THOMAS GAINSFORD.

Destruit ingentes animos, & vita superstes
Imperio, nisi summa dies cum fine bonum
Affuit & celeri prævertit tristia letho,
Dedecori est fortuna prior, quisquamne secundis
Tradere se fatis audet, nisi morte parata? *Lucan, Lib.* viii.

A PREFACE.

Nec adulatori, néque detractori.

TO speak of the commendation of history is not my meaning; nor of the necessity my purpose: For, besides the definition, and explanation of Tully himself, you have at least forty several books, which begin (as I do) with a preface, as a preparative to the reader, to take their books within their gentle embraces, merely upon the commendation of history. I leave all unnamed, except Sir Henry Savil for Tacitus, Sir Walter Raleigh for his History of the World, Dr. Haward for the three Norman Kings, and Henry the Fourth. In whose writings, let us write what we can, as much is written, as either delight, profit, or private respect can extend unto; so that I say I desist from that general insinuation concerning the credit, or particular satisfaction of history, and come to more familiar opening the carpet of the business proposed. Only this I will add, that I had rather read one true story handsomely set upon the frame of precept and caution, than a thousand fictions diverting my imaginary conceits to think upon, and (as we say) spend themselves on impossibilities, and corrupt my meditation with vain, foolish, beastly, and trivial devices, which are the more ridiculous, because there is substance, and matter enough in verity, to set on work any humour and invention whatsoever, and satisfy apprehensions even in their wanton and exotick wanderings.

For in this house of repast, which my ivy-bush invites you to, wouldest thou be made partaker of the attributes appropriated to the divine Majesty? Here are manifested his providence, wisdom, mightiness, power, justice, mercy, prevention, love, goodness, majesty, &c. Wouldest thou be made acquainted with the secrets of religion? Here are demonstrated the vanities of ceremonies, the necessity of adoration, the encumbrances of superstition, the simplicity of times, the darkness of popery, the fear of excommunication, the reverence of priesthood, and the folly of devices? Wouldest thou know the policies of government, and dignity of a King? Here you shall see, what the desire of sovereignty can do, the jealousy of a prince's estate, the revenge of wrongs, the fear of troubles, and innovation, the inconstancy of the people; the danger of factions, and the several passages of a prosperous, or declining estate? Wouldest thou be quickened with the remembrance of pleasure? Here are particulars of delight, courtings of ladies, amorous encounters, triumphant shews, deceitful vanities, and some idle relations? Wouldest thou see virtue mounted on a pinnacle of her palace? Here are wisdom, gravity, constancy, magnanimity, endurances of misfortune, and mode-

ration of power and greatness. Wouldest thou behold vice in her deformity? Here are envy, hatred, malice, pride, ambition, desire of revenge, rebellion, contumacy, stubbornness, and such like. Wouldest thou be acquainted with passions? Here are joy, fear, sorrow, gladness, jealousy, mistrust, and all of that sort. Wouldest thou see other varieties? Here are princes deceived, hopers abused, lyars execrated, traitors punished, and the devil himself confounded. In a word, wouldest thou hear of strange adventures, painful endeavours, heroick actions, dangerous attempts, or military proceedings: Here is fortune, as we profanely run away with the emblem, set upon a wheel, and turned round about by the hand of an invisible and invincible deity. Here is the stage of variety, and table of wonders: So that I am sure, from the conquest to this hour, there is no story so remarkable, and so full of observation, either for the ridiculous beginning, dangerous continuance, or lamentable effects.

For, although the first contentions between the houses of York and Lancaster began, questionless, from the wrong intrusion of Henry the Fourth, when the right of the crown was in Mortimer, and his line, by the daughter of Clarence, King Edward the Third's third son, and elder brother to John of Gaunt; yet there was some probability and inducement to the revengers, either mighty armies, strong factions, many confederates, or the next of blood powerful in his own possession and friends, with such like. But here, besides the fanatical invention, men were transported against their own conscience and knowledge, and assumed arms to do they knew not what, only because they would be counted factious, stirring, and resembling the fish sepia, which, cast into any water, befroths the same; and, in the conclusion, the end as the beginning, and both, like a paper castle, quickly set on fire; or, if you will, a confection of spicery, which, after it is carried round about the house, is placed upon the table with great wonder, amazement, and delight, both at the stuff and contriving. But what is the issue? The lookers on at last fall to, and pull even the guns and houses a pieces, and eat them.

In Ireland, I remember, they lay an imputation of baseness and cowardice on any man that hath not been in action, as they term it, or hath not had his pardon and protection; so that custom makes them traitors, and the vain glory of reputation, many times, brings their necks to the halter; yet it is somewhat tolerable for the generality of the fault, and enforcement of the motive, being bards, rhimers, harpers, priests, whom the very women hug in their bosoms, for seducing their noblemen and gentlemen, and exciting them to revenge. Upon this ground they must prosecute, first, some things worthy the honour of their ancestors, and next remember the deploration of religion, liberty, and the usurpation of their country, all which the English have, from time to time, intruded upon, and are not to be endured in their tyranny, as they make them believe. But, in this our story, there is nothing savouring true heroism, nor worthy the name of commiseration and assistance: For the best excuse ariseth from shadows, smoke, vapours, foolish enterprises, and unjustifiable actions, wherein only the power of God is manifested and made apparent, that, from so small beginnings,

and slender a fountain, such turbulent streams, and raging rivers, should arise, even to indanger one of the flourishingest kingdoms in the world; yea, my heart trembles to imagine, that so great a prince, in the unity of a right by an unpreventable marriage, should be heaved at, in so formidable a manner, by an up-start, and, as I may say, puppet stuffed with straw, to scare away crows.

I have read of one Spartago, a fencer, that, taking upon him the person of Scribonianus, drew a great party together; which as Nero laughed to scorn, so, indeed, the commonwealth quickly put to flight. Likewise, the other day in Venice, Florence, and many principalities of Italy, a strange impostor, after thirty years, or thereabouts, made them believe he was Sebastian, King of Portugal, slain in Barbary at the Battle of Alcazar, as was supposed, but, in truth, recovered, and obscured for a time, &c. I might also add the cunning of Richard, Duke of York, who, being in Ireland, animated the Kentish rebel, Jack Cade, to personate the name of Mortimer, for a trial how the people would affect that title. But these flourishes were only the rash burnings of a bavin, as soon extinguished as in a flame, and quickly overthrown, upon the first discovery: Only this story, for the variety, the continuance, the manner, and all other circumstances, hath made me, as I said before, amazed, and may, in the reading, produce the same effects in others. Yet again, when I consider the estate of man's frailty, mutable, troublesome, and full of encumbrances, and overlook the condition of mortality, which, in princes themselves, is subject to inconveniences, and, many times, fearful convulsions, I wonder the less, because God will be known unto them, and they have, for the most part, prevailed in their rights, and justifiable endeavours: For which I also pray, that they may still hold up the heads of triumphant and unchangeable greatness, wherein, no doubt, the same divine arm of potency, which hath protected others, will also support them from all dangerous enterprizes and fearful treasons, either of foreign, or domestick adversaries.

But, amongst other remarkable accidents, this is not the least, that so many examples, so many heads cut off, so many armies overthrown, so many honourable families consumed, so much blood spilt, so great revenges taken (as if all such enterprises were cursed in the womb, and brought forth like an untimely embryo) could never affright others, nor be a sufficient warning to succeeding times; but every occasion of innovation, were it never so foolish or exorbitant, still excited one or other to parts-taking, and brought them to untimely overthrows, either by their armies, and confederates discomfited, or, by their inditements and accusations, enlarged in judicial trial against them. But this is the cunning of the devil, who, to fill up the vast dungeon of hell, makes men so prodigal of their lives and honours, or so covetous of revenge and vain glory, that, so they may have a name with Herostratus, who burned the temple of Diana, they care not for the reproach, supposing, that as many will extol them for brave stirring spirits, as condemn them for traitors and disobedient subjects. O ridiculous and abominable conceits! O hateful and filthy imaginations! O deceivable and imposturing impiety! Nay, in a word, O horrible and flagitious mad-

ness, without reason, likelihood, or inference of any probable or persuasive circumstance.

But, lest my preface extend beyond the bounds of my heart's commission, I will attend the particulars of my story, with this expostulation to all noble and generous spirits; yea, I will kneel on my knees and hold up my hands unto them, that they give no way to any deceivable seduction of pope, jesuit, priest, faction, innovation, repining at the state, private ambition, corrupted malice, and such like, against the current of government, or the ebbings and flowings of the world and times. For the majesty of Kings will not be tied up with the slender bindings of rebellion, nor taught any lesson against their wills, either of favouring or disfavouring, whom they please. As for personal faults, alas! princes, prelates, officers, magistrates, and all sorts of men will run the race of mortality; and, if it were possible to remove offenders at pleasure, the persons may be changed, but the imperfections continue. Let them therefore alone a God's name; for they must stand or fall to the estate of their lives, which he hath appointed; only this I will be bold to say, I would have no man, for any private respect, run in the outrageous races of sins himself, or defend any wickedness in others, bear with great men in their vices, flatter, or temporise for profit or preferment, yield unto base or degenerating actions, either for fear or favour; or, in a word, do any thing contrary to God's word, wherein, as in a glass, men may perspicuously behold the way of life and death, and the infallible positions, which, in the affirmative and negative, conclude all things either by precept or interdiction.

Parvis enim res magnas quomodò caperet quis laboribus? Stultum etiam velle & conari hæc; quando enim excanduerit populus, ad iram prolapsus, similis est igni ad extinguendum vehementi; si vero pedetentim quis ei concitato quidem cedens obsecundârit, tempus cautè observans, cum autem emiserit flatus, forsan exhalaverit. *Eurip. Orest.*

THE contentions between the houses of York and Lancaster are the subjects of many discourses, and therefore I will insist the less either upon genealogies, titles, usurpations, wars, factions, encounters, revenges, battles, and slaughters, or other accidental outrages, which, for ninety years, filled the wrinkles of the face of our commonwealth of England, with the blood and sweat of ten Kings and princes of the race royal: Sixty dukes and earls; a thousand lords and knights, and an hundred and fifty thousand soldiers and people. Only I must make a little continuance and abiding in the wretched and ragged house of envy and malice, governed and overseen by a woman, who was so opposite and adverse to the Lancastrian family, that, though King Henry the Seventh had obtained the crown by a strong hand, and, as we say, *divinitus præmunitus;* yea, debarred all titles, or fuming shadows of titles, by consummating that marriage with the Lady Elisabeth, eldest daughter of Edward the Fourth; she yet contrived all the ways of his

overthrow, and, *invitâ fortuna*, entertained every occasion, which might add fuel to the fire of her inveterate hate, and blood-thirsty humour of revenge, as if she had been born like certain antipathies in nature, which cannot endure any neighbourhood or commixture; such as the yew and palm, the fig and vine, the strings of wolves and sheep, which makes me remember the story of Eteocles and Polynices, the sons of Oedipus, whose hate was so great in their lives, that, after death, the bones being burnt together, the flame of the sacrifice divided asunder.

This was Margaret Duchess of Burgundy, sister of Edward the Fourth, and a sworn adversary to cast the red rose of England into the black pit of confusion, who, perceiving her first hopes frustrated and annihilated concerning the progression of Lambert's enterprises, studied night and day upon further and further instigations, yea, hovered over and over opportunity like a hawk for her prey, to torment and trouble the peace of England; embracing every strange and prestigious illusion, and not caring with what pullies of ridiculous and impossible actions her malice and revenges were wound up, so they might be hurried down again upon the head of the King, whom she cursed on her knees, and hated, even beyond the tenderness of her sex, many of her own friends, for his sake. Therefore, to weary his patience a little more, she set up another puppet like the former, one Peter Warbeck, a Fleming, to act a part of wonder on the stage of dangerous innovation, and take upon him the title of Richard the Fourth Prince of England, and white rose of the same. But before I play the midwife, or (if you will) physician to her, to deliver her womb of this monstrous birth of Peter Warbeck, whom she taught the cunning and audacious impudence of personating Richard Duke of York, murthered with his brother in the Tower, by Richard the Third, some eight years before; I think it not impertinent to our purpose in hand, to tell you what this Lambert was, and wherein he seemed cozened with the whorish smiles of an adulterate fortune by the only means and coadjutement of this Duchess of Burgundy.

The first and second years of Henry the Seventh swelled to so great a height of joy, blessedness, and contentment from the rivulets of King Richard's slaughter, the corroboration of his estate, the amity of the nobles, the marriage with the eldest daughter of York, the birth of Prince Arthur, the league and amity of foreign princes, and the applause of all his subjects, that the divine Providence thought it meet to temper and allay the excess of the same with some mixtures of fear and displeasure, lest mortality might presume too far, and man triumph, that his own arm of flesh had contrived his establishment: So that the Lord Lovel, Humphrey and Thomas Strafford, with Sir Thomas Broughton, and divers others, attempted a dangerous rebellion, and drew into the field a great army against the King; whom to prevent, the Duke of Bedford, with such forces as could be raised on a sudden, made haste to an encounter. But his fortune was so good, that, with a successful oratory, not striking a stroke, he prevailed to dissipate those threatening and thickening clouds of disturbance; for (after he had intimated the heinousness of their transgression, and nature of their offences, which were capital treasons, and withal inferred the King's great mercy, which

was willing to pardon their rashness, and pitiful oversights, so they would desist, and retire peaceably into their countries) the whole company ceased, and quietly deposed their arms, whereupon the Lord Lovel fled, and the Staffords took sanctuary in a village called Culnaham, two miles from Abington; but because the judges of the law alledged that the towns of refuge among the Jews were ordained for other purposes; and that Joab was killed holding by the horns of the altar, and the places of privileges in England were never meant to suborn traitors: Humphrey Stafford was taken by force from the town, and sent to the Tower, from whence they brought him to Tyburn, and there put him to execution. His younger brother Thomas was, notwithstanding, remitted as a man whom consanguinity and brotherhood had rather deceived, than wilfulness and malice against the King abused. O blessed wisdom! that can so temper justice with the consideration of men's frailties, and other malevolent circumstances, to keep her a while from contracting a brow of revenge upon every offender, and had rather draw some men to a sweet obedience from their penitency, and newness of life, than cut off others by the strong hand of execution. And thus in other cases of state it many times chanceth, that even accessaries are condemned, when the principals go free; yea, in the highest degree of treason, which is displaying of colours, and taking up arms against a prince, it is sometimes better taken in action than in consultation; yet is there no presuming on favour in any of these cases, nor taking hands with example to trace in the by-paths of any indirect courses.

But as mischiefs, according to Euripides, seldom come alone, and *unda undam sequitur*; so presently upon the neck of this followed a strange and wonderful trouble, through the insurrection of one Lambert Simnel, taking upon him the person of Edward Earl of Warwick, son of George Duke of Clarence, newly come into the hands of the King, and committed to the Tower. This Lambert was induced, or, if you will, seduced, to this enterprise, by the devilish impostures of Richard Simond a priest, who was so hasty in his accounts, and forward in his reckonings, that he presently concluded, that, if Lambert could be King, he should be an archbishop at least; *O manifesta phrenesis!* where, by the way, you may observe, that never enterprise was atchieved to the dissipation of monarchies, and translation of kingdoms; never mischief set on foot, nor wickedness put on the wings of prevailing; but from the contrivance and coadjutement of a priest, and such men as professed the religion of those times, as in histories may appear. But, if you descend into Europe, and come lower amongst ourselves, I dare say, that, from the conquest to this hour, all exorbitant actions, dangerous attempts, terrible enforcements, never heard of projects, and monstrous commotions, to the effusion of Christian blood, and weakening the glory of our kingdom, have been atchieved and furthered by the means of popish priests, and jesuits, and the damnable doctrines and instructions of their associates, mere hypocrites both in life and doctrine; yea, that monstrous terror of Christendom, the family of Ottoman, and religion of Mahomet, was blown so big, as you see in the furnace of Sergius, a counterfeit monk, and now set on the throne of

imperiousness through his supportation and assistance in composing the Alcoran.

When this our priest, Richard Simond, or Versipellis Sinon, well perceived and understood the gentle condition and pregnancy of this Lambert, he wrought most cunningly upon him, and thought him a fit instrument to hammer out the devilish plots he projected; whereby, questionless, you may apprehend the cunning and malice of Satan, who can entangle men with such strange illusions, and all in the end to destroy them, and bring them to confusion. How else can any reasonable man apprehend, that a scholar and priest should be so infatuated as to make a silly fellow take upon him the person of a prince, laid long before in his grave, and murthered by the tyranny of an unnatural uncle? Yet did this novice go forward with these strange disguises, like a sealed dove flying into the hawk's seizure by her own wilfulness and blindness, and as if the poet should cry out,

Medeæ faciunt ad scelus omne manus:

So was he led by the hands of this priest, who was now set upon nothing but wickedness, and at the last plunged into the sea of turmoils.

But the chief original of this disturbance arose from a certain fame, and report, that King Edward's children were not dead, but secretly conveyed into some other country, as Edward, sirnamed the Outlaw, had in former times been into Hungary, and that Edward Earl of Warwick should be shortly put to death. O simple men! and oh vain multitude! that are carried away with every wind, believe unconstant reports, rely on foolish prophecies, and run along with uncertain rumours; which makes me remember one of the foolishest things that ever happened amongst us, of one Bolton, prior of St. Bartholomew's, about the fifteenth year of Henry the Eighth, who in a great rain, to prevent a prophecy, or rather his own atheistical fear, that the world, or if you will, the country should be drowned again, retired himself to a house made for the same purpose on the top of Harrow-hill, to the great amazement of the people, and his own eternal infamy, that being a clergyman believed in God no better, and understood the scriptures so weakly. But this was the blindness of those times, wherein men believed any thing was told them by a cozening priest, and durst report what they heard, threatening as they pleased, yet daring do nothing, because, when it came to their own carving, they knew not what to do, nor how to justify their own speeches, which in the best commonwealth, concerning rumour, is remediless, and concerning prophecies, with the best men, is unpreventable. For every man is afraid of the mischief, but never any anticipated the effect, or prevented the danger.

These lyes, for I may now well say *fama malum*, although they were frivolous and vain, and out of all likelihood, either of verity, or to set up any frame of stedfastness; yet animated and encouraged this priest, to propose a time of Lambert's royalty, with his own exaltation, if he could be persuaded to assume the character of Edward the Fourth's child, and so to lay claim to the crown of England, whereunto he was confidently led, as it were by the arm of foreign friendship and home

coadjutement, partly upon his own experience and knowledge of many wavering hearts in the kingdom, and partly upon a conference he had once with a Burgonian, who spared not to confess the hate of Lady Margaret, the duchess, against the King now reigning. Whereupon a philosophical meditation flattered him, that, where hatred and malice is once rooted in the heart of a woman, it will ever spring green, and never leave, till it have produced some fruit of vengeance, unless it be prevented by being digged up by the roots, and thrown into the fire; whereupon this poor priest was now brought into this foolish paradise, through his fantastical imagination, like him that had a brazen target carried over his head, for fear the sky should fall upon him; and so instructed his youth both diligently and effectually in Oxford, where he went to school, that he began to understand from what progeny he was extracted, with what titles he was to be saluted, and to how many families he was allied, all which he said was nothing, without some worthy actions of his own, to which purpose he very often remembered the poet:

Nam genus et proavos, et quæ non fecimus ipsi
Vix ea nostra voco.——'

He could also discourse of his mother's kindred as well as his father's, and tell the lamentable tragedies of both his grandfathers slain in the wars; especially, how the warlike Duke of York was abused by Queen Margaret, and that his uncle Gloucester had fulfilled the prophecy imputed to George Duke of Clarence. He had also so clerkly and craftily learned his lesson, that he could by name remember his kindred formerly dead, and capitulate his friends now living, and who would stand as supporters to his lawful and princely claim. To which he added a compleat manner of princely behaviour, both in gesture, gate, countenance, elocution, and courage, which was many times adorned with such a natural gravity and temperature, that he wondered at his pregnancy and apprehension; yea, his very heart leaped for joy, to imagine that the people, hearing him in this so wonderful a justification, and lively setting-forth of himself, must needs believe these deceitful pretences, and allow of so well coloured a falsehood.

While all things were thus enacted in the diabolical consistory of this priest's brain, there was a rumour vented abroad, as true as the rest, that Edward, the young Earl of Warwick, was broke out of prison; whereupon our Sir Simond, even with child again to be delivered of some prodigy, began to reason of the danger of delay, and benefit of expedition, and so changed Lambert's name into Edward Earl of Warwick, all things serving as well to this as the other. The joy whereof brought him into such an extasy, that he quite forgot the union of the houses, and how the King had married the eldest brother's daughter, which must needs be a bar to Warwick's claim, when wise men came to discuss the matter. But, resolved in the error of his illusion, he strongly conjectured, that any of the house of York were of sufficiency to pull down the strength of the Lancastrian family. Besides, he knew that *actio nulla laudata nisi peracta*, and therefore something must be done to

set the people on work, though it were with throwing fire-brands of division and falsity amongst them, even to the dazzling of their eyes with smoke, and casting the sparks about their ears. Whereupon, both craftily and audaciously, he put his business to the trial, and sailed with his pupil over into Ireland, where his grandfathers and ancestors had gotten such love and respect, that even the name of Mortimer and York was sanctified and religious amongst them. For barbarous nations are strong observers of ceremonies and customs, and whatsoever hath taken root and impression amongst them will hardly be removed or extinguished; as it is too lamentably apparent at this hour, where the imposturing of priests hath got the upper hand of all religion and piety, and to swear by O Neal's hand is of more efficacy, than to call God and heaven to witness.

Here he smoothly made relation of his own and the prince's fortunes and escape to certain of the nobility, especially of Geraldine's, whom he knew every way transported against the present government, enlarging his discourse with his miraculous preservation, when, without law, or other enforcement, he should have been cruelly put to death by the usurper, and brought in question for never-heard-of treason; all which, by God's providence, and his assistance, was judiciously prevented; and he had, from a mere commiseration of a prince's estate, ventured himself in that manner, and to such a place, where he supposed true-hearted honour was resident, and care of religion and humanity maintained.

Whereupon, Thomas Geraldine, lord chancellor of the kingdom, defrauded by this illusion, under colour of succouring the distressed, and performing a work of charity, received him into his castle, and, adding all the ceremonies of reverence and honour to his very person, assured him of aid, comfort, and supportation. To this you must suppose was an answer ready, and such an one delivered with so smooth and attractive a demeanour, that, though he had not been such as he protested, yet he would have sworn him of high birth and extraordinary bringing up; which caused him to assemble together all his affinity and friends, to whom he related the matter as it chanced, with intimation of the glory of the enterprise, and the good service to God and the church, for establishing a prince dejected in his throne, who was the true and only Plantagenet left to spring up into a spreading tree of royalty; and therefore he requested their loyalty and resolved courages to take his part, that the right heir of the crown might be restored to England, and themselves eternised to future memory for so meritorious a work. 'Little needed a spur, saith our proverb, to a forward horse;' all that saw him believed it, and such as heard only the report, according to the poet,

———*Et errorem vocis, ut omen, amo,*

clapped their hands for joy that they should be employed in an enterprise of such wonder and important greatness. Whereupon money, horses, armour, men, and all things else were promised, which might be advantageous to such a business. But, alas! Ireland was too weak, and of themselves they did only discover their malice, curbed yet with

insufficiency, giving the King notice how their wills exceeded their power, and that they were ready to entertain every opportunity to do any mischief. Therefore they sent over into England, acquainting many discontented persons with the business; but most principally, as to the life of their actions, they submitted to Margaret Duchess of Burgundy, sister of King Edward the Fourth, for her directions. This was a woman of a wonderful composure, so adorned with princely qualities, and settled in majestical authority, as you shall hear hereafter, that she was admired of all Europe, and beloved in her own country. Only, as stinking flies, lying secretly in boxes of sweet ointments, putrefy the same, an innate malice, and virulent hatred to the Lancastrian family, corrupted her other virtues, and, as it were, thrust up her princely endowments into a mere bog and pool of dirt and filthiness. For, although she knew the blood of York extinguished, and that the Earl of Warwick was in King Henry's possession, as taken forth, together with the Lady Elisabeth, now his wife, out of the castle of Sherrington in Yorkshire, under the custody of Sir Robert Willoughby, yet, insatiate in her hate, and so consequently in her revenge,

—— *Nam ingentes parturit ira minas,*

she admitted of every motion of disturbance, and invented means of her own to set in combustion the whole state of England, under a hopeful pretence to see the King overthrown and supplanted.

Thus did she pile up together the fire of this disturbance, and countenanced the matter more with her greatness and power, than all the other accomplices besides; but, if you ask me, How she continued in this authority, being a widow, amongst strangers, and enemy to so great a prince as the King of England? I will answer in a word, and measure out the chief and principal cord that bound her royalty together. Charles Duke of Bourgoigne, having married this Lady Margaret, daughter to Richard Duke of York, and sister to Edward the Fourth, had yet no issue by her, but left one sole daughter behind him, named Mary, which he had by his first wife, the daughter of the Duke of Bourbon. This was married to Maximilian, son to Frederick the Emperor, by whom he had two princes, Philip and Margaret; which children, after the death of the Lady Mary their mother, this Lady Margaret, Duchess-Dowager, so intirely loved, so tenderly brought up, so motherly nourished, and so carefully preserved, that she was highly reputed of and esteemed for the same. To which when she added a politick ordering her affairs, both for the maintenance of their honour, and administration of justice in the commonwealth (so that I may say, with the ancient * poet, "Sæpenumero jam per subtiliores sermones ivi, et ad contentiones veni majores, quam conveniat genus fœmineum perscrutari, &c.") the whole body of the government willingly consented to be apparelled and adorned after her fashion; so that, like an absolute prince indeed, she proceeded in the government both for their benefit, and the illustration of her own greatness.

* Euripidis Medea.

In this orb of reputation, thus moving herself, she still shined like a full planet, from whose influence could proceed nothing but sweet presages, till, stepping aside into a contrary motion of despight and rancour against the King, as an enemy to knowledge and her own conscience, she countenanced this ridiculous and yet unhappy conjuration, which by her means grew a-pace, like broad and stinking burs, unprofitable in themselves, and spoiling all the grass about them, until at last they were, by a politick hand of prevention, pulled up by the roots, and cast under foot into the dirt. For, when King Henry was certified of all these tumults and comminations, and knew the deepness and fulness of the channel, in which the tottered barque of this rebellion steered, he verily supposed the best point of wisdom was *principiis obstare*, and so attempted, with all care and vigilance, to turn the rage of these troubles another way, or else to prevent them from flowing over the banks of his inclosures. And, although the collusion and fraud of the invention vexed him more than the matter or substance of such a rebellion, yet he moderated his anger, and, with Janus, looked both ways, smiling with one face at the ridiculousness and deceit of the project, and marking warily with the other all the means to reduce the confused chaos of this molestation to better order and uniformity, desiring only at God's hands to prevent effusion of blood, which must needs be spilled in any settled war and contracted army. Besides, in well-ordered battles the event was disputable, and many times punishments were ordained, as well to reduce good men *ad correctionem* and amendment, as to bring bad men to *ruinam* and destruction; and therefore, if it were possible, he would rebate the insolency by other means, and divert it from handy blows and bloody contentions; whereupon he called his council together at the Charter-house, beside his royal mannor of Richmond, and there consulted how to pacify this sudden tumult and conspiracy, without any further disturbance, or open defiance. This motion of the King's, so tempered with gravity, mercy, and commiseration, was so well accepted of the whole company, that they presently applauded his high wisdom and religious care, and put in practice whatsoever seemed convenient for their intended affairs.

They first began with a general pardon, published to all offenders, that were content to receive the same, and remain obedient to the Majesty of England. For although, at this very instant, Sir Thomas Broughton, who had obscured the Lord Lovel, a great season, from the King, was in a manner ready to give him battle, with many friendly coadjutors, and a well settled army; yet did the King think it policy to desist from a forcible overrunning them; because, as desperate of life or pardon, considering their former treasons and abuses, they would hardly be reclaimed in their rages, but now fight for their lives and liberties. Again, in shewing exemplary justice upon them, once subject to accusation or condemnation, he must needs proceed against many, yea such, whose offences, in standing out, could admit of no pardon. And therefore, as I said, he gently proclaimed the same, which was much available to his purpose. For even those, which favoured the

Lord Lovel most, began to stagger in their resolutions, when they perceived the King's benignity, and knew, with what lenity and commiseration, he was willing to proceed.

Secondly, They thought it necessary and pertinent to their peace, to shew the son of Clarence personally abroad in the city, and other publick places; whereby the rumour might be dashed out of countenance, and the purblind eyes of false opinion extinguished. For such an impression this feigned relation of his escape had made, that, though they beheld him present, yet durst some of them swear, it was but a device of the King's; whereby you may observe the danger and inconveniencies of idle reports, which if they be not strangled in the cradle, with Hercules's serpents, and smothered betimes, before they come to stronger growth and life, will, viper like, after they have received warmth in one's bosom, fly in his face. Nay, such is the nature of devices in a tottering commonwealth, that prohibitions, to restrain them, augment them the more, and they who would have spoken nothing but truth, left to their own liberty, being prohibited, divulge more than they meant.

Thirdly, It was determined, that Queen Elisabeth, wife to Edward the Fourth, should lose her lands, and be deposed from all manner of sway in the government, because she had voluntarily submitted herself and daughters to the hands of King Richard, whereby all former contracts and pretences of establishment might have been frustrated, through the inconstancy of a woman; or as the state pretended a private ambition, or covetousness to set any loom on work, to weave the web of her own pleasure and contentment, which although it was a heinous crime, and very dangerous to the present King's peace and tranquillity; yet, questionless, the doom and judgment seemed over rigorous: *Durus fuit hic sermo*, and, if ever *summum jus* proved *summa injuria*, it was verified in this verdict. For, doubtless, they forgot the turbulency of those times, the rage of the tyrant, the fearfulness of many accidents, the seducings of a King, and the flattering promises of a whole commonwealth; wherein stronger judgments might have failed, than a woman's. But it should seem, that God hath a special hand in the punishment of sins, and disposing of kingdoms. For, without controversy, if she consented to the murthering of King Richard's wife, for her own ease and emolument; if she seemed an adversary to the good pretended to England, by uniting the families; or if she projected her own advancement in the present glory of the kingdom; forgetting the loss of her husband, the murther of her kindred, the slaughter of her children, the odiousness of the incest, and the curse of heaven upon crying sins: God would never suffer such horrible faults unrevenged, but, as you hear, inflicted her wavering and inconsiderate timerousness with this punishment. For she was presently confined to the abbey of Bermondsey in Southwark, and there deceased, after she had lived a while in some calamitous distress, and excruciation both of soul and body. Such are all human instabilities, wordly chances, and the condition of princes themselves. Otherwise, she that, being a poor widow,

had resisted the King's importunity, and by her chaste and modest behaviour attracted his good will, to marry her: She, that had founded a college in Cambridge, bearing her name, at this hour, of Queen's college, for the propagation of learning, and education of children and students: She, that had loved her husband, and the glory of England, endeavouring all things to the augmentation of the honour of them both: She, that seemed proud in works of charity, and to help forward the petitions of honest complainants, and distressed suitors: She, that kneeled on her knees, for Clarence's liberty, and importuned the King to remember his brother, by the example of Richard the First, who remitted his brother John, a far greater delinquent; had never fallen so low into the dangerous pit of a son-in-law's displeasure, and seen herself generally maligned through the kingdom; or else, as I said, the revealed things belong to us, the secret to God, who, questionless, blew the coals of this displeasure, to purge the contagion and infection of her heart, which was only known to himself.

Fourthly, Because they knew that reward and hope of gain might do much with corrupted persons, and irresolute men, as all rebels were, they proclaimed a gratuity of a thousand pounds sterling to any one, which would present the state, with the body of this counterfeit Lambert; to which they were the rather induced, because, not long before, the tyrant Richard the Third had prevailed with the like against the Duke of Buckingham, whom his own servant Banister betrayed, in hope of recompence from the state; which is also a custom in Italy, where the heads of the banditti are valued at so many checkinos, or pieces of gold; and so the zaffi, or other desperate ruffiani, obtain many preys and booties.

Last of all, it was concluded to have forces in readiness, and an army prepared, whatsoever should chance, with all provision and furniture belonging to the setting forth of the same, and honour of such a kingdom, that neither security or presumption, one way, of their own greatness and establishment, might make them too confident of themselves, nor vilipending and slight regard of the contrary, another way, too negligent against their enemies.

When all things were thus befitted to the disposing and ordering their affairs, on a Sunday ensuing, Edward, the young Earl of Warwick, was brought from the Tower, through the publick streets of London, to the cathedral church of Paul's, where he remained all procession time and high mass, having open conference with many of the nobility, especially such, who the King suspected might have been induced to the commotion, upon the full assurance of his escape. But, if he had asked them, Why he was imprisoned, or what transgression the King could impute unto him, to detain him in durance in that manner, and after put him to death, being an infant innocent, without law or reason, I marvel what they would have answered, or how the council themselves would have satisfied a judicious questioner in that kind? Yet, by this occasion, the imaginations of divers were settled, and the better sort

believed, that these Irish news were simulatory, and represented Ixion's boasting that he had lain with Juno, when it was but a cloud, as, by the monstrous birth of the Centaurs, did appear.

But it was not so with all: for, as it often happens in the stopping of a violent inundation of water, that it causeth it the more to rage and make a terrible noise, whereas, running in a deep channel, it would quietly go away: So it fell out, in the suppressing of these rumours, and men's hatred and malice; many were the more exasperated, and, by this gentle and fair course to reduce them, thought all but tricks of policy to deceive them; proving, like certain kinds of burs and nettles, which, softly handled, sting the more violently, but, hardly crushed together, lose their force and energy. Of this sort was the Earl of Lincoln, son to John de la Poole, Duke of Suffolk; and Elisabeth, another sister to Edward the Fourth; who, much maligning the advancement of this Earl of Richmond, far his inferior, as he supposed, took hold of this open rebellion, as a meet opportunity to beat out his own ends on such a pestilent anvil, and, therefore, determined to uphold, fortify, and support this Irish expedition, and take part with his new cousin, who, as he made himself believe, was escaped, indeed, for all the pretty conveniences of the state. This Earl of Lincoln, besides his blood, experience, and wisdom in great and important affairs, had a privacy of humour, which many men excepted against, as fantastical and precise; for he was so cautious in his words, and singular in his phrases and actions, that he would neither swear nor tell a lye, by reason his communication was still seasoned with savoury parenthesises and breakings off, or, if you will, aposiopesises; as, I will not confidently aver it, but it is so, and so, if men may be credited in their mortality.

The number amounts to so many, if men fail not in their computations, I dare not justify it further than one may credit another, with such like. Yea, in his enterprises, he was both curious and Roman-like for strictness of discipline, yet valiant enough. To conclude, in a word, had not the mantle of greatness overcovered his gesture and actions, the same garb and fashion in an inferior might have been thought ridiculous. But to our purpose in hand.

When he apprehended a kind of fear and jealousy in King Henry, through this false rumour, he determined, with the same water that drove the mill, to drown it, and, out of this fiction, to raise a matter of consequence. Whereupon, he presently repaired to Sir Thomas Broughton, and others, who, like the thieves of Egypt, lying in the reeds by the river Nile, breaking out upon any hope of advantage upon the silly passengers, watched all occasions to be revenged on the King, and yet could render no just account of their discontentments, and, after divers consultations, concluded to sail into Flanders, to his aunt the duchess, being his mother's own sister, and so, without further delay, after the King had dissolved the parliament at London, put the same in practice, whither he was welcomed with all worthy and kind embraces. Not long after, Francis, Lord Lovel, repaired unto him well accompanied, where, for the time secured, and assembling themselves with this position, that *omnia efficit consilium, quod et ferrum hostile efficere potest*, lest the world should laugh them to scorn, for prosecuting idle and vain attempts,

they resolve, That the Earl of Lincoln and Lord Lovel should repair into Ireland, and add a better countenance to the business by their presence, in attending and honouring their new King, with all graceful ceremonies and marks of Majesty. Then, with the power of the Irishmen, to bring him into England, by which time the Dutch forces would be ready to join with them. Last of all, to give King Henry battle wheresoever; in which, if they prevailed, they might, at their pleasure, depose this counterfeit Lambert, and deliver the true Earl of Warwick out of prison, in all which they proceeded accordingly, and with expedition.

But King Henry, supposing he had settled and appeased the minds and unstable humours of his nobility, by the personal presence of Edward, Earl of Warwick, began to be less moved and disturbed; yea, as it were, secure and careless of any further malice, and dangerous attempt, against his estate and dignity, mistrusting nothing less, than any man to be so foolish and mad, as to believe that Lambert could be the Earl; so that he conjectured nothing but the suppressing of these barbarous Irish, and the appeasing of that trouble, until he heard how the Earl of Lincoln was fled out of the realm, until he heard how the Lord Lovel was confederate with him, until he heard how divers were united unto them, until he heard how the Duchess of Burgoine coadjuted the enterprise, until he heard they had raised a strong party, and resolved to give him battle. This somewhat moved him, and exasperated his displeasure. For, when he saw no other cataplasm could serve the turn, but that he must cauterise the sore, and sear and cut away the putrefied flesh of this corrupted and rebellious body, he determined, with strong hand and martial power, to do the same.

Whereupon, he commanded his musters to go forward, and appointed the several captains a rendezvous where the whole army might meet, as occasion, and his adversaries, should excite him; and, lest others might pretend discontentments, wants, debts, devotion, pilgrimages, and such like, and so go out of the realm after the rest, he gave order to all lieutenants of shires, sheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, and officers, to search and watch the ports and havens, for the going out, and recourse of strangers, or passengers unlicensed and unlimited.

Thus, what he could not with the fox's, he was fain to compass with the lion's skin, and yet knowing, that *Victoria est tota sita in bona consultatione*, he did not cast away the other; but, when he saw no counsel nor policy could either soften their obdurateness, nor divert their officious intents against him, he resolved, with an equal strength, to remove the blocks of his peace and quietness, cast thus in his way by flagitious contumacy and ridiculous innovation. But some fires are not so easily quenched, as raised or maintained; for, though all his advices and good order consorted with success, yet were they not sufficient to stop the mouth, or hinder the passage of the present disturbance, with deputies or commissioners; therefore he set forward in person, supposing they would arrive from Flanders side, on some of those coasts, and so came to St. Edmondsbury, where he was certified, that the Lord Thomas, Marquis of Dorset, was coming to him, to excuse and purge himself of those crimes inforced against him, or, at least, such oversights, in

which he perfunctorily performed his duty, while he was in France. To him was sent the Earl of Oxford, by way of anticipation, to intercept, at this time, his journey. For the King was too full of troubles and cogitations about the suppressing his enemies, and new raised tumults, and so could not attend his business. The Earl had only commission to convey him to the Tower, which, when some of the council supposed a hard doom, he answered them plainly, What need further words? If he be my friend, as I am confident thereof, he will be contented a while to suffer a little reproach and rebuke for my sake; yea, peradventure, pleasure and contentment. If he be otherwise, it is a place of security, and would I had my adversaries as safe there, as they would have me in the like either mislike, or contention.

From thence the King went to Norwich, where he solemnised the feast of Christmas, and so departed to Walsingham, under pretence of devotion, as the superstition of those times required; for, according to that ancient poet, *Ritus vero extra justitiam sunt, rejicientes cultus deorum.* It was an instinct of nature to confess a deity, and maintain the sacrifices and offerings to the same. Now, because the most part of the world knew not the true God, they invented several idols to represent their several deities, to whom they brought their prayers and oblations, nor durst they enterprise any business without offertories and devotion, that their true intents might be acceptable to the God which commanded them; yea, such as professed religion, and abused their knowledge, invented images and devices, to please the natural man, because, with the reason of the idolater, they would not kneel to the air in vain, which was, and is, the error of Christians, both of the Greek and Latin church. Now, because our Lady was in these times the mediator of the papists, and the Lady of Walsingham, the most famous shrine of our country, as that of Loretto is at this hour for Italy; the King went thither for the impetration of prosperity in his affairs, and overthrow and dissipation of his enemies; which finished, he returned to Cambridge, and so to London.

In the mean while, the firebrand and fuel of this contention, Lady Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy, had blown the coals to such a heat, that there were two thousand Germans in a readiness, under the conduct of Martin Swart, a nobleman of Germany, and a martial man by profession, bold, expert, and daring, whom, after great rewards, and secret directions from a well contracted oratory, she sent into Ireland, with all his company, where they arrived at Dublin, and were joyfully welcomed by the prince, and other lords the confederates, especially the Earl of Lincoln, who well knew that no enterprise was to be entertained without men and money, and good beginnings were the drawers on of success in the end. Thus they made no more ado, but, in the pride and strength of their conspiracy, they proclaimed young Lambert King of England, with all the glorious titles, and glorious manner appropriate, as the time and country afforded, which ended, with other ceremonies and some circumstances; to set as upright their business as they could, they protracted no time, but, knowing the secret of expedition, which, as their case stood, must be their best friend, prepared for England, the army consisting as yet, principally, of high Germans, and a mul-

titude of beggarly Irish, which, according to the Roman saying, were many men and few soldiers. For their best defences were skains and mantles, and here and there a slender dart, fitter for a may-game, and to move wonder, than to oppose against good defences, and well ordered troops. Of these the Lord Thomas Geraldine was captain, and, with these and the rest, they landed for a special purpose (or, if you will, to unite themselves with Sir Thomas Broughton, one of the chief commanders in this unhappy conspiracy) at the Pile of Foudray, within a little of Lancaster.

These affairs, so notorious, and so publick, could not have so secret a passage and contrivance, but the worthy and wise King must needs be made acquainted with the same; whereupon he dispatched certain horse and scout-masters, through the west parts of the realm, to attend the arrival of his enemies abroad; yea, peradventure, to overwatch the actions of his friends at home, as much troubled with the unconstancy of these, as disturbed with the rebellion of them. Presently after he raised a sufficient army, over which the Duke of Bedford, and Earl of Oxford, were principal commanders, whom he sent forward before him; then he came in person to Coventry, where the principal rendezvous was appointed, and where he first heard of the landing of his enemies. Within a while he could fill up a schedule with the chief traitors names, and the manner of their troops and proceedings. Last of all, he called a council, proposing only two principal matters unto them: First, Whether it were better to encounter with his enemies out of hand, as Achitophel persuaded Absalom to do against David, and so to dissipate them by main force and expedition, according to the poet:

Tolle moras; semper nocuit differre paratis.

Secondly, Or weary them out by delays, and detracting of time, as Quintus Fabius, sirnamed after Maximus, did by Hannibal, and so sent him far enough from Rome into Brutia and Apuleia, whereupon he was eternised with

Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem.

The conclusion was, that, though many times great armies, whose fury at the first rushes could not be rebated, were at last spent with time, expectation, and many inconveniences; as want of pay, commotions, mutinies, incumbrances in a strange country, fear of foreign people, mortality, famine, and such like; yet, as the affairs of the kingdom stood, all speed, and an orderly festination, was to be put in practice, lest, like a ball of snow in a moist, cold, and misty country, which, by often rolling, groweth greater and greater, they might augment their numbers with their rage and madness, being so near the Scots, open enemies, and in the north parts, dissembling friends. Whereupon the King removed to Nottingham, and took a field near unto a wood, called Bowers, whither came unto him the Lord George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, the Lord Strange, Sir John Cheny, and many other commanders, with sufficient forces and furniture, to encounter

better men than heavy Germans, and unarmed Irish; and so the King's army wonderfully increased, and had the fulness of his subjects obedience, to his great satisfaction, and the comfort of all the rest. For a prince can in nothing be so well pleased as in the loyalty, love, and observation of the subject; nor the soldier so contented, as in the amity and full assurance of one another, especially being all of a nation and language, to understand the wants of such as would be supplied, and be relieved with the willingness of those which are ready to perform the same.

In this space, the Earl of Lincoln entered Yorkshire, by easy journies; for, not overwearying his princely nephew, unaccustomed to travel, and, after his precise manner, he both commanded, that no violence should be offered to any of the inhabitants, and commended all those who repaired unto him, using such humility and affable demeanour, that it won the hearts of many as yet unsettled unto him, and strengthened the love of such as had already submitted themselves. Notwithstanding, being much frustrated in his expectation of many coadjutors, and failing in that sufficiency, which he presumed upon, he began a little to entertain an ill companion to all noble designs, fear and mistrust; casting up an untoward reckoning of his proceedings in this manner: To retire back again were to meet death and destruction by a way which he looked not for: To go forward he was yet too weak, the King being so strong and inabled, which irresolution made the poet cry out:

Non satis est muris latebras quæsisse pavori?

And again,

——— *facilis sed vertere mentes*
Terror erat, dubiamque fidem fereuna ferebat:

At last remembering, that *audaces fortuna juvat*, and the adventures of war are not always bound to numbers and multitude: For King Henry himself had, not two years before (with a small power) vanquished King Richard and his mighty army. He absolutely determined to try the fortune of a battle, and encounter with his adversaries, who not only expected the like, as being in the same forwardness and resolution, but determined to rouse them, in despight of any protraction, in what den or place soever they meant to obscure themselves; whereupon he marched from York to Newark upon Trent, presuming the King to be two or three days journey from him, and so he was sure not to lose by the bargain. But, before he came thither, King Henry was in his bosom, as understanding his egress, regress, and progresses, which he undertook, and, when he came there, was ready to fly in his face; for he settled himself the night before the battle, approaching within three miles of the earl.

The valiant and over-hardy Earl of Lincoln, nothing terrified at the matter, but rather

——— *duro admisit gaudia vultu,*

And came forward a-pace; yet not in any over-daring manner, but, unstartled in his resolutions, retained his accustomed gravity, and very near the King's army at a village called Stoke, quartered his forces, and took the field, with resolution the next day to call fortune to the deciding of the controversy. The King likewise prepared himself, and, only acquainting the company with matters of necessity, in an equal and plain field divided the troops, and ranged the battalions.

To tell you of any signs, wonders, prodigies, prophecies, dreams, devices, forewarnings, or portentous accidents, making sometimes a cause either good or bad, would spend time to lose time, and procure small thanks in the pains; for the superstitious and ignorant would be angry at the opposition and repugnancy; and the truly religious offended at the vanity and superfluity, as abhorring the participation of divine power to men, devils, or angels. To enlarge my discourse concerning military proceedings, of intrenchings, fortifications, encounters, divisions of squadrons, and setting forward the forces, would prevent me from a fitter and more opportune occasion hereafter. To discourse of the captains, the soldiers encouragements, the Earl of Lincoln's orations, the King's forcible and gracious speech, the intimation of the imposture, the discovery of the treasons at large, were to prolong the history without further profit than a poor invention, which would, questionless, extenuate the worthiness of the business; therefore I desist from all extraneal and superfluous discourses, and apply myself to a more succinct enarration of the matter.

When the field was fully and orderly agreed upon, the precise earl, as if he would animate the King with a kind of precedency, set forth the vanguard of his army, and, with a manly courage, only animated the soldiers that day to remember his honour, the King's safety, and their own lives and liberties, and so gave a sign to the battle; whereat the Irish began their accustomed cry, or, if you will, *Lullal lullo*, which neither affrighted nor troubled the English on the contrary side, but ministered occasion rather to laugh at. The Germans, perceiving the skirmishes and violent meetings of these warlike bodies, contrary to their usual keeping of their stands and close fights, set upon the King's vanguard; and, as they were approved and expert men in many encounters, so did they, for the time, in all things, as well as strength and policy could execute, equalling and answering the English man to man, or battle to battle. And, for the generals, had the Earl of Lincoln been as nimble and active, as he was vigilant, valiant, and wary, he might well have paralleled the best of his adversaries. But to decypher, and truly to speak of Martin Stuart, I shall much disable his worthiness and merit: for he was heroick in spirit, strong in heart, and of great ability in body, expert, experienced, and failing in nothing but his fortune; for when the Irish, being most of them, as I said, unarmed, were put by their light manner of skirmishing a far off, and charged with strong horses on the flanks, and as strong bodies of pikes in the front; to which you may add the cunning of the King's artillery, and violence of the arrows, which fell down like hail upon these poor and naked souls; they knew no way of resisting or retiring, but were subject to a terrible encounter and slaughter. And, although they held out

a while, as long as an equal met manhood protracted the victory, yet were they so pressed and oppressed, that they quickly yielded, and shrunk under the strokes of a mightier arm. Again: the King's forward, being full of company, and well furnished, continually supplied with wings and archers, and wonderfully encouraged with the high deserving of the commanders, at last broke the body of the Germans, and scattered their company with a lamentable discomfiture. Yet I must needs say, they were first more terrified to see the Irish killed so confusedly, than exanimated with their own disasters. What should I report? It is with staggering troops and dispersed companies, as with a man falling down a pair of stairs, who never leaves tumbling till he come to the bottom: So these yielded to the fortune of a defeat without recovery, and only met honour in the way to a glorious death; therefore I will stand the less on descriptions: for never was a victory so soon gotten, nor a business more quickly ended; many being slain, many taken prisoners, many hurt, and few or none escaped. The chiefest reason is, because the Lord Lovel, the Earl of Lincoln, and other commanders, desperate of mercy, or reconciliation, and wondering at the valiant German's manhood and exploits, joined with him in a new adventure, and cried aloud, 'We will die with thee, noble heart, for thou art worthy to live with Kings and die with princes; yea, to be buried in the fields of everlasting renown:' And so they were as good as their words; for, after men and manhood had acted their parts on this bloody stage of fury and slaughter, they were all found dead in the field; that is to say, the Lord Martin Swart, or, if you will, Sward, the Earl of Lincoln, the Lord Geraldine, the Lord Lovel, Sir Thomas Broughton, with the most part of the commanders, and five thousand soldiers.

The report was, that the Lord Lovel took his horse, and would have fled over Trent; but, not able to recover the highness of the banks, he was drowned in the river. Some also maintain, that the King, out of the generosity of his spirit, commanded that none should kill or hurt the Earl of Lincoln, that, being brought unto him, he might discover the secrets of this mischief, and the viperous brood of false-hearted subjects. But the soldiers would not permit it, lest the saving of his life might, by detection, endanger divers others, as good as himself, and so killed him by way of anticipation.

After this victory, the King would needs solemnise a thanksgiving to God in the open field, as well to avoid ingratitude, as to give good example. And when it was urged, he might better defer it till he came to some religious place, or house of devotion; he more religiously assured them, that God was every where, and neither the place, nor the manner, graced the sacrifice, but the intentiveness of the heart, and true meaning of the soul, which he had learned of the poet, and so alledged these verses out of Lucan:

Estque Dei sedes, ubi terra, et pontus, et aer,
Et cœlum, et virtus: superos quid quærimus ultra,
Jupiter est, quodcunque vides, quodcunque moveris?

This the bishops present durst neither deny, nor would willingly

approve, for fear of any diminution in their settled ceremonies and glorious cathedrals: but at this time the King's ardency prevailed, and he kneeled down on the bare ground in the open fields, and rendered thanks and praises to God. Afterwards, he gave order for the funerals of the dead, shedding tears himself, in commiseration of so many worthy men slain for such an unjustifiable business; the people yet unmoved, and the soldiers not so much as daunted, though they saw the bleeding carcasses and wounded bodies, according to the saying:

Exemploque carens, et nulli cognitus ævo
Luctus erat, mortem populos deflere potentis.

Then he proceeded to the casting up a new account of mercy and forgiveness, proclaiming pardon to all, that would penitently admit of the same, and, to his eternal fame, not only gave Lambert and the priest their lives, but commanded, that no man should abuse them, with contumely and reproach, as perceiving the one, for his years, incapable of the apprehension of treason, or flagitious circumstances concerning the same; the other (for his orders and profession) to be a privileged person; yet, most heroickly and wisely, he told him, That he, which rolleth a stone up a hill, may, peradventure, have it fall upon his own head; and he, that looketh too high in a dangerous intrenched ground, may fall into the ditch. Notwithstanding, for his penance, he was committed to perpetual imprisonment; but Lambert admitted into the palace, and, from place to place, came at last to be one of his Majesty's faulconers. Last of all, he looked joyfully on his own company, and, in remuneration of their loyalty and noble services, spread the mantle of honour over divers, and imparted several rewards to the rest, according to their places of eminency.

This battle was fought on a Saturday, the sixteenth of June, 1489, and in the end of the second year of Henry the Seventh. And thus was all this high enterprize of Lady Margaret, represented to a ball blown out of a box of soap and water, which, when it comes to a swelling fulness, at last bursts into pieces of itself; of which when she was advertised, and had cause sufficient of exclamation and repining against her misfortune, and disastrous prevention of her malice; yet was she so far from relaxation or pacifying her hate, that it rather exasperated the same, and made her more forward to contrive more hellish projects, as we shall see by and by; so that I may well exclaim:

——— *O rabiosa mulier!*
Quam sit manifesta phrenesis!———

Yea, she set up such a loom out of her pestilent invention, that a man would think it impossible for a woman to contrive, or prosecute, but that the old poet hath so long ago told us:

Præterea nos sumus mulieres,
Ad bona quidem ineptissimæ,
Malorum verè omnium effectrices sapientissimæ.
Eurip. Medea.

Yes, for the time, she deplored the miscarrying of the matter, but was not ashamed to confess, that she cared not, by what means, King Henry might be debased.

After this great mischief, like a piece of ordnance overcharged, was thus broken in the fulness, and that with little trouble, tumult, and expences, compared to many other wars The King, as you heard, returned thanks to the decider of all controversies; and presently sent word to London, of his prosperity and adventure, seeming sorry for nothing, but the death of the Earl of Lincoln, assuring the Duke of Bedford and Earl of Shrewsbury, that he delighted in his humours, and had a determination to have saved his life; adding yet this by the way, that he was amazed at nothing more, than the audaciousness of the man, that durst (so meanly accompanied) set upon such a great and puissant an army. Therefore it must needs be, that he presumed on further supplies, or some breakings out among themselves. But seeing it hath pleased God, that we have not only escaped this threatening storm of commotion and disturbance, but also, choaked with the dust of their own dissension, the interior divisions and conspiracies of the kingdom. Let us, my Lords, I pray you, be somewhat considerate, touching tumultuous and discontented persons, that they may be orderly satisfied in their honest demands, and discreetly prevented from unlawful conventicles, or associated assemblies of unquietness, and murmuring against our government, under colour of hunting, fairs, markets, horse-races, weddings, and such like. Let us also have a care of our ports, harbours, and havens, to prevent wanderers and travellers, who, from the excuses of devotion to visit Rome, and curiosity to explore foreign countries, do many times deceive our trust with indirect and preposterous business.

In this triumphant prosperity he returned to London, and was as well welcomed by the people, as contented in himself, and so ran forward in the race of all mundane felicity and majestical happiness. But neither his own wisdom, the vigilance of the officers, the fidelity of his nobles, the policy of his counsellors, the loyalty of his subjects, nor the whole regard of the commonwealth, could turn the frame of heaven about, nor prevent his destiny, concerning following mischiefs:

Nam fato prudentia minor:

That is to say, could put a scarlet cloth over the sting of that serpent envy, to pull it out of the heart, no not out of the mouth, no not out of the hands of the Duchess of Burgundy. But she must be tampering with the edge tools of devillish spight, and beating on the anvil of malicious calumniation, or, if you will, conspiracy, hoping, at one time or other, to hammer out such a work of disturbance, that neither the King should be able to quench the flames, nor the subject daring to disable the enterprize. Whereupon, to prevent all claims, exceptions, and means of distrust, some four years after, she set up another idol of defiance, personating Richard Plantagenet, second son to King Edward the Fourth and Duke of York, supposed to be murthered with his brother Prince Edward in the Tower, who, as it were, resuscitated from death to life, or rather reserved by miracle, must be at last a

scourge to the usurping house of Lancaster, which, as it began with the blood of that innocent Richard the Second, must now be revenged with the destruction of the conqueror himself. Nor was this barely alledged to her friends and followers, but adorned with certain illustrations of example and precept. First, concerning the wonder and deliverance of the prince, she alledged the example of Joash, kept from the rage of Athaliah, and after advanced to the throne of Judah. Then, for the business of the war and revenge, she proclaimed herself another Thomyris, who overcame the Persians, and, in recompence of her son's death, cut off the head of Cyrus, and slew two-hundred thousand of his people. Nor seemed this mischief simply to be acted on the stage of fiction, like an historical tragedy, or ridiculous innovation: But a work of pestilent contriving and settled resolution, from the policy of many circumstances, and prevention of former inconveniencies. For she not only stood on a guard of circumspection, reforming all such errors as had passed in Lambert's disaster, but took a time according to the poet:

Ingeniosæ mulieres ad inveniendum fraudes,

When the King was walking in the fields of renown and victory, before the city of Bulloigne in France, and had newly returned to Calais, not with an intent to leave the war, but with commiseration of his people, and to preserve them from a certain destruction in assaulting the town, without further assurance of spoils, renown, or enlarging his territories.

Here he understood first of this project, so that he was compelled to make peace with France, for fear of this strange eruption at home, which he well perceived, upon further enlargement of her proceedings, would resemble a smith's forge, which sprinkled with a little water, must needs recover a greater heat; but either scattered abroad, or extinguished, could not further prejudice, which was not to be done by two armies at once, both in France and England, without hurrying, as it were, the kingdom to extremities; he was the sooner, as I said, induced to contrive his business from a treatise of pacification with the French King, not once mentioning any domestick suspicion or insurrection. Nay, he kept this rumour close from his own subjects, and when he certified the Mayor of London of all his affairs, he only mentioned, that his army in France was dissolved upon an honourable composition, and receiving eight-hundred-thousand ducates to defray the expences of his journey. And so with a kind of applause and satisfaction of all sorts, he returned into England to attend the proceedings of such enemies, as this devilish woman the Duchess would animate and support against him. All which happened in the beginning of the seventh year of his reign, presently after the birth of Henry his second son created Duke of York.

For all this wonderful haste, which the Duchess of Burgundy made to King Henry's destruction, you must consider that he never gave occasion unto her of displeasure, or affront: But the malice (viper like, who, being full of poison, must needs spurt it abroad, or burst

in pieces with the venom) sprang from herself, because he was of the house of Lancaster, and adverse lineage to her family, according to that authentick saying,

Mulier enim aliàs quidem metus plena,
Ignava autem ad pugnam, ferrumque aspicere:
Quando verò in matrimonio injuria affecta fuerit,
Non est aliorum mens truculentior,——

which caused her to devise and invent how to cast a scorpion in his bosom, or infect the whole realm with a discord most violent and pestiferous. And, because she would intermingle reason with her enforcement, she made the death of the Earl of Lincoln, a man every way answering Henry of Richmond, as she termed the King) the motive to her revenge, and desire to infest the whole kingdom: Not caring what became of him, so she might satiate her rancorous hate, and set up some of her own faction to give her joys the fulness of hope in prevailing.

Thus like a dog she returns to her vomit, or as a spider, who, perceiving her caul broken and torn in pieces, still spinneth a new web, she inventeth far fetched devices and (as we say) rather than sit out will play a small game; nay, be contented with poor acates, though she know the devil provides the sauce. But it should seem her venomous stomach is prepared for corrupter and fuller banquets, and she means to spread a cloth of insatiate gluttony, to feed on the several dishes of envy, hatred, malice, spight, vexation, deceit, wickedness, and devilish invention; whereupon she casts her eyes towards a young man, not fully sixteen, of visage beautiful, of countenance majestical, of wit subtle and crafty: In education pregnant, in languages skilful: of behaviour extraordinary, and of manners audacious, called Peter Warbeck, a Fleming, and yet in scorn nicknamed both by his countrymen, and English, Perkin, according to the Dutch phrase, who character cowardly and timorous younglings in that manner. His lineage and bringing up he shall shew you hereafter, in his publick confession. His actions and proceedings, till then, or if you will fatal ruin, I will undertake, and (as far as my ability may extend, or the dangerous business in hand require) delineate unto you: Desiring all estates whatsoever to behold the attributes of God in this history, as his power, wisdom, providence, justice, mercy, and what else belongeth to the humbling of mortal men, or pulling on their knees the proudest presumption and security, but especially confounding the inventions of men, and policies of Satan, as laughing all to scorn, that submit not to his greatness and unmatchable power, according to our Lucan Lib. ii.

Jamque iræ patuere deum, manifestaque belli
Signa dedit mundus: legesque et fœdera rerum
Præscia monstrifero vertit natura tumultu,
Indixitque nefas;

First, a mighty prince was not only terrified with an idol and puppet,

as it were, made of straw and painted cloth, but threatened to be shouldered aside, out of his firmness and throne of Majesty: Secondly, when the wheel was turned about, God derided the devil, and brought this mountain of pride down with a vengeance, seeing the noble King's innocency, patience, and humility: Thirdly, he taught all abominable and diabolical practices a new lesson, condemning both the actors and contrivers, as frenetical, and foolish: Fourthly, he instructed the best of men, to consider they were but men subject to the inconveniences of life, mutability of the world, counterchangeableness of times, and inconstancy of people: Last of all, to make us know that all actions grounded on irreligious foundations, and wicked conventions, must needs fail in the end; for, rather than punishments shall not follow sins, God will scourge one wicked man with another, as you saw how all the monarchies of the earth were dissolved, and the kingdoms of the Gentiles brought to ruin and desolation. But now to our story.

After the Duchess of Burgundy had fastened on this anchor-hold for her revenges, she caused the young man to travel into many countries to learn as many languages, whereby he was so perfect in the English, that she rejoiced to think in what a well-manured ground she had sowed the seeds of her hopes; by which occasion, the baseness of his stock and birth was so obscured, that few or none discovered the same, or durst detect the secrecy. Thus she kept him a certain space privily with herself, and used such diligence and instruction concerning the house of York, the affairs of England, and the lineage, descent, and order of her family, that, by that time he came to repeat his lesson, she verily believed he was the same she had supposedly contrived, and he quite forgot that ever his first original came out of the dunghill. For, without any difficulty, or sign of subornation (such a forcible impression hath the hope of honour and preferment, according to that common saying, *Honores mutant mores)* he kept such a princely countenance, and counterfeited a majestical royalty, that all others firmly approved he was extracted out of the blood of Plantagenet, and observed him accordingly. She again grew proud of nothing so much as the wonderment of her own handywork, and that, out of so little a cloud, she should raise such a tempest of trouble and distraction: But our Ovid indoctrined her,

Flumina magna vides parvis de fontibus orta,

and she knew she was a woman fit to be such a work-mistress.

Whereupon, taking an opportunity of the King's wars in France, she sent for her youngling out of Portugal, and privily conveyed him into Ireland, with sure and forcible instructions how to inveigle and incite this rustical people to admit of him, who, besides their natural inclination to rebellion and disorder, would now be glad of this new occasion and business, to revenge the slaughter of their countrymen: and although it might seem to reasonable men, and understanding apprehensions, that the unhappy proceedings of Lambert, and his counterfeit associate, the priest I mean, might have been a sufficient warning unto them for ever being taken again in the net of such abuses, or intangled with the snare

of collusion; yet did he so demean himself, that he made these doubts the veryg ound of his acceptation: For, once again, insinuating with the houses of the Geraldines and Butlers, he plaid the orator with them, and, as we say, *captare benevolentiam*, thus persuaded them to give credit and affiance to his false and wonderful demonstrations, as though he had been the very son of King Edward indeed.

"MY worthy lords, and gracious friends, said he, for the generality of my business, I hope you are not unacquainted with many instances of distressed princes, flying to one another for refuge and succour, when an overdaring hand of a more mighty enemy hath suppressed them, of cunning insinuation spread abroad a mantle of more forcible reasons to admit of his title in prevailing, rather than to look after the weakened estate of his wronged and abused competitor; for so Jeroboam and Hadad the Edomite were entertained in the court of Pharaoh, merely from charitable commiseration against Solomon, who had yet formerly married a daughter of Pharaoh; and, amongst ourselves, the sons of that valiant Edmund Ironside fled from Canutus into Hungary, and were there protected; yea, advanced in marriage, for the further and better recovering their inheritances. But what need I go further, than the usurper now reigning, who, in spight of my father, and uncle of Gloucester, was entertained by the Duke of Bretagne, and the French King, and, as it were, secured from all treasons and corruption, or, if you will, policy of searchers, to bring him to destruction; wherein, questionless, those princes, as they obtained a perpetual renown for so noble and glorious a charity, so did they repute nothing so meritorious, as the extension of favour, and a helping hand to the perfecting such a work from princely compassion: therefore, I will say the less, in this point, unto you, because you have ever been faithful to my progenitors, and willing to be counted a nation for the defence of virtue, and repulsing of injuries. As for the ill success of Lambert in personating my cousin, the Earl of Warwick, and setting a-foot that title, whereby you may be terrified in future prosecutions: Alas! I confess it was for my sake, and a mere device to sound the ford of the troublesome streams of those times and proceedings; wherein, if my uncle of Lincoln had any way thrived, you must be assured, though they would not hazard my person so young, yet it was only to make way to my fortunes. For small recompence should have stopped his mouth, and, *ut major lux extinguit minorem*, my presence quickly have turned the stream, and, with the sun, exhaled the strength of his meteor. This trick my grandfather put upon the state, when he was governor amongst you, by Jack Cade of Kent, who proclaimed himself Mortimer, to see how the people affected the title, or could remember the genealogy in the truth of his precedency, as marrying the daughter of the Lionel Duke of Clarence, third son of our great Edward the Third of England, and heroes of his time; so that I hope this shall be no bar or interception, either to my interest, or your goodwill, considering I am now come in person to offer up myself a sacrifice, if need be, for you all, and promise you, by the secrets of my birthright, to make you a glorious and free nation under me, if I prevail by your means."

These words were uttered so audaciously, and yet with simulatory majesty, that they conceived every thing in his behalf, and not once disputed on the craft or cunning conveyance of the business, but exalted and applauded him with all reverence and due honour, combining themselves with affectionate obedience to his aid and assistance; wherein, that they might be the better induced just at the same instant, as if honour made haste to welcome him, according to our poet:

Nunc festinatos nimium sibi sensit honores.

And fortune determined to smile on them all. Charles, the French King, in some displeasure with King Henry of England, sent for Perkin out of Ireland, with resolution to make him the royal head of an army against England; which, although it much animated the Irish to believe the former seduction, yet, it was but a device of the French King's to divert the war, which the King of England pretended, out of France, and so to force him back again to look home to his own affairs. Howsoever, this our counterfeit was not a little revived with such a message, and supposed himself exalted to heaven, it being thus called to the familiarity and acquaintance of Kings and princes; so that, coming into France accordingly, he was royally accepted, and after a princely manner entertained, having a guard assigned him, whereof the Lord of Congreshall was governor. Hitherto also repaired unto him, especially while he lay in Paris, Sir George Nevil the Bastard, Sir John Tailer, Rowland Robinson, and a hundred English rebels. But, alas! all these were but smoaking illusions; for, on a sudden,

——— *Ingemuit rector, sensitque deorum*
Esse dolos, et fata suæ contraria menti.

And, when a peace was to be determined and concluded between England and France, the French King quickly dismissed the young man and all his associates, under colour of excuse, that he durst no longer protect him against his new confederate, and brother of England; but some others attending upon him yielded a more forcible reason for his departure, that he himself suspected how King Charles would deliver him into the hands of the King of England, and therefore he beguiled the Lord Congreshall, and fled from Paris by night. But, howsoever this may be disputed, and whether he departed without the King's consent, or no, he was, questionless, deceived in his expectation, and, in a manner, desperate of success; so that, loth to remain amongst such distrustful enemies, he quietly returned to his most assured friend, the Lady Margaret of Flanders, the master-builder of this work.

The Duchess, before he came, thought every hour from his departure, a whole year, till his return: for to hear, how he proceeded, was a quiet to her thoughts; and to know, how fortune would deal with him, a joy to her heart; but to see him, a very ravishment. Yet, when she understood how he was abjected and repudiated in the French court, it could not choose but be a great agony and amazement unto her. Notwithstanding, to prevent all suspicion, she seemed at his arrival no less

revived, than a mother is glad for the return of her long absent son, or a person condemned, for a pardon and restoration of his life and dignity. At his first approach she received him with large embraces, and hanging over his neck, seeming to shed tears of joy and comfort for his escape from many dangers and adventures: O dissembling and deceivable hypocrisy! that ever a woman should be the author of such devilish devices and hellish projects, and yet over-daub her mischievous imaginations with the sugared shows of love, and regard of pity towards a prince in distress; but this made Hippolytus long ago cry out,

> *O Jupiter! quodnam adulterinum hominibus malum*
> *Mulieres, ad solis lucem habitare fecisti, &c.*
> Eurip. Hippolytus Coronatus.

And this she had learned of her own physicians, who, in administering of bitter pills, had shewed her to roll them over in some candied powder; and this we have taught ourselves out of God's own mouth, who, in several places of scripture, hath published wherein a bad woman doth exceed all the creatures of the world.

After this extasy was past, she proceeded with a cunning desire to have him relate his first miraculous preservation, his after-travels and exploration of countries, next his entertainment in Ireland and France; and, finally, his resolution to go forward in his noble and necessary intendment for his inheritance, and recovery of the crown of England; wherein he proceeded so effectually, and orderly, without stammering or stuttering, that the whole company verily believed it; and such as were not present, the rather, induced by the report of others, sorrowing for nothing but that they heard him not *viva voce*, and endeavouring what they could to present their personal obedience unto him: whereupon, when she perceived how every thing consorted to her own wishes, she assigned him a guard of fifty persons in murray and blue, and honoured him with a cloth of estate, and denomination of the White Rose and Prince of England.

From thence forward the nobility of Flanders, and divers of England, with all obsequious diligence attended him, and, from a reverend estimation of his ancestors, performed all the good offices which belonged to the exornation of his Majesty, and extension of their own loves and duties; so that, in a word, this Sinon's horse entered the broken walls of Troy, and feigned invention, shadowed with the pretence of verity and truth, prevailed with their credulity, that they adhibited the more faith and undoubted trust unto it, supposing verily he had been preserved by the will and providence of God, and so committed to the trust and custody of some faithful friend, either by King Edward, or his mother when she was in sanctuary; relying also on this impossibility, that any tyrant would so rebel against God, as infringe the orders of holy church, and take him per force from thence, as yet the story manifesteth was to be done even by the cardinal himself.

By this time the fame of this juggled miracle was not only blown over Flanders and the territories adjacent, but so rumoured in England, by

reason the present government suppressed all publick reports, libels, and writings, that in the very whispering,

Nam fraudibus eventum dederat fortuna,

It was more forcible than if it had been published by license and authority. Thus have I seen a fire smothered, and inclosed in some secret place, never to be quiet, till it were vented out; and, when it came to eruption, made the more forcible and outrageous noise. For it was here received as an infallible truth, and not only believed of the better sort, but entertained of the common people; who, being more liberal of audacious behaviour, and less fearful to offend God, began to confirm it with oaths as a matter of truth, which others barely affirmed as a report of uncertainty.

Thus began trouble upon trouble; and, as the spring putteth forth the buds and blossoms, like the messenger of summer and pleasant times to ensue, so did this fantastical fable, thus divulged, prognosticate following calamity and consequent desolation. For, after it was known with what honour he had been entertained in Flanders, and reverenced in other places of Europe, there began sedition on every side in England, and no man was sure of his friend, the times grew to such distraction. Some, that were fled to sanctuaries, for great and heinous offences perpetrated, discharged themselves, and went beyond the seas unto him: some, that had confined themselves to privileged places, for debts and accounts, began to shew themselves under his support and combination, then being safest, when the state is unsafest: some, even of the better sort, through rashness and temerity, because they would be counted factious and stirring, drew a-pace unto him: some, out of the nature of inconstancy, or rather impression of melancholy, never to be removed from the opinion they have once entertained, believed verily, that this Perkin was the undoubted son of Edward the Fourth: some, through simplicity and easiness of apprehension, without examining the probability and likelihood of the matter, yielded to any thing which was told them: some temporisers, to curry favour in the change of princes, persuaded and sollicited others to their opinions, that so, bringing many coadjutors, they might not only be reputed of strength and reputation in their countries, but the better welcomed and entertained with the prevailers: some, through indignation and envy, murmuring at their slender advancement, or grudging they were not more condignly rewarded for their former pains and adventures in his Majesty's business, resorted to this new prince, in hope of better acceptation: and some, over-wearied with ease and placability of idleness, grieving to see the world stand at a stay, with desire of change ran headlong into this fury, madness, and seditious conspiracy:

O tempora! ô mores! ô flagitiosa voluntas!

But, offer all this rumour of this twice-born Duke Richard of York, and that England was divided and drawn into parts-taking and several factions, so that the minds of men were vexed either with the hope of

gain or preferment, or fear of loss and confusion; yet were the King and his council not much disturbed or affrighted, more than their marvel and modest anger at so many persons, seeming in their right wits, to be seduced either in the contriving such a manifest and notorious lye, or assenting and preparing themselves to countenance the same, without fear of God or men, not once forecasting the dangerous penalty of treasons, contempts, conspiracies, and practices against their natural prince, and so sufficient a governor. For it was not only a pernicious fable and fiction, strange and marvellous, but prodigious and unnatural, to resuscitate a man from the dead, and with impudent asseveration to set it forth, and palliate it with the vesture and garment of a professed verity. But, in such cases, be Kings never so wise, nor matters so trivial and unlikely, there is no sitting still, nor giving way to the business; especially, there is no rebating an enemy with proclamations, writings, and prohibitions, who cometh forward with the clamours of war, and well-settled preparation of offence. Therefore his Majesty thought it the best course to look about him, and, both by force and policy, to prevent the mischief impending and threatened; for he perceived how already the fire of rebellion had taken hold of some of the principal houses of England, who, he knew, had underhand already sent messengers unto Lady Margaret, to understand when Richard Duke of York would come conveniently into England, that they might be ready to help and succour him, even at his first arrival.

This business increased to a fulness and ripeness, about the eighth year of his Majesty's reign; insomuch that the confederates (by common assent and agreement) posted over Sir Robert Clifford, knight, and William Barley into Flanders, to be the better assured of all particulars; who were not only gladly accepted, and lovingly welcomed of the Duchess, with full intimation of the truth, and wonderful delivery of the strangeness of the story,

Nec gravidæ lachrymas continuere genæ,

but brought to the sight and sweet entertainment of Perkin, who plaid the counterfeit so exactly, that his words resembled forcible incantations, according to that of the poet:

Una per æthereos exit vox illa recessus,
Verbaque ad invitum præfert cogentia numen.
Lucan. Lib. vi.

For all men praised his virtues and qualities, with a resolved belief of his princeliness; and Sir Robert Clifford swore directly, that he was extracted of the blood royal, and the very son of King Edward the Fourth. Whereupon he wrote letters of confidence and credit to his associates in England, that, as the Queen of Sheba told Solomon, she did not believe the half of that which was reported, till she had seen it with her eyes; so he could not be persuaded to so much, as rumour had presented, till he had overviewed him in person. But, when these letters were received in England, the conspirators caused them to be openly published

and divulged in many places, with full credence, that it was true, and not feigned, which was spoken by the Duke of York, and therefore they need not be afraid to be drawn to such a commotion and parts taking; all yet was carried so orderly and covertly, that the King (more than uncertain suspicion) could not as yet detect any person of name or quality, which troubled him so much the more.

But, when he perceived indeed, that this misty vapour was not quite vanished, nor the impression put out of the mad brain of the common people, and understood how Sir Robert Clifford was privily fled into Flanders, he resolved on a conspiracy against him; and thought it expedient, both for the safeguard of himself and his realm, whose reciprocal good or hurt were dependent one upon another, to provide some remedy for the repressing of this abusing fraud and deceit, and suppressing the insolency, if it should extend to force and rebellion. Wherefore he dispersed several companies, both of horse and foot, to defend the sea-coasts, that no man might pass or repass unapprehended, who had not license or safe-conduct for his journey, business, and affairs. Then he sent down the lieutenants and justices into their several countries, to detain the people in obedience, and muster the forces of the same, as occasion should serve; which order observed, he underhand authorised wise and discreet spies into all the cities of the Low Countries, to discover of what province, progeny, parentage, and estate this misnamed Richard was descended and propagated, promising princely rewards to such persons, as could relate the truth, and, as a man may say, enucleate the secret. Besides, he wrote loving letters to certain trusty friends concerning the same; who, to do their prince and country service, dispersed themselves into several towns and cities, both of France and Burgundy; where they were certified and assured, by the testimony of many honest persons (amongst whom, some of special wit and behaviour repaired to the town of Tournay) that this feigned duke was of mean parentage, and truly named Peter Warbeck; which was principally confirmed by one Nathaniel Osbeck of his own kindred, who, as it should seem, in hope of reward, took upon him more than the rest, and exprobrated him, for so counterfeiting, with this taunt out of the poet:

Sed malé dissimulas, quis enim celaverit ignem,
Lumine qui semper proditur ipse suo?
Paris Helenæ.

And alas! however he is now transhaped into a princely garb and fashion, we of Peter named him Perkin, for his effeminateness and childishness.

With this news and man, the inquisitors returned into England, and made a true report unto his Majesty of all they knew and heard, both concerning the assumed presumption and impudence of the counterfeit, as also the proceedings and purposes of all the conspirators; which was seconded by the faithful letters of especial persons, who had larger commission to make their continuance the longer out of England. When the King was thus satisfied, and, (as he supposed) to all seeming reason-

able understanding, had openly and apparently manifested it, he resolved to have it further published and declared, by open proclamations, and sound of trumpet, both in the realms of England and Ireland, and in the courts of foreign princes; for which purpose he sent over divers ambassadors to many countries, especially to Philip Archduke of Burgoigne, and his counsellors, as a place which nearest concerned him. This ambassy was the charge and commission of Sir Edward Poinings, a most valiant gentleman, and William Warham, doctor of the laws, a man of great modesty, learning, and gravity. The general points of their commission had large fields to walk in, but the principal matters to be enforced had these limitations:

FIRST, To declare, that the young man, resident amongst them, with the Lady Margaret, was descended of a base and obscure parentage, having falsely and untruly usurped the name of Richard Duke of York, who long before was murthered in the Tower, with his brother the prince, by the commandment of King Richard, their uncle, as many men living can testify.

Secondly, That, from the probability of the matter, and inforcement of reason, there was no likelihood that King Richard, dispossessing the prince both of his life and kingdom, would leave the other brother still to affright him, and trouble him in his government.

Thirdly, That Queen Elisabeth, their mother, was therefore attainted in parliament, for surrendering her daughters into the tyrant's custody, and committing them into his hands, who, she knew, had already murthered their brethren.

Fourthly, To desire the Archduke, and the principal lords of his council, not to give any credit to such illusions, nor suffer themselves to be any more blinded or seduced with impostures, or shadowing appearances of truth.

Last of all, To remember how King Henry had (some few years since) succoured and relieved Maximilian, their principal Lord, almost oppressed and overcome with the foreign hostility of the French King, and intestine rebellion of his own subjects; and therefore it must be unprincely, and a point of great ingratitude, either directly or indirectly, to abet or maintain any traitor or traitorous practices against him, or the peace and tranquillity of his kingdom.

With these instructions the ambassadors sailed into Flanders, and were gently received and honourably welcomed by the Archduke and his council, as appeared by the solemnity of their audience, and quick dispatch of their business; wherein Dr. William Warham, in a well-penned oration, declared the King's mind, as before you heard, and, by the way, touched the malice of Lady Margaret, saying with the poet,

——*Tantæ animis cœlestibus iræ?*

And under a kind of reprehension, rebuked her treacherous disposition against a prince of so great worth and deserving, that never wronged her,

nor entertained a prejudicial motive, to afflict either her or her's, with any malignant injury; wherein she only might be compared to a weak breath, which, spitting against a forcible wind, had it returned back again into her face; adding withal, somewhat vehemently, that, in her old age, contrary to the nature of all births, she had brought forth two such detestable monsters, that is to say, Lambert before disputed upon, and now this Peter, that the like was never heard of. And whereas, in the conception of children, women were commonly delivered in eight or nine months as nature did require, she could not be released in eight or nine years; nay, the youngest was fifteen years old, before her pains were passed, and they justified to be shewn openly; and this was not sufficient neither, but they must be at least extracted of princes, and able to give Kings battle in the open field; whereupon he might well conclude with that ancient poet,

Sed res excellens est, contra reptiles bestias
Remedia Mortalibus deorum præbuisse aliquem,
Quæ viperas et ignem superant:
Sed nullus contra mulierem remedia invenit adhuc
Malam; hujusmodi sumus hominibus malum.
Eurip. Andromache.

This oration, so effectually delivered, and in the publick assembly, audaciously maintained, did not so much trouble and vex the duchess, as affright and dishearten poor Perkin, who, in a manner, exanimated, lest his fraud and pestilential enterprises should not only be discovered, but discouraged, began to be somewhat appaled, and, by a fearful countenance, seemed to discountenance both his honour and the action, had not the duchess taken the cause in hand with a more undaunted courage, and, like a true Virago, raised her spirits to a higher pitch of revenge, thus resuscitating her darling, and answering the doctor:

MY Lords Ambassadors of England, for the dignity of princeliness commandeth not less, and awful regard of Majesty combineth me to such observation: besides, I am no way offended with your persons, but your message, wherein I know the orator hath much transcended his bounds, but, speaking for his fee, and doing another man's errand, he is the more pardonable, and therefore, as near as I can remember, I will answer succinctly to every point delivered.

First, Whereas you impeach the miraculous and wonderful preservation of this prince, in which yet my credit and knowledge of the truth shall be of sufficiency to answer all other objections and interceedings, I cannot blame you, nor him that set you on work; for he well knows that sons are to be preferred before daughters, and, ashamed of the treachery of his ancestors, he would put off the blame by a trick of policy, in laying as great faults on the shoulders of his adversary; I mean my brother Richard, whose tyranny and obdurate heart hath only wrought this relenting in me, that, say and do what England can, I will be

now the protectrix of this every way distressed prince; and so, to conclude this point, assure your King,

Permanet in voto mens mea firma suo.

Secondly, Whereas you infer the improbability and unlikelihood of saving the prince, being in a tyrant's custody, and determining to murder the King himself, I answer in a word, I am of your mind, if ever he had come into his hands. But it is well known, that the cardinal himself was deceived, and the child conveyed away, in spight of the malevolent practices of so cruel an homicide. Yet say it had not been so, I hope eldest brother's daughters are preferred before a younger brother's claim; and he had five princesses, besides my Nephew Warwick, to wrestle withal, before he could go out of the lists, with his own triumphs. Therefore it was not the fear of him that did accelerate his murther, as you suppose; but his resolution to be King, in spight of heaven and hell.

Thirdly, Concerning the dispossessing of the Queen, their mother, by your parliament, I am ashamed of your asseveration, that ever man, and such a man, whom (as you say) the heavens protected, should be attainted of inhumanity, to think a woman might not be affrighted with a tyrant, when he himself ran into every corner from his reaches. But say there had been a fault perpetrated (through the timidity of her sex, and tenderness of her widowhood) would any man marry the daughter, and hate or distress the poor mother? In whose behalf I may well say with Ariadne to Theseus,

——Si non ego causa salutis:
Non tamen est, cur tu sis mihi causa necis?
Ovid. Epist.

And therefore, if there were no more than to revenge her quarrel, I will be an enemy to Lancaster, while I live, and am no further moved with your unseasonable oratory, than afraid of his menaces.

Fourthly, Whereas you would insinuate with our nobles, and trusty friends, to desist from my allegiance, and assisting my nephew in his lawful claim: You think belike we are as perfidious as yourselves that seem glad of treason and turmoils upon the very sound of innovation; yea, the least advantage or disadvantage will cause you to leave your prince in the midst of his enemies.

Fifthly, Concerning your exprobration of Maximilian for ingratitude, and not coadjuting your King, in his petty revenges upon France: First, His great designs are not to be compared to your trivial business, and, having matters of high consequence elsewhere, he could not leave them to attend your weaker importunities: Secondly, He well knew it was but a folly to assist you in any business of France; for as fast as you got it one way, you would lose it another, so that you cannot now shew any town or fort, either of King Edward's conquests, or Henry the Fifth's enterprises, except Calais, which lying so near you, you cannot, for shame, but defend. And Thirdly, In my conscience, he took pity on you, knowing you had a war at home to attend, and so were not able

to prosecute both encounters at once: go back, therefore, and tell your politick prince, that, whereas words are but women's weapons to his imagination, we determine to arm ourselves, and this prince, by God's assistance, and my power, shall bid him defiance in his own kingdom with spear and shield, and make an equal combate the decider of both their titles.

Last of all, Concerning your invective against women: Alas! I smile at your scholarship, and am ashamed at your poor discretion in adapting some poetical invention out of fury or spight, to your present purposes, when both the same man, and all others, of the same condition, are as forward to commend as dispraise us: for, to answer your worn-out and threat-bare tragedian, hark what our divine Petrarch affirmeth:

Hujus mens terrenarum nescia curarum: Cœlestibus desideriis ardet: In cujus aspectu si quid unquam veri est divini specimen decoris effulget: Cujus mores consummatæ honestatis exemplar sunt: Cujus nec vox, nec oculorum vigor mortale aliquid: Nec incessus hominem repræsentat.

De Contemptu Mundi Dial. iii.

With which words she arose, and carried away Perkin with such state and majesty, that Sir Edward Poinings, though he were every way invincible for his courage, and a known man for wonderful and several exploits, yet seemed amazed at her heroical speech, and delicate manner of obstinacy.

Notwithstanding, the ambassadors and council of state often met, and, after long debating the matter, somewhat to pacify the King of England for many reciprocal gratuities and benefits received, they concluded, that the Archduke should neither aid nor assist Perkin, nor his accomplices, in any cause or quarrel whatsoever, against the Majesty of England. Only, if the Duchess continued in her obdurateness, and would not desist from her feminine rages, and terrible prosecutions, they were not to oppose against her, nor was it in their power to let or withstand it: for she was an absolute governor in her own territories, and the signories and lands, assigned for her dowry, were of sufficiency to support her enterprises without their contradiction or restraint.

When this answer was given, they returned again into England with a true relation of all occurrences as they chanced, and circumstances impending: whereupon, King Henry, both politick and charitable (for, of all other things he desired, if it were possible, to avoid effusion of blood, and hazardous danger of battle, supposing that was the last remedy of curing diseased commonwealths, as surgeons do to festered sores) contrived another work, which, although it was branded by some with the character of traitorous intelligences, yet it served hist urn for the present, and so divers were appointed to discover the secrets of the contrary, by feigned dissimulation. Of these were two sorts, one to feign themselves Yorkists, and so learn out what they could prejudicial to King Henry; another, to tamper with Sir Robert Clifford and William Burley, for their return to the obedience of the King; and, concerning the plot itself, he reputed it justifiable, as authorised by all authors.

ages, and commonwealths, who set down in their politick discourses, that

—— Fraus est concessa repellere fraudem,
Armaque in armatos sumere jura sinunt.
Ovid. de Arte Amandi, Lib. iii.

These cunning informers so demeaned themselves, and employed their time with such sedulity and care, that they persuaded, though with much ado, Sir Robert Clifford to desist from this foolish and dangerous collusion, which had neither sure ground nor foundation to stay itself upon. But Mr. Burley could not be diverted at this instant, till within two years after, almost tired out with expectation after Perkin Warbeck's fortunes and success, he returned of himself to the King, and had pardon both for life and liberty. The others likewise proceeded so effectually, that they had sure notice of especial persons confederated, and adjured to this blind and foolish project, of which they presently informed the King, who, by that means, could not only personally name his home enemies, but, to prevent the worst, did as personally attach the most principal; that is to say, Sir John Ratcliffe, the Lord Fitzwalter, Sir Simon Mountford, Sir Thomas Thwaits, William Dawbney, Robert Clifford, Thomas Cressenor, and Thomas Astwood: with these, were divers religious persons imprisoned, as William Rochford, doctor of divinity, and Thomas Poines, both Dominican friars; Dr. William Sutton, William Worsley, dean of Paul's; Robert Laiborn, and Richard Lesley, with divers others unapprehended, of whom some took sanctuary, and others fled into Flanders to Perkin. But, of those whose liberties were constrained, Sir Simon Mountford, Sir Robert Ratcliffe, and William Dawbney were beheaded as powerful, factious, and chief authors of the conspiracy; the rest were pardoned, especially the priests, who were, in those times, for their order's sake, sequestered from publick executions, what offences soever they perpetrated, which made them so forward in all facinorous actions; and others so superstitious, as to believe any thing they either projected or attempted; from which hypocritical and deceivable manner of life, all poets and philosophers themselves have had both general and particular invectives against priests, augurs, soothsayers, figure-casters, and religious persons, both for their profane lives and seducing vanities; so that Euripides, amongst many other places, concludes in his Iphigenia,

Vatidicûm omne genus ambitiosum malum est.

And all the kingdoms and times of the world have smarted through the pride, covetousness, and malicious wickedness of priests and friars; and lastly, jesuits, as I said before. But to our story.

Although the Lord Fitzwalter was pardoned his life for the present; yet, coming after to Calais, he was beheaded for attempting to escape, by corrupting his keepers, and so to go to Perkin: whereby this strange and intricate work so busied his Majesty, that he would often compare it to the conquering of Hydra, a beast so privileged by nature, that, as

one head was struck off, seven others grew in the place. For his turmoils, both at home and abroad, increased; and he seemed as much tormented with the suspicion of bosom friends, as affrightings of foreign enemies, which so exasperated him, that, as he supposed, to prevent the worst, considering Maximilian, King of the Romans, had trifled with him in his wars against France, and that Lady Margaret, with the Flemings, had supported Perkin Warbeck against him, he, in a kind of revenge, banished all Low-countrymen, and their commodities, out of the realm, with restraining the merchants from having access into any of their cities. But, alas! this was to no purpose, and, in truth, rather a custom of anger, than secret of policy; as if a man, because his finger torments him, should cut off his hand to ease himself; for they did the like by us, whereby, the mart being kept at Calais, and no vent elsewhere for our merchandise, many poor housekeepers complained for want of work, many rich men murmured, and were compelled to lessen their families, and abate their retinue; many merchants felt the loss, and the tradesman cried outright, because the Esterlings brought all manner of manual work, ready made, into the land, and took from them both their labour and customers, whereby a riot was made upon them at the Stilyard, and the mayor of London, with the principal officers, had much ado to appease the tumult; and this was the ninth year's disturbance.

The King, thus turmoiled every way, repaired, for divers reasons, to the Tower of London, whither shortly after came Sir Robert Clifford unto him, partly trusting to the King's promise, partly mistrusting his own company, and Perkin's weakness. But the chiefest policy of his residence in the Tower, was, to secure himself, and lay hold of all others suspected, or accused in this conspiracy, who, thither resorting to the council, might with ease, and without any tumult, be committed to prison, as it presently fell out. For, after the King had admitted Sir Robert, and insinuated with him in excellent positions of divinity and morality, by way of disceptation, urging the love and favour of his prince in his true obedience and reconciliation, he not only related the manner of Perkin's proceedings, but, on his knees, with tears in his eyes, discovered the matter to be weak and impossible, if it had not factious supportation from some of powerful houses of England, and very near his Majesty's person, whereof, though many were punished, and the rest dissipated and divided, yet Sir William Stanley remained unsuspected, and his heart trembled to accuse him. But, when the King heard Sir William Stanley named, he started back amazed, and, in a manner, confounded, so that Sir Robert was afraid he had done him more harm in the relation, than good in the detection.

At last he burst out, What, my bosom friend? my counsellor? my chamberlain? Then I see there is no trust in men, nor, as the Psalmist says, confidence in princes: for, as we shall not want instruments to go forward with what enterprise we please, as David had his Joab; so shall we not lack enemies, let them be never so careful and desirous to favour the least deserver; but I will cry out, *Heu cadit in quemquam tantum scelus!* and with the kingly prophet exclaim, It was not mine enemies abroad, but my companions, and such as eat at my table, betrayed

me. What, Sir William Stanley! He had the government of my chamber, the charge and comptrolment of all that are next my person the love and favour of our court, and the very keys of our treasury: he, made me a conqueror in the field, and, by his hand, I scourged tyranny out of his throne, therefore it is impossible, and I cannot believe it. But, when a second reply brought him to the sight of fairer particulars, and that he saw the smoke, though it was but a smother, come from some fire, he quickly recollected his spirits, and, with these verses of Euripides, set himself down at the table of prevention and reposedness:

Ex amicis autem alios quidem non certos video amicos
Qui verò sunt rectè, impotentes sunt ut juvent:
Talis res est hominibus ipsa infælicitas,
Quâ nullus unquam (quicunque vel mediocriter amicus mihi)
Assequatur amicorum examen certissimum,——

Eurip. Herefurens.

The same night, upon better consideration, the lord chamberlain was restrained from his liberty within the square Tower, and confined to his own chamber for a season; but, when the crime was openly proved, and the council had, as it were, with a charming hand of Hecate, turned his inside outward, and found all his excuses to consist in distinctions, and his reasons of defence manifest astipulations of the matter, he grew out of all patience, and knew not what to say or do. For one way, like a noble prince, commiserating his subjects, he feared lest his brother, Lord Thomas Stanley, the life of his first royalty, as a man may say, should take it grievously. Another way, he misdoubted, lest, in remitting the fault, some others might abuse his lenity and mercy, and be the bolder to run forward in the dangerous courses of further treasons. At last, by the advice of his council, and general vogue of the court, severity, considering the peril of those days, took place, and mercy was put back; so that, after a solemn arraignment, he had judgment to die, and accordingly was brought, on the sixteenth of February, to Tower Hill, and had his head struck off.

The principal point of his indictment consisted in this, that Sir William Stanley swore and affirmed, that he would never fight nor bear armour against the young man Peter Warbeck, if he knew of a truth that he was the undoubted son of Edward the Fourth, whereupon arose a conjectural proof, that he bare no good-will to King Henry. Again, the principal motive of his distasting and murmuring at the King, was for being denied the earldom of Chester, when his brother, Lord Thomas, was invested with the sword of Derby. Yet the King, besides many rewards and other great offices, made him his chief chamberlain. What should I say? It should seem ambition had blinded his eyes, and perverted his judgment. For he still thought on the benefits which the King received from the love and service of his family, never remembering the compensation and gratuities returned back again to himself; supposing that his vessel of oil should still be filled to the brim, or else he harped on a Machivilian position: thankfulness is a burthen, but

revenge is sweet and reckoned as gain. But it should seem, that, in possessing King Richard's treasure at the conquest of Bosworth-field, which King Henry frankly bestowed upon him, and the command over the people in the country, he grew proud and elated, and so vilipended the King; or, from a continual melancholy, reverberating mislike and hate upon his staggering conceits, he more and more over-burthened his heart with rage and spight, which, as you have heard unpurged, vented out those words of disloyalty to the loss of his life; or in a word, according to that of our old tragedian:

Animorum Jupiter vindex est nimis superborum,
Eurip. Heraclidæ.

The searcher of hearts was weary of his humours and ingratitude, and so took the King's cause in hand, and upon good inforcement thrust him into the house of destruction. Otherwise he could not choose but remember, how, not twenty years before, the law had interpreted the profuse and lavish speeches of a grocer, named Walker, dwelling at the sign of the Crown, in Cheapside, who bad his son learn a-pace and he would make him heir of the crown, meaning his house he dwelt in, for which he was adjudged to die: Nor forget the story of Burdet the esquire, within whose park King Edward hunting, a white tame hart was killed by chance, which he had brought up by hand; which when Burdet heard of, he wished the horns in his belly that had moved the King to come first thither; for which he was drawn, hanged, and quartered. Thus you see there is no jesting with princes, nor distasting them in troublesome times, nor presuming in such cases on their clemency: for our Ovid tells us:

Non ideo debet pelago se credere, si qua
Audet in exiguo ludere cymba lacu.

After this, many rumours and libels, yea defamatory speeches, both concerning the landing of the new Duke of York, proclaimed already, in Ireland, Richard the Fourth, and the King's present fear and proceedings, were spread abroad; which compelled as strange prohibitions, yea punishments and revenges, according to the example of that judgment that hanged Collingbroke for a rhime against the usurper:

The Rat, the Cat, and Lovel the Dog,
Rules all England under a Hog:

So that he was farther forced to have many politick searches through the whole realm for such offenders, and as many strong guards and watches for the defence of the whole kingdom; by which, when he perceived the care, vigilancy, and good-will of the subject, he entertained a greater fulness of contentment, and shewed a better alacrity of spirit than his former griefs would admit. Then he advanced Giles Lord Dawnley, a man of wisdom, experience, and fidelity, to be the chamberlain of his house, and have the guard of his person. Afterwards he

took order with the city and merchants of the same, and had their faithful oath and protestation to look to it, and all the places of their traffick abroad, concerning such things as might be offensive and prejudicial to the kingdom. The next thing, he took care for, was the manning of the Cinque-ports, and fortifying divers havens, with a strict commanding the lieutenants and justices of each shire to repair into their countries, by which good order observed he grew somewhat secure and bolder, to shew himself in publick assemblies undaunted, or any way discomfited.

But this was yet far from the fulness of his establishment, as long as Ireland remained corrupted, and swelled again in every place, with the overblown reports and rumours of Perkin's royalty, to which each traitorous ear lay open, and abused heart went quite away with the novelty. Whereupon he resolved on the necessity of purging and cleansing the same, and determined to perform it by new officers and honest surveyors. So he sent thither, with powerful authority, Henry Dean, late Abbot of Langton, to be his chancellor, and Sir Edward Poinings, with a sufficient preparation, to be Lord General of his army. These had a large commission, under his deputy the Earl of Kildare, to suppress all innovations, and spare no offenders: for it was such a time, that mercy and favour would rather embolden men to abuses, than justice offend with extremity. Besides, the Majesty of Kings was not to be controuled, either in their favour or revenges; but they would simply command, and have the subject honestly to obey, with which instructions and the doctrine of probity out of our ancient author,

Probi enim viri officium est, et Justitiæ inservire,
Et maleficos punire ubique semper:

They arrived in Ireland, and disposed of themselves accordingly.

Now, because the country was already infected with a superstitious credulity of the preservation of one of the sons of Edward the Fourth, and that the barbarous Irish, once believing a thing, would never be diverted by reason or persuasion, they proceeded the more cautiously and circumspectly in their business: first, assembling the nobility and better sort before the new chancellor, who, with all attractive demeanour and elocution, persuaded them not only to persist in obedience to the King, and loyalty to the government, but to aid and assist his Majesty's forces under Sir Edward Poinings, with their power, strength, and ability; especially against such rebels, as rather through factious malice and wilful revolts, than blindness of error or folly, had adhered unto Perkin, or any of his associates, in which they knew there was reason and sufficiency of inforcement. For, amongst themselves, the petty lords would endure no competition of sovereignty, and their lawtenets established him, that for his heroick actions deserved to be honoured, and by his worthy endeavours obtained the jurisdiction and inheritance: so that their own priests could tell them, *Ex parvis magna comparantur;* and if it were so in petty governments, What

was it in mighty monarchies, and with regardable Kings? Amongst whom,

Nulla fides regni sociis, omnisque potestas:
Impatiens consortis erat: ———

Therefore, to avoid the imputation of treason, and the fearfulness of revenge, from a prince's incensed indignation, he advised them to a tenacity and strong continuance in their loyalty.

To this their answer was, as soldiers in a camp after a mutiny, sad looks and small repentance: Fair words, but little performance. For they all promised assurance of faith, but no men determined the due performance: only the better sort, or, if you will, such as dwelled within the English pale, or had been ennobled, or inabled by the prince to live in richer form and eminence than others; answered directly, they would acknowledge no King but Henry, nor supreme lord, but such as should be extracted from the union of the marriage between the two Roses; and to this they were the rather emboldened, because the Earl of Kildare, being deputy, seemed to maintain their submission, and justify their intents; so that Sir Edward Poinings had little to say at that time, more than he hoped in the confidence of their promises, and relied on their worthy integrity: yet I dare swear, if he had been examined on his conscience, and brought to the bar of discovery for his thoughts, he would have cried out with the poet:

At paucos, quibus hæc rabies auctoribus arsit,
Non Cæsar, sed Pœna tenet: &c.——

Whereupon he prepared all his forces against the wild Irish, to whom, as he was informed, divers of the rest had fled for succour. I could here enlarge this discourse with a topographical description of the country, and conditions of the people, because I have personally overlooked their actions, and been a passenger even from one side of the country to the other: but the times are full of the experience of many men, and divers explorations have discovered the unswept corners of this savage and superstitious people, whom never man shall see civil, or once affecting the handsomeness and wealth of the other parts of Europe, till either it grow more populous, or the King be as willing, as he is able, to extirpate, as it were, by the roots, the bards, rhimers, harpers and priests, that hang upon them, and stick close unto them, as some deformed wen in a straight growing tree, or, if you will, venomous canker, which will, in time, either eat out root and rind, or, for the time, disfigure and disproportion the proudest comeliness of the best cedars in the forest. But to our story:

Sir Edward Poinings, according to his commission, marched into the north: but, alas, he neither found France to travel in, nor Frenchmen to fight withal. Here were no glorious towns to load the soldiers home with spoils, nor pleasant vineyards to refresh them with wine: here were no plentiful markets to supply the salary of the army, if they wanted or stood in need: here were no cities of refuge, nor places of

garison to retire unto, in the times of danger and extremity of weather: here were no musters ordered, nor lieutenants of shires to raise new armies: here was no supplement either of men or provisions, especially of Irish against Irish; nor any one promise kept according to his expectation: here were, in plain terms, bogs and woods to lie in, fogs and mists to trouble you, grass and fern to welcome your horses, and corrupt and putrefy your bodies: here was killing of kine, and eating fresh beef, to breed diseases: here was oats without bread, and fire without wood: here were smoaking cabins, and nasty holes: here were bogs on the tops of mountains, and few passages, but over marshes, or through strange places: here was retiring into fastnesses and glins, and no fighting but when they pleased themselves: here was ground enough to bury your people in, being dead, but no place to please them, while they were alive: here you might spend what you brought with you, but be assured there was no hope of relief: here was room for all your losses, but scarce a castle to reserve your spoils and treasure. To conclude: here was all glory and virtue buried in obscurity and oblivion, and not so much as a glimmering of hope, that, how valiantly soever a man demeaned himself, it should be registered and remembered; which makes me consider what that worthy politician writes of the Swevians and Helvetians in those days, and apply them to these times and people:

Helvetii, Usipetesque, atque effera corda Suevi,
Queis unum prædæ studium, ac durare sub ipsis,
Corpora fluminibus, teloque assuescere dextram:
Non urbis, non cura domus, agrivè colendi,
Venatu ducunt vitam, atque è lacte liquente.
Et quod Marte spoliato ex hoste pararint;
Bella placent, fususque hostili è corpore sanguis.

Whereupon the worthy general, with his other captains, began to complain, but knew no way of redress. His men died, the soldiers were slain, the army decayed, the Irish insulted, the auxiliaries failed, and not a man, which promised assistance, came in to help him: so that he was inraged at the perfidiousness, and compelled to retire to Dublin, all exasperated to spight, by which he aimeth at the highest in his displeasure, laying the fault and blame of his preposterous proceedings on Gerald Earl of Kildare, his Majesty's principal deputy; who, remembering his own greatness, could not confine it within a little circuit of patience, but answered this our captain somewhat like himself, that he was as loyal to the King as he, as serviceable as he, as loving to his country and crown of England as he, and so defied him to his face; which added only fuel to the former fire, so that the undaunted soldier apprehended and attached him of high treason, which seemed an unsufferable piece of business; and, had it not been within Dublin, or some principal place under the English command, an Herculean and intricate labour. But thus is this great earl under arrest, and, without any more ado, carried into England, to answer the matter.

But, when he came before the King and council, to be examined of treason and matters laid to his charge, either his innocency was a

Perseus's shield against this Gorgon's head of calumniation, or his wit and delicate judgment brought him out of the labyrinth of those troubles, or the times afforded not such severity and proceedings, or the King had other matters to think upon; or, indeed, it was no policy to rub these new sores with rude hands, according to the rule:

Horrent admotas vulnera cruda manus :

For he was quietly dismissed, thanked, rewarded, and of deputy made lieutenant, and so sent back again, upon the engaging of his honour to withstand the landing of Perkin, if ever he came into Ireland.

By this occasion, the King was without fear of battle, and determined his progress about midsummer to visit his mother, lying at Latham in Lancashire, still wife to the Earl of Derby; but, as he was preparing his journey, news came of Perkin's landing in England, which a-while diverted him, and forced his retardance from his first determination: for, in truth, when the Duchess of Burgundy had notice of all the King's proceedings, both in England and Ireland, and that the principal offenders were condemned and executed, and confederates dissipated and overwatched, she found too late her own slackness, and the first misfortune of the King of France's retractions from assisting the prince; for, whether I name Peter, or Perkin, or Warbeck, or prince, or Richard Duke of York, or Richard the Fourth, all is one man, and all had one end. And questionless, if, at his first repairing into Ireland, he had made for England, while that rumour had possessed the people, and the looking after novelty busied them with strange and impossible hope; while every one stood amazed to gaze after wonders; while the conspiracy was in growth, and had divers factious nobles to form it to a larger birth; while the soldiers desired to be doing, and men grew weary of ease and quietness; the business might have plunged the kingdom, and success took a flight with strong wings indeed; whereby you may perceive the sweetness and benefit of expedition in all dangerous business, and resemble unjustifiable actions to thievish bargains, which either must be made away in the dark, or hastened a-pace in the proudest market place, according to the saying:

—— Præceps facit omne timendum
Victor, et in nulla non creditur esse carina.
Lucan. Lib. ix.

Notwithstanding, our great duchess remained undaunted, and, in a manner of scorn to depend upon others promises, she ventured on her own power, and determined to put him under the wings of fortune, let her overshade him as she pleased. So, gathering her forces together, and furnishing her ships with a sufficient company, and some valiant captains, she sent him to sea, and only prayed to the wrathful Nemesis, as author of her revenge, for success and thriving in so glorious an attempt. Here were of all nations, and conditions of men, bankrupts, sanctuary-men, thieves, robbers, vagabonds, and divers others; who, affecting liberty, rapine, and spoil, desisted from honest labour to be

the servants of dishonest rebellion. His fortune (as we now profanely abuse that term) drove him on the coast of Kent before Deal Castle; where, being becalmed, he cast anchor, sending divers on shore to certify the inhabitants of his arrival, preparation, purposes, and well-furnished armies, and to put them in mind of their ancient liberties, privileges, and undaunted courages, which have given battle to Kings, and made their own peace with conquerors. But, alas! this oratory flew like a shaft without a head, and they had learned other lessons of stability and loyalty, as finding the sweetness of peace, and happiness of government. Notwithstanding, they called a council, and I believe, if they had been fully resolved, that he was the true prince indeed, they would have entertained the motion; for some of their fingers itched to be doing; but, suspicious of his original and former weakness, and wisely apprehending how shame and revenge dogged treason and rebellion at the heels, they concluded to continue firm and faithful to the state; and so, with a kind of policy to allure them to land, they sent divers to Perkin, with flattering hopes of their assistance, while they were indeed mustering of forces to surprise them, as fast as they should land: which when Perkin perceived, he imagined, that all could not be well, or consorting to his expectation; for, in this point, his wit and experience served him to understand thus much, that common people and multitudes, stirred to sedition, use no solid counsels, or settled discourses, but come flocking with their fulness and forwardness to assist their friends, and follow their pretences, according to Euripides's description of a confused company and rebellious army:

> —— *In infinito enim exercitu*
> *Incoercita turba, nauticaque licentia*
> *Violentior igne: malus vero, qui mali nihil agit.*
>
> Hecuba.

Whereupon he durst not land himself, and was sorry so many of his company were on shore; but, seeing there was no remedy, he sent others, if need were, to relieve them, or bring them back again to his ships.

When the Kentishmen beheld such a rabble of strangers and dissolute persons, and wisely foresaw, that there was no man of honour or eminence to give credit to the attempt, they presently conjectured, that they came rather to spoil and forage the coasts, than to relieve a distressed prince in his right; and so, running the right way indeed, stood firmly for their country, and set upon them as they were straggling up and down in the villages, forcing the better sort and better armed back again to their boats, and surprising such, as could not maintain the quarrel, and had presumed too far from the main battle, of whom they took an hundred-and-sixty prisoners, yea, the principal captains themselves, while they laboured to persuade the retreat, and to gather them together after some martial form of resistance, viz. Mountford, Corbet, Whight, Bets, Quintine, or Geuge; who were all brought to Sir John Peachy, high-sheriff, and so railed in ropes, like horses drawing in a cart, sent up to London, and there executed in divers places adjoining to

the city; whereby Perkin had matter of disconsolation for the time, and time enough to sail back again into Flanders, to entertain better advice and more company.

The King, as you heard, understanding of this attempt, left his progress and came to London, where assured of this good success, he sent Sir Richard Guilford into Kent to thank the sheriff and the people, for their loyalty, obedience, and valiant circumspection, which had so quickly dissipated his enemies, and quieted the country; giving present order to his navy to scour the narrow seas, to the province to keep the coasts, to the watches to fire the beacons, to the captains to prepare their soldiers, and to all sorts to attend their several charges, according to the ancient and laudable custom of the kingdom.

When Perkin and his captains were arrived in Flanders, and found, how their former delays had been a great obstacle and hindrance to their proceedings, they resolved to remedy the same in their following courses, and by the contrary celerity and speediness to wipe away the blots of their weakness, and faint proceedings, as if they had learned of our poet:

Sic agitur censura, et sic exempla parantur,
Cum Judex, alios quod monet, ipse facit:
Ovid Fast. Lib. vi.

Notwithstanding, because they were now resolved, that the King, taking notice of this onset and attempt, would fortify the coasts, and be in a readiness with well prepared forces: they determined to sail into Ireland, there to augment their company, and corroborate their pretences, which accordingly was effected, and the entertainment yielded him a little comfort and satisfaction. But, because he well knew the Irish are weak and unarmed, and so unable to prevail against the strength of England, and still out of countenance, and quickly daunted, when they were drawn from their bogs, and woods, to solid battles and strong charges, contrary to their slight skirmishes, and running encounters, they thought it more meet and expedient to pass into Scotland, *Gens semper invisa Britannis*, and there make trial of a new friendship, casting up a forward account of their happiness, in this manner: First, they were assured of the natural and general hatred between the nations, which, upon very small occasions and probable opportunity, would burst out into flames of spight. Next, they projected, that the nature of the business would allure them to his assistance, upon hope of vain glory, and a reputation of so charitable a work, as to help a prince in distress. Thirdly, they relied on this hope, that, if no other cause would be inducive to this supportation, yet the desire of spoil would quickly incite them to war against so plentiful a country. Fourthly, they persuaded themselves, that the Scots had a good opinion of the house of York, ever since the cruelty of the Lord Clifford against Rutland, for which they utterly abandoned Henry the Sixth and the Queen. And, last of all, they concluded to promise them the surrendering of Berwick, and to enlarge their territories, if he prevailed by their assistance, which was a sure motive to draw them into any action whatsoever. Whereupon

he departed from Cork and landed on the west of Scotland, from whence he prepared himself to go to the King with some solemnity, wherein his instructions prevailed with his fortune, because for the most part the mass of the people are guided by shows and ceremonies, rather than matter of substance and truth; and so he travelled to Edinburgh, whose citizens, unaccustomed to such glorious shows, began already to commiserate his fortune and distress; yea, the King himself assembled his lords and courtiers, as their manner then was, to entertain him and give him audience; which when Perkin perceived to fall out to his good liking and heart's desire, he thus framed his speech unto him, or, if you will reduced his instructions to a manner of attracting oratory:

Most mighty and renowned King:

Judicis officium est ut res, ita tempora rerum quærere ——————

and therefore I come not to you altogether like a cast-away or bankrupt, to recover my estate by a cozening agreement with my creditors for a trifle, when there may be sufficient to pay the principal: nor like a runaway from a hard-hearted master: or, if you will, to take my liberty the better, to cast off the yoke of honest and civil obedience, where there is a duty and necessity of service imposed: but, as a stranger subject to shipwreck, and the hazardous endurances of a tempest, I am forced to your refuge, as much induced with your princely delight in deeds of charity and hospitality, as my own wants or recovery. I might add your famous actions, renown, and heroick commiseration of a disesteemed prince, but *Pudor est ulteriora loqui:* and although I may confess myself to resemble the man in the gospel that fell amongst thieves, whom divers looking upon passed by without relief: yet, at last, he found one Samaritan to pay the cost and defray the charges of the surgery: so have I done a worthy aunt, friend, and noble kinswoman to acknowledge her afflicted nephew, who hath helped me accordingly: so that I make no question, that, from the example of a woman, your princely commiseration and powerful coadjutement shall open their larger embraces, considering that you above all other princes have been made acquainted with the distractions of our family, and from time to time know how the house of York hath been dilacerated and torn in pieces by the cruel hand of tyrants and home-bred wolves, which whether it were the permission of God, or the secrets of his divine justice, I will not now dispute upon: only, I must be bold to say, that, when my father obtained the crown, and revenged his father's wrongs and death, there were signs of God's favour and assistance in the fair issue prepared, and sweet fruit of such a flourishing tree, namely, two sons and five daughters, who were simply committed to the tutelage and protestorship of an unnatural uncle, who proved a tyrant and destroyer of our blood and progeny; so that I may well cry out as Ariadne to Theseus:

Mitius inveni, quam te, genus omne ferarum.

Notwithstanding, most mighty King, however my princely brother miscarried, as swallowed up in the jaws of cruelty and slaughter, it should seem the murtherers were affrighted at what they had done already, and desisted from a full prosecution of the tyrant's command, or, confounded with compunction of spirit, spared me, and secretly conveyed me out of the hands of such an homicide and blood-sucker (for so I hope without offence I may rightly term him), and, although by this means and the supportation of high-born Buckingham he obtained the diadem, yet did God follow him with the swiftest pace of wrath and anger, and at last, I must needs say, scourged him with rods of vengeance indeed; for he presently lost his son, and his friend and coadjutor lost himself. What afterwards chanced unto me, as my strange deliverance, my bringing up in Tournay, under certain supposed parents of honest reputation, my travels into foreign countries, my adventures abroad, my endurances at home, with such like: it would be too tedious to relate, and therefore I desist to put you now to further wonder and amazement at the same, because I have them as it were registered in a schedule, which at your princely pleasure you may overlook, with the Duchess and council's of Burgundy's hands, to confirm the same. So that I confess, when the King of France sent for me out of Ireland, I was in a manner secure of my estate, and thought upon no farther assurance, than his gracious apprehension of my undoubted claim. But it should seem, most gracious King, that you are reserved for the glory of this business, and everlasting memory of so remarkable an action, wherein I submit myself, ships, and people to your guidance and direction: Oh do not then annihilate my confidence, nor reject my demands. For, next to the high controuler of men's actions, I have put myself under the shadow of your supportation, and altogether rely on the unity of your willingness and power, to bear me through the difficulties of this passage.

When he had made an end and given them cause of some amazement, at his years and tenderness of experience, to deliver yet his mind so freely, and with some illustration of words and readiness of gesture, the King, without any further scruple or diffidence, cheared him, telling him plainly he would assist him, and whatever he was, or intended to be, he should not repent him of his coming thither, and so concluding with a speech of Medea to Jason:

Hinc amor, hinc timor est, ipsum timor auget amorem.

He gave order for his entertainment accordingly, whereby he had time with his wearied people to repose himself, and the King occasion to think of many matters: yet, rather for custom than to be diverted from his resolutions, he called his council, and disputed the matter with them. They again, (as it happened to Rehoboam, and shall be with all the princes in the world) grew to contradiction, and divided themselves; some standing for their country, some for their private affection, some to please the prince, and some to enjoy a good opinion of policy and wisdom. The graver sort and of greatest experience disannulled all the former intimation of the prince, with the impossibility of the business,

as if he were but a bare assumer of titles indeed. The quiet sort, and such as had smarted with the dissensions between England and Scotland, disclaimed any further war, and were weary with that which had passed. The younger sort apprehended it, as a worthy enterprise, and, though it had but colour of commiseration, yet, considering he was befriended from the Emperor, King of the Romans, and the whole state of the Low Countries, it could not choose but help them with many friends. There was another sort, who, confessing the poverty of their country, concluded that by this means, by foraging, spoiling and getting good booties in England, much wealth might inrich them without loss or hindrance of their own, and so cared not how the war began, nor how long it continued. The last sort consisted of such, who, because they would have their credit enlarged from an opinion of statesmen, and high reaching capacities, argued, as we say, on both sides, *pro et contra*, and from a kind of *enthymema* raised profit and emolument to the kingdom out of their sophistry: that, if the duke were assisted and prevailed, Scotland was sure to confirm their own conditions: if he were countenanced, though not prevailing, the King of England would accord to any offers or demands, rather than King James should take part with his adversary and so strange a competitor.

Whereupon it was resolved, that, without further diffidence, or drawing the Duchess of Burgundy's business in question, the King should entertain the prince, who presently honoured him accordingly, and caused him to be proclaimed the Duke of York, shewing him all the favours the country could afford; and affording him such entertainment, as, they imagined, was both befitting his person and condition: he again, as if that *spes bona dat vires*, cheared himself, and assumed a new kind of behaviour, both tempered with gravity, and yet commended for chearful and well becoming: so that, by the way of solace and invitation to pleasure and delight, he hawked and hunted; yea, the ladies of the country graced the court, and came with all conveniency, and befitting their estates, to the city. For understanding so great a prince, in possibility to be one of the mightiest Kings of Europe, not full eighteen years of age, young, wise, and in the complete strength of beauty, was resident amongst them; they conceived matters beyond the moon, and thought themselves happy, if he would fancy or fasten upon any of them. What should I say, although with the poet:

Tarda solet magnis rebus inesse fides.
Ovid. Epist. Helena Paridi.

Yet here was no mistrust, nor any way given to fear and displeasure, but, as the time, business, and place afforded, shows, masks, and sundry devices invited him to his contentment, and the present overcoming all pensiveness: so, he courted with some, danced with others, jested with the rest, and was acceptable to all, till, at last, the King giving way to the motion, he fancied the Lady Catharine Gordon, daughter to Alexander, Earl of Huntley, nigh kinswoman to the crown; and, because she should not think him barren of education, nor heart-bound to his

ambitious designs, he took an opportunity, thus to discover his love unto her, and good opinion of her:

Lady, said he, and the first of ladies, that ever usurped my liberty, or taught my tongue to pronounce the accent of affectation or liking; if I proceed not so passionate, as your sex expects, or you may imagine, is the custom of courtiers, I pray you impute it to the multiplicity of my business, and greatness of my affairs; besides, it is not seemly with princes to betray their high spirits, into the hands of deceit and overworking fancy; yea, foppishness either of words, or gesture: yet, concerning your person, I can say with Paris to Helena:

Si tu venisses pariter certamen in illud,
In dubium Veneris palma futura fuit.

And touching my good will, if I live, I will make you as great in the world, as myself, and desire no more, but that you keep you within the limits of love and obedience, that our children may be our own, and the commonwealth rejoice, they be not mocked or deceived with extraneal inheritors. What I am, you now see, and there is no boasting in distress; what I may be, I must put it to the trial, and submit to the divine providence. If you dare now adventure on the adversity, I swear to make you partaker of the prosperity; yea, lay my crown at your feet, that you shall play with me, as Apame did with Darius, to command, and I obey. Take me now then into your embraces, and I will adore and reverence your virtues, as you commiserate my misfortunes: O! give me leave to say no more, lest I be transported to indecencies; be now conformable, and let me be the servant of your desires, and you shall be hereafter the mistress of my performances. If I prevail, let this kiss seal up the contract, and this kiss be a witness to the indentures, and this kiss, because one witness is not sufficient, consummate the assurance; and so with a kind of reverence, and fashionable gesture, after he had kissed her thrice, he took her in both his hands cross-wise, and gazed upon her, with a kind of putting her from him and pulling her to him, and so again and again rekissed her, and set her in her place with a pretty manner of inforcement.

The young lady pleased, as well with the compliment of his behaviour, as the matter in hand, which was the hope of one of the greatest diadems in the world, whether as lovers, who, in a sympathy of liking, applauding any thing from their amoroso's, seemed pleased with the very accent of his voice, and variety of the courtship; or, unaccustomed to such wooers, she remained glad of the opportunity; or, taught before-hand what to do, she resolved to cast away all peevishness and nicety; or, indeed, ravished with the thing proposed, she was loth to be silent, considering she was pleased, and could not be displeased, considering he had begun so kindly with her; and therefore answered him with a pretty blushing modesty, to this effect:

My Lord, if I should act a true woman's part, I might play the

hypocrite, in standing a-loof off from what I must desire, and cry out with Ariadne against Theseus:

Non ego sum titulis surripienda tuis.

Whereupon some resemble us to lapwings, that make a great ejulation farthest from their nests; but I mean not to deal so with you, but come as near as I can, in my answer to that which comforteth with reason and probability. If I were then absolutely at my own disposing, I would thank you more than I do, and thank you, for your gentleness and fair demeanour, worthy of any creature, or thing you could desire. As for your disclaiming deceitful words and flattering oratory concerning our beauty, comeliness, virtues, and such like baits, to draw us into the net of self love and amazement: I like it the better, and wish, that all women were of my mind, to marry upon fair and reasonable conditions, and not be hurried away sometimes to their overthrows, with the violence of passion and affection, which is the best excuse, they can make, for their folly, yea, many times simplicity. But you see I am the father's daughter, and the King's cousin, so that I will, in no sort, prefer my own will before their directions, and disposing of me. If then it pleaseth them to hazard me, or, as you please, to bestow me in this sort, I shall be proud to call you mine, and glad, if you vouchsafe to esteem me yours. Lay then your foundation on them, and you shall see the frame of the building erected to your own liking; for believe it, such wards, as myself, may well be resembled to delicate plants in rich grounds, which either grow too rank, and out of order, for want of pruning and looking to, or thrive not in their situation, for lack of refreshing and manuring; all which is reformed by the discretion of a skilful gardener, and advised overseer: therefore, noble sir, repair, I say, to the master of the family, leave is light, and know their pleasures, for your admission into this nursery; and then shall I be glad to be a flower of your own choice, whether it be for profit, pleasure, or exornation.

What needs more words? The marriage was consummated, and poor Perkin transported in his own contemplation for joy, that, if he proceeded no further, his fortune had conducted him to such a harbour, kissing the ground, which he trod upon, and swearing the very place was the seat of his genius:

Ipse locus misero ferre volebat opem.

But, when he more and more perceived that the Scots, like a piece of wax, were rolled together by his warming hand, and fashioned to what form he pleased; he then made no question to hammer out his designs, on the anvil of prevailing, to their everlasting glory, and his establishment. Yet herein he went beyond himself, and deceived both them, and himself, by warranting powerful aids in his assistance, from all the parts of the realm, as soon as he should set footing in England. Notwithstanding, they prepared all things for an invasion, and every man was

ready to please the King, and pleasure the prince; yea they were so forward, that, in hope of gain, spoil, victory, renown, and revenge, they cared not whether the Duke's title were good or no; and so, with a well appointed army, and sufficient forces, they marched towards the confines and borders of the north. But the King, out of discretion, loth to make more haste, than good speed, and understanding policy, conjecturing that the English, by reason of Perkin's being in Scotland, might always have an army in readiness, or raise sudden troops, to lie in ambuscade, in the borders, by way of prevention, sent forth divers stradiots and scout-masters, to discover the country, and the behaviour of the English; who returned with full assurance of the coast's clearness, and, for any thing they saw, they might make both incursions and excursions, at their pleasure; which, although it, in some cases, made the King the rather to wonder, as if England was secure from any idle project, or indeed scorned Perkin's title and claim; yet, because it was generally accepted for good news, he would not be a contrary amongst so many; but made the more haste, and so, with fire and sword, as if he did *arma virumque canere*, entered Northumberland, proclaiming the title of the Duke of York, by the name of Richard the Fourth, and promising both pardon and preferment to all such, as would submit themselves to the yoke of his obedience; the denial whereof was accompanied with such spoil, cruelty, and insulting, that never, before or since, did they ever triumph over us, or proved so tyrannous; so that I may well cry out, as the poet doth against Scylla:

Intrepidus tanti sedit securus ab alto
Spectator sceleris: miseri tot millia vulgi
Non piguit jussisse mori, congesta recepit
Omnia Tyrrhenus Scyllana cadavera gurges.
Lucan. Lib. ii.

Wherein, doubtless, they had gone forward, but that they perceived no aid or succour to come from any parts of England to restore this titular duke. Besides, the soldiers, full of spoil and blood, would go no further, till they had sent their presents to their wives and children, or returned themselves to gratify one another, after such a victory; but, in truth, the King, foreseeing it would be revenged, determined rather to retire with this assured victory, than to tarry the nuncupative duke's unsure and uncertain proceedings, and so retreated into Scotland again.

Some remember, that, at this time, though it was but a very simple policy, Perkin used a certain kind of ridiculous mercy and foolish compassion towards the English people, as though that rather moved the Scots to the retreat, than any thing else: whereupon, lest his cozening and illusion should be discovered, by reason so few resorted unto him, he thus complained to the Scottish King, and, as it were, exclaimed of himself: O! wretch and hard-hearted man that I am, thus remorseless, to forage my native country, and purchase my inheritance with such effusion of blood, cruelty, and slaughter. For now I see, before this business can be brought to any good pass, houses must be fired, coun-

tries depopulated, women ravished, virgins defloured, infants slain, the aged murthered, the goods rifled, and the whole kingdom subject to devastation which, to my grief of soul, I must needs deplore. Therefore, great King, I request you from henceforth, do not afflict my people, nor deform my country, in such a lamentable and remorseless manner: for, doubtless, I shall never endure it with a peaceable soul and conscience, and had, in a manner, rather lose my part and interest therein, than purchase it with such loss and excruciation of mind, especially effusion of blood and barbarous inforcement.

Surely, replied the King of Scots half angry, and more than half mistrusting his dissembling, yea, fully resolved on his weakness and pusillanimity:

—— Fletus quid fundis inanes?
Nec te sponte tua sceleri parare fateris?
Usque adeo ne times, quem tu facis ipse timendum?
Lucan, Lib. iii.

Methinks your care is rather ridiculous than superfluous, to be thus dolent for another man's possessions: yea, I see not, but your claim is so remote and disannulled, that it must be an Herculean labour to settle you in any of their cities and petty provinces. But, for calling England your land and realm, and the inhabitants your people and subjects, it is as wonderful me, as displeasing to yourself, that, in all this time, neither gentleman, nor man of worth, hath extended a daring hand, or, if you will, commiserable arm of assistance towards you; nay, though the war was begun in your name, for your sake, and within your realm, of which, you say, you are the undoubted heir, and invited to the same by your own people and faction.

Alas! replied the prince, I confess as much as you say; but, if it will please you to acknowledge the truth, the falling back of the King of France, yea, when I was in speed of my journey, the failing of many promises to my aunt the Duchess of Burgundy, and the defect and protraction of my business, by the loss of an hundred lords and knights, some in their liberties, some in their lives, some from their own good motives and intents, and all, from their true hearts and endeavours, by the King's forces, and vigilant eye over them, hath not only deceived my expectation, but, in a manner, perverted my fortune. Besides, you know with what difficulty the nature of adversity, and men in distress, attain unto any credit and estimation; so that we and you both have had woeful experience of many great princes deposed from their thrones, and left friendless, succourless, and quite destitute of relief in the hands of their enemies; and therefore, as mischief and misery are of my old acquaintance, so am I not now unprepared to entertain the same, but must submit to the calamity, and attend the appointment of the highest God, concerning my lowest dejection, and so I conclude with an ancient saying of Euripides:

—— Turbam enim recipere me puduit,
Ut oculis viderent hunc meum turpem habitum,
Occultans præ pudore meum infortunium ; quando enim vir
Habuerit malè magnus, in ineptias
Cadit deteriores, eo qui fuit dudum infœlix.
Eurip. Helena.

Although this came roundly off, and savoured somewhat better than the former; yet the King replied not at all, but was content with his first reproof, being more fearful every day than other, that this intricate business would be a work of wonder, and to fashion the lump of such deformity, to any handsome or substantial proportion, must be dangerous and prejudicial for ever to the Scottish crown.

After the nobles had been thus startled in Northumberland with the clamours of the people, and saw the inhabitants fly every way from the fury of the Scots, they fortified their holds, mustered their forces, followed the enemies, and certified the King of all this enterprise and invasion, who, not a little abashed at the same, as more fearing the natural subject's starting out of the sphere of his allegiance, than any foreign comet in the greatest radiance and presages, presently took order for the repressing of each tumult and insurrection; but, assured of the Scots retreat, and that they were returned loaden with spoils and great riches, he resolved upon another course, having, in the mean while, so great occasions of displeasure against Scotland, that all men, either to please themselves, or animate the King in his willing revenges, cried out, To arms, to arms! And this was the eleventh year's work.

The twelfth year began with a parliament, both for the settling the uncertain affairs of the kingdom, and the obtaining a subsidy, or other disbursements of money, for the furnishing an army into Scotland; to which all the nobility and gentry opened willingly their coffers, and cheartully their hearts, exclaiming against their immanity, and proclaiming their loyalty and endeavours, to prosecute them with all revenge, that durst so affright the kingdom, and affront the peace and tranquillity of the commonwealth. Of this army was Giles, Lord Dawbney, the King's chamberlain, made lieutenant-general, a man of no less wit than experience, of no less experience than hardiness, of no less hardiness than moderation and government. But see the changes of human life, and the mischiefs to which the best of men and greatest princes are subject, as if the poet were again to cry out:

Heu non est quicquam fidum, neque certa fœlicitas.

As he was marching forward with his forces, a strange innovation called him back again. For (as if fortune only meant to play the wanton with Perkin on the one side, and bring him, as we say, into a fool's paradise, and misfortune on the other side) to try the King's patience, a new rebellion in the west had like to have been as a heavy burden on his shoulders, and set in combustion the whole commonwealth. For, when the parliament was dissolved, and commissioners were speedily sent to gather in the money, this *excandescens populus*, to whom such taxes and

impositions were a kind of drawing blood from their very life veins, began to rebel, especially the Cornishmen, inhabiting the remotest parts of the kingdom westward, who not only complained of their own penury and wants, as living in a barren and sterile soil, overcome with labour, watches, and toils in the minerals, and getting a poor maintenance out of the caverns of the earth, with fearful endurances; but threatened the officers, denying the taxes, and began temerariously to speak of the King himself; yea, when there seemed by the justices, and others in authority, a dam to be cast up against this fearful inundation, they desisted from womanish exclamations, lamentings, and ejulations, and fell, inconsiderately, to malicious calumniation, threatening the council, and naming Thomas Moreton, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Sir Reinold Brey, as principal directors and setters forward of these impositions against them; saying plainly, It was a shame, that a small incursion of the Scots, which was not only customary, but as soon extinguished as kindled, should raise such exactions, and excite the kingdom to unsufferable turmoils, with a general war, and tumultuous hurly-burly; to which things, when the commissioners would have gently answered, and honestly maintained the King's purposes and prerogatives, Thomas Flamock, a gentleman learned in the laws, and Michael Joseph, a blacksmith, took upon them the defence of the commons, threatening, without further reasoning the matter, both the receivers, and all such, whom they employed as inferior officers under them.

By which occasion, according to that saying, *Res vehemens multitudo, improbos cum habuerit præfectos:* They became a monstrous head to these unruly bodies, exhorting the people to arm themselves, and not be afraid to follow them in this quarrel; for they intended neither hurt to any creature, nor spoil to any place, but merely a reformation of the disorder, and correction of such persons, as were the authors of their grief and vexation; and, when any seemed to impugn and reprove these seditious and unreasonable courses, affirming plainly, that, from all examples and times, treasons and commotions have ended with lamentable effusion of blood, both of the authors themselves, and many innocents made accessaries, through constraint and wicked instigation, they were called base dastards, cowards, fools, and lovers of ease and arrogance, more than renown, and their country's honour and liberty; so that, what with shame of taunts and rebukes, and what with fear of the loss of their lives and goods, they united themselves to this outrageous company, and made up a strong party well-armed, and too well instructed; for the captains not only praised and extolled the hardiness of the people, but rewarded such as assisted and relieved the soldiers, whereby, after a general muster of forty-thousand men, they came to Taunton, where they slew the provost of Perin, principal commissioner for the subsidy in those parts, and from thence to Wells, intending to go forward to London, where the King was resident, and such counsellors as they maligned.

O rabies inaudita! O wretched and abused people! that think of nothing but present rages, nor once admit of any providence, to consider of following punishments, whatever sudden events contrive, but, in their disobedience against God, their prince and country, resemble a violent sea, a burning torrent, a tempestuous wind, all which (with

extremity and impetuous force) spoil the trees, over-run and swallow up the lower ground, consume all things, and, in the end, leave the mischief to the wringing of hands, crying of the people, and deprecations of the better sort, who impute such vengeance to the power and justice of God, that punisheth sins, and will not suffer disobedience and horrible villainies unrewarded: for never rebellion prevailed in their greatest forwardness, nor ended without unsufferable damages wrought by their unruliness, which rather tended to thefts, robberies, spoils, and slaughters, than reformation, or honest coercion of disorders. As for their motives and excuses for such facinorous attempts, breaking out to find fault with men in authority, and audacious invections against the government: Alas! neither can they tell what to demand or what to redress, when it shall come to true deciding indeed. For a very confusion will hinder their resolutions, and, not knowing wherein to proceed directly, they ask indirectly that which may not be granted. As for their governors themselves, let them be never so good, they shall be sure of enviers, and finders of faults; let them be never so bad, they shall have flatterers and supporters; let them be indifferent, and the good which they do shall not be so well accepted, as the bad they procure maliciously taken; yea, remove whom you will, the persons may be changed, but the faults will remain, and so the prince be pleased, and men's private humours satisfied, who regarded the commonwealth, or helped a poor man for charity's sake; yet I must needs say, that many times honest governors, instead of obedience, have good-will; and whosoever loveth his country, without collateral respects, may sit down with a safe conscience, but not unscandalised, or maligned of some of his own rank. Therefore I would have all generous spirits, either to love virtue for virtue's sake, once placed in authority, and, in spight of the world, stick close to the sides of religion and equity, though persecution and troubles do follow, or disclaim the affecting such transcendent places, allaying the thirst of ambition with a quiet potion of reposedness and contentment, and leaving the vanity of foppish observation to vain glorious fools, who are not only called so by God himself, but, peradventure, reputed so even by such as do them reverence, and fatten themselves in the well-soiled pastures of their government.

But to our story:

When the King was advertised of these troubles, and exorbitant attempts, which gathered like a cloud, threatening a tempest round about him, and saw into what perplexity he was now detruded, having war on every side, he compared himself to a man rising in a dark night, and going undressed into a room, striking his head against this post, running against that table, meeting with his shins such a stool or form, and staggering up and down against one block or another; and so stood, for the time, amazed, not knowing what to say, what to do, or with whom to find fault, till, with a kind of sigh, he vented out this saying of Euripides:

——*Similes sumus nautis, qui*
Tempestatis cum effugerint sævam vim,
Prope terram appulerunt, deinde a terra
Flaminibus pelluntur in pontum iterum. Eurip. Heraclidæ.

But to complain of God, or men, would rather aggravate his grief than procure his redress; therefore, though he well knew that princes were the tennis-balls of fortune, and subjects of mutability and alteration, and that he must submit to the divine providence; yet he also understood there was no lying still in this deploration, without the ordinary practice of such remedies as God had appointed in their several workings, and therefore prepared his armies either to bring this disturbance to a quiet atonement, or whip the rebellion with the scourges of fire and sword. But when again he considered the Scots were his enemies, and must be suppressed; the western rebels were at his doors, and must be repugned; France was wavering, and must be looked unto; Flanders threatening, and must be appeased; Perkin Warbeck lay at advantage, and must be watched; yea, over watched, as indeed the principal firebrand, that set all this on a blaze, and, in the midst of these hurly-burlies, came over ambassadors from the French King, who must be answered; he grew somewhat perplexed again, till, shaking off all the hindrances of his amazement, he fell to practice, and orderly performances.

Whereupon he called his council together, and they, without any great difficulty, determined the business in this manner. To attend upon the Scots, Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, a puissant and politick captain, prisoner at the overthrow of King Richard the Third, and within two years set at liberty, and after John Lord Dinham made high treasurer of England, was appointed to muster the forces of the county palatine of Durham, and the borders round about, and so attend that service. To repress the western rebels, the Lord Dawbney, with his whole power, prepared for Scotland, was recalled to march against them, wheresoever they incamped. To look unto France, Calais and Guisnes, with the garisons, were much augmented, and provided for. To prevent Flanders, the navy was prepared, and the staples for the merchants settled. To keep Warbeck from coming into England, and joining with the rebels, the whole nobility combined themselves, especially the Earl of Essex, and Lord Mountjoy, who came on purpose to London, to offer their service to his Majesty; and so all places were looked unto with a vigilant eye, and manned with strength of soldiers. And, to answer the ambassadors of Charles the French King, he sent honourable persons to receive them, and convey them to Dover, and there a while to detain them till some of these tumults and rebellions were extinguished and suppressed; which indeed was so wisely and politickly handled, that none of the ambassadors were troubled so much as with the rumours of these commotions.

But see the horror of spight, and with what a contracted brow misfortune can look upon Kings themselves! So that a man well may say to this rebellion, as Ovid did to Cupido in his first book of elegies:

Sunt tibi magna puer, nimiumque potentia regna:
Cur opus affectas ambitiose novum?

For, as these rebels and Cornishmen departed from Wells, they entertained, for their chief captain, James Twichet, Lord Audley whose countenance and authority in the country strengthened them

much: for, by this occasion, they went, without intermission, to Salisbury, and so to Winchester, and from thence into Kent, hoping for further and further assistance. But they were deceived in their expectation: for the Earl of Kent, George Lord Abergavenny, John Brooke, Lord Cobham, Sir Edward Poinings, Sir Richard Guildford, Sir Thomas Bourchier, Sir John Pechy, William Scot, and many others, with a well-mustered army, were not only ready to defend their country from all mischief and destruction, but determined to offend them in their facinorous attempts, and prejudicial intrusion; which loyalty somewhat rebated the forwardness of the Cornishmen, and they began to suspect themselves, being so far from their country, and remote from any supply. Notwithstanding, loth to dishearten their spirits with any depressing humour, they cast away all doubts, and, presuming on their own strength and forces, as also animated by their leaders and conductors, they were now as much exasperated against the Kentishmen, for refusing their promised assistance, as against the King, for usurping their liberty, swearing revenge against both: in which rage and heat of repining, they came as far as Blackheath, within four miles of London, and took the field in an arrogant, over-daring manner, on the top of an hill, supposing all things conformable to their arrogancy, and deceivable hopes, because, as yet, they passed and repassed without fighting, or strong encounters: but, alas!

Blanditiæ comites tibi erunt terrorque furorque,

And they were abused with a veil of ignorance, and covering of obstinacy: for the King disposed of his affairs with great policy and circumspection, not determining to give them battle, or exagitate them at all, till he had them far from their proper dwellings and flattering friends; till they were in despair of relief, and wearied with long and tedious journies; till their treasure was spent, their vitals consumed, and provision failing; till their company dropped from them like rotten hangings on a moistened wall, and their whose designs and expectation were quite disannulled; and then, when he imagined their souls vexed with the terror of a guilty conscience, their fury asswaged with compunction and penitency, their spirits daunted with repentance and remorse, and all their army affrighted with madness and doubtful extasies, would he set upon them, and, in some convenient place, circumvent and inviron them to his own best advantage, and their irrecoverable damage and destruction.

As for the city of London, I cannot but remember and compare it unto Rome, both when Hannibal passed the Alps, to threaten the monarchy, being yet far off himself, and also Marius and Sylla covered her fields with armed men, and trampled on the bosom of their country with ambitious steps, and cruel feet of usurpation: then spoke the poet in this manner:

——Quoties Romam fortuna lacessit,
Hac iter est bellis, gemitu sic quisque latenti,
Non ausis timuisse palam: Vox nulla dolori
Credita: Lucan. Lib. i.

There was chaining the streets, shutting up the shops, making strong the gates, doubling the watches, hiding their treasure, cries, fears, terrors, and every one more disturbed for the loss of his private goods, than the encumberances of the commonwealth. Here was mustering of soldiers, watching all day in armour, guarding the river, filling the streets with companies of horse and foot, cutting down the bridge, locking up their doors, shutting the gates, and what else named before, to be put in practice, with advantage of many pieces of ordnance, both in Southwark and the suburbs, and the strength of the Tower, which they knew was reserved for the King himself. Notwithstanding, such was the instability of the citizens, being a little disturbed from their quietness and rest, their dainties and ease, their banquetings and meetings, their feasts and sumptousness, their pastimes and pleasures, that they rather complained of the King and his council for the first occasion of these tumults, than exprobrated the rebels for ingratitude and disobedience. But the King, without further disputing against their peevishness, or laying open the abuses of such retractory people, delivered them of this fear: for he presently sent John Earl of Oxford, Henry Bourchier Earl of Essex, Edmond de la Poole Earl of Suffolk, Sir Rice ap Thomas, Humphrey Stanley, and other worthy martial men, with a company of archers and horsemen, to environ the hill where the rebels were incamped round about: himself, with the main army and forces of the city, much ordnance and great provision, took St. George's-fields; where, on a Friday, at night, he quartered himself, and on the Saturday, very early in the morning, he posted Lord Dawbney at Dertford, who, by break of day, got the bridge of the Strand, in spight of resisters, which manfully defended it a while, shooting arrows a full yard long; and demeaning themselves like scholarly and eloquent orators, pleading for the time in a bad cause with good words, and handling an ill matter too well. From thence he went courageously against the whole company; and, what with the former earl's assaulting them on the one side, and his own charges on the other side, as knowing how the King's business stood to make an end of the war, the battle began a-pace, and not a man but prepared himself to fight it out, till at last the Lord Dawbney engaged himself so far, that he was taken prisoner; but whether for fear, or through his own wit and policy, they quickly released him, and he as quickly dispatched the matter, and made an end of the war; for he put them all to flight, so that a man may well say unto them:

——————Via nulla salutis,
Non fuga, non virtus, vix spes quoque mortis honestæ:

And I may truly report of the contrary: never was a battle so well fought, and so quickly determined: for, before the King was ready to go to dinner, there were slain two-thousand rebels, and many more taken prisoners; the rest hardly escaped home, who, for all their defeat, and uncomfortable news to the people, were rather accelerated to revenge their companions wrongs, than exanimated from further attempts, or seemed grieved at the King and country's molestation; shewing sad

looks, but stomachful hearts, and so remained intoxicated in their brains, and ready, upon every occasion, to a new rebellion, as you shall hear hereafter.

When this battle was ended, and so delicately contrived (for the King lost not above four hundred men) some imputed it to the King's policy, who appointing the same on Monday, by way of anticipation, fell upon them on Saturday, and so, taking them somewhat unprovided, had the fortune to prevail and thrive in his advantage. Such as were taken and apprehended had their pardon, except the principal and firebrands of the mischief: for the Lord Audley was drawn from Newgate to Tower-hill, in a coat of his own arms painted upon paper reversed and all torn, and there beheaded the twenty-eighth of June. Thomas Flamock and Michael Joseph were executed, after the order of traitors, and their quarters sent into Cornwall, for the terrifying of the people. Some were dispatched at sundry towns, as they deserved; amongst whom the Smith, and divers others of his immodest friends, had no excuse to make for this rebellion; but, whether they prevailed or no, they were sure to be registered to eternity, for daring to do somewhat in behalf of their country's liberty, and bidding battle to Kings and princes at their palace-gates, and before the city walls, even London itself, that great city, the chamber for their treasury, and strength of their royalty; which makes me remember a saying of Lucan, Lib. viii,

——Sed me vel sola tueri
Fama potest rerum, toto quas gessimus orbe,
Et nomen, quod mundus amat:——

And in another place, Lib. ix,

——Quid plura feram? tum nomina tanto
Invenies operi, vel famam consule mundi:

And this was the end of the twelfth year.

In this time you must know, that the King of Scots lay not idle, but, merely upon supposition of what would follow, prepared himself, nor was so ill befriended, but he had secret intelligences of all King Henry's purposes and intendments; whereupon he enlarged his army, barricadoed his passages, intrenched and fortified the holds, kept good watch and ward, and stood on the pinnacles of a high presumption to encounter with the proudest forces of England; yea, to give defiance, if need were, to the King himself. Notwithstanding he now lay a while only at defence, watching with what ward the English would break upon him, and wondering at my Lord Dawbney's retraction, and why he came not forward as his spies had advertised; but, when he understood of the western rebellion, he then conjectured the truth, and a while reposed himself, till a messenger of these western men came unto Perkin and proffered their obedience and endeavours, if he would come and join his army with theirs, and so, as their prince and captain, revenge their wrongs. This was motioned to King James, who, tho' he confessed, that, if they would join with the Cornishmen, there might be a gate open

indeed to prevail and walk in the fields of victory; yet he would by no means adventure his people so far, and confessed plainly he wanted ships for transporting so great an army into those parts: only, because he would be doing to please the supposed Prince, he meant to take this opportunity of the King of England's disturbance, and once again adventure into his territories; and so with a sufficient preparation he attempted the Castle of Norham, standing upon the river of Tweed, dividing Scotland and England. But Richard Fox, Bishop of Durham, a man of great learning, courage, experience, and fidelity, suspecting as much, had well stored and fortified the same, and was in it with such power, ammunition, and provision, as he was able to raise, sending the King word of the siege, and inviting the Earl of Surrey to come to his rescue with all expedition. The earl was mustering of men in Yorkshire when this news extended itself, and like a worthy servant hastened his journey the rather, and so with twelve Earls and Barons of the north country, one hundred knights and gentlemen of name, and twenty thousand soldiers, well ordered and armed, he came to raise the siege, in which this brave prelate was so engaged: besides, he furnished a handsome navy at sea, whereof the Lord Brooke was admiral, to give their attendance whatsoever should chance. But when the King of Scots, and his counterfeit Duke of York, had full and certain notice of the Earl of Surrey's approach, and that the Lord Dawbney's army was also intire and unbroken, yea, ready to march forward as a second to the former, they thought it better to retire with security, than to tarry the adventure with certainty of loss, if not hazard both of life and honour; and so by a voluntary consent they raised their camp and returned, under colour of commiseration of the people, whom they knew in the best war must be subjected to slaughter and captivity. And to this purpose they could yield a reason out of our poet to certain spirits that wondered at their affrightings and drawings-back, seeing no peril apparent, nor hearing of any stedfast reports concerning a more forcible enemy, and so calling for a book reading to them this lesson of satisfaction:

———Potuit tibi vulnere nullo
Stare labor belli, potuit sine cæde subactum,
Captivumque ducem violatæ tradere paci?
Quis furor ô Cæci scelerum, Civilia bella
Gesturi metuunt, ne non cum sanguine vincant?

Lucan. Lib. vii.

This answer of the King did rather harm than good to poor Perkin. For they perceived the King was weary of this war, and loth to take his part any longer, and so they rested a while displeasingly pleased.

But the truth was, the Earl of Surrey was so inraged at the bragging and over-daring prince, that he followed him at the heels, and in revenge of many mischiefs perpetrated by him in such audacious manner, he entered Scotland, defaced the castle of Cundrestins, demolished the tower of Hedonhall, undermined the tower of Edington, overthrew the

pile of Fulden, and sent Norroy king of arms to the captain of Haiton Castle, the strongest fortification between Berwick and Edinburgh, to deliver the same; which he absolutely denied, until the worthy general set himself down before it, made his approaches, and cast up a strong rampart, or battery, for the expugnation, prevailing so far, that at last it was surrendered, their lives only saved; who were no sooner departed, according to the conditions, but our general quite overthrew and demolished the same.

The King of Scots was within a mile of the siege, and yet durst not rescue the same; only, by way of ostentation, he sent Marchmount and another herald to the Earl of Surrey with a kind of defiance, and challenge either to encounter with him army to army, or body to body; conditionally, that, if the victory fell to his Majesty, the earl should deliver and surrender for his ransom the town of Berwick with the fishgarths of the same; if the earl again were victor, the King would pay one thousand pound sterling for his redemption. The noble general welcomed these heralds, and, like a courageous, yet understanding captain, quickly answered all the points of their commission: first, he was ready to abide the battle in the plain field, and would, if he pleased, for the same purpose lay open the trenches, and make the passages so easy, that victory should have comfort of coming amongst them. Secondly, he thought himself much honoured, that so noble a prince and great a King, would vouchsafe to descend to so low a degree of contention, as a private duel with him, for which he would not only repute him heroick and magnanimous, but, setting his loyalty to his prince aside, perform all good offices, which belonged to the sweet contract of a perpetual amity, if it were possible, between them. Thirdly, for the town of Berwick, it was none of his, but the King his master's, which he would not so much as conjecture upon without his consent and advice, as he himself might well judge in the affairs of princes, what was to be done. Fourthly, he thought his own life worth all the towns of the world, and so would gladly hazard himself; yea was proud, as he said before, that so great a Majesty would parallel him in such a kind; only he desired pardon for a little vain-glory, that, if he conquered the King, he would release him freely; if the King vanquished him, he would either yield him his life, or pay such a tribute and competency, as is befitting the state and degree of an earl; to all which he was rather induced, because he was confident, that

Causa jubet melior superos sperare secundos.

But it should seem, these affronts were mere flourishes: for neither battle, nor combate, nor any enterprise worth the recording was put in practice, although the English forces had lain long in the country, to the same purpose. Whereupon the lord general, loth to spend his time so inconsiderately, and somewhat wearied with the distemperature of the climate, and unseasonableness of the weather, the country affording nothing but mists and fogs at this time of the year, raised his camp, and retired to Berwick. But, when the truth was farther enlarged, the King commanded him so to do by his letters of private intelligence: for now came

a time, in which the windows of heaven seemed to open, and the God of Mercy thought to recompense his patience and goodness, with a quiet end of his troubles, and happy success in his enterprises, which fell out upon this occasion:

Ferdinando King of Spain, and Elisabeth his wife, having a purpose to marry their daughter Lady Catharine, to Arthur Prince of Wales, and very loth that any contention between the King of Scots, whom he much favoured, and the King of England, whom he highly respected, should be, as it were, a wall of partition between their projected amity and royal affinity; especially that either probability of an interest, or counterfeit device of the issue male from the House of York, should cast any blocks or hindrances in the way of these pretences; he most providently sent one Peter Hialos, a man of great learning, experience, and prudence, as an ambassador to James King of Scots, by way of mediation to contract a league of peace and absolute amity between the King of England and him; who proceeded with such fair conditions, and prevailed so well in his proposed message, that he perceived a glimmering sun-shine of this peace afar off, but that there were certain thickening clouds of mischief and disturbance, which by some effectual heat from the King of England's breath must be removed and dissipated; and therefore he wrote to King Henry, that, if it would please him to send some worthy man to be his associate in this enterprise, he persuaded himself, that an honest oratory would quickly conclude the profitable articles of amity. For the poet had assured him, and he found by some experience, that

Addidit invalidæ rebus facundia causæ.

And, for an entrance into the same, he assured the King, that there was a great likelihood to lay down the bloody colours of defiance, and flourish the pleasant ensigns of tranquillity. For the King of Scots had already protested, he was only emulous of King Henry's virtues, and neither maligned nor spited his person; and, for Perkin's title, he made it a matter of conscience and charity. For he knew him the right heir, if he were the right creature, and the clergy warranted the actions as meritorious. The better sort disclaimed all tyrannous prosecutions: for, except their obedience to the King, they spent and consumed their estates, and only returned with tears and lamentations for the loss of their friends. The interior sort imputed all to the superior commands, and, as for the formidable effects and bloody issue of war, it was only the chance and fortune of encounters, the action of fury, and the vengeance and curse appropriate to dissensions, according to that worthy author of excellent sentences and propositions,

——Sed mentibus unum
Hoc solamen erat, quod Voti turba nefandi
Conscia, quæ patrum jugulos, quæ pectora fratrum
Sperabat, gaudet monstris, mentisque tumultu,
Atque omen scelerum subitos putat esse furores.
Lucan. Lib. vi.

Whereupon King Henry, boasting of the character of Prince of Peace, so that he might not be branded with ignominy of baseness, pusillanimity, and dishonour, quickly consented to such agreement, and for the same purpose sent Richard Fox Bishop of Durham, who still lay in the battered castle of Norham, as his chief commissioner, who accordingly associated himself with Peter Hialos, at the town of Jedworth in Scotland, whither the ambassador from King James likewise repaired. Here were many matters disputed upon, many conditions laid open, many difficulties raised, many grievances urged, and many conclusions argued: but, because they failed in the main point, nothing was determined. For the King of England required Perkin Warbeck to be delivered into his hands, as the principal fountain of this venomous stream, the chief occasion of his unquietness, the perturber of his realm, the seducer of his subjects, and the author of many rebellions. But the King of Scots, like a prince indeed, would not buy his peace with the blood of innocents, especially a man coming to him for succour, shewing all the marks of a distressed and abused prince, allied unto him by marriage, commended by the Emperor, assisted by the Duchess of Burgundy, and himself of fair demeanour, sweet behaviour, and of a most royal and well-esteemed spirit: therefore, I say, he would by no means betray him into the hands of his enemies, that was so long admitted into the bosom of his friends; nor should it be said, that in any such degree, for any worldly respect whatsoever, King James of Scotland would be base or perfidious: which he had learned from the example and punishment of Prusias King of Bithynia, whom the Romans deposed, for consenting to betray Hannibal into their hands, though they had promised large rewards, and threatened severe vengeance.

The commissioners answered directly, that they intended not by way of defamation, or contumelious discovery of the vanity of the man, or impossibility of his business to make him odious or corroborate their own purposes, by the destruction of so silly a creature, or discrediting so poor a business: but merely to shew the truth, and unfold the secrets of the deceit, that such a prince, as King James, might not be colluded with shadows and apparitions, but orderly drawn into this holy and general league, wherein both the Emperor, France, and Spain desire a combination of amity with England; there only wanted himself to make the number complete, that the horn of Achelous might be sent from nation to nation, from kingdom to kingdom. For I can assure you, the merchants of England have been received into Antwerp with general procession, the Emperor is pleased with this combination, the King of Spain pretendeth a marriage, the King of France endeavoureth a league, and all the princes of Europe seek after a true confirmation of quietness: therefore, once again, be not an enemy to the good of all Christendom, nor so adverse to this holy combination, that the world shall rather esteem you wilful and prejudicate, than wise and considerate.

Notwithstanding all this forcible and effectual intimation, the King of Scots would not consent to deliver Perkin upon any condition; but, as he came to him for refuge, he should depart untouched, and not by his occasion be in worse case than the brute beasts, or vilest condition of men, as he had learned long since out of that ancient tragedian:

Habet confugium bellua quidem petram,
Servi verò aras deorum : civitas verò ad civitatem
Fugit, calamitatem passa : Rerum enim humanarum
Non est quicquam perpetuò beatum.

Eurip. Supplices.

Yet with much ado he was brought to a truce for certain years, and condescended to this, that Perkin should be no longer succoured, harboured, or maintained by him, or in his territories and dominions: with which answer, and orderly ratification of the same, the ambassadors departed, the armies retired, the soldiers were discharged, the King of England satisfied, the orators of France (who from Dover had audience at London about the same purpose) rewarded, and of all others the worthy Peter Hialos, as principal work-man in this intricate business, liberally and bountifully recompensed.

Only poor Perkin, whose glorious meteor began now to be exhaled, seemed disconsolate and exanimated at this news and determination, especially when King James began to expostulate and reason the matter with him: first, from a repetition of the benefits and favours received by his princely liberality and gentleness. Secondly, from his consanguinity, in marrying his kinswoman upon dangerous hopes and trivial adventures. Thirdly, from his many trials of sundry conflicts in England, proving all his promises wind and smoke, and his best enterprises trivial and fanatical. Fourthly, upon the now combination of amity with all the princes of Europe, which could not be done without the King of England's consent and agreement. Fifthly, upon the fatherly regard of his country, which had need have some breathing-time of ease and rest, and must questionless take a love-day of consolation and desisting from turmoils. Last of all, from the care of religion and mother-church, unto whose obedience and regard he was now absolutely sworn: therefore he desired him to take some other course, and depart out of his realm. For, as he heard, he was now interested in the confederacy of the peace of Christendom, and, unless he should be a perjured and perfidious prince, he could in no sort infringe the conditions, nor break the truce combined by a firm and inseparable adjuration.

When Perkin had heard him out, although every word was worse than the croaking of some night-raven or screech-owl, and the amazement, for the time, might have much disabled him: yet loth to discredit his cause by any dejection or pusillanimity, and seeing all answers were superfluous, and the very messengers of despair and disconsolation, he raised himself with some outward chearfulness, and, as well to avoid ingratitude towards so great a benefactor, as to countenance himself and his business, he thus, casting away all fear and abashing timidity, replied: Most worthy prince,

Mortale est quod quæris opus : mihi fama perennis.

And therefore God forbid, that my continuance in your court and kingdom, or the weakened cause of my attempts, should prove disadvantageous or ominous unto you, both in regard of the many favours, your

princeliness hath heaped upon me undeserved, and my own willingness not to be too troublesome or offensive unto so benign a Majesty; which rather than it should be hazarded for my sake, without a chearful and liberal willingness, the fame and glory of the enterprise shall be sufficient for me; and I will not only disclaim my right and interest in the kingdom of England, my lawful inheritance, by descent, but pour out myself, and spend my life, most profusely for your sake. Only this I must intreat at your hands, to give me leave to rig and caulk up my ships, and gather together that dispersed company I have, or such as would willingly and voluntarily attend me. Which seeming but reasonable, and no way repugning the former agreement with the ambassadors, was quickly condescended unto; so with many gifts, and royal furniture for his wife and family, he took his leave, and sailed back the same way he came into Ireland, determining (as the last anchor-hold of his fortunes) either to unite himself with the Cornishmen, whom he knew not fully appeased, or to retire to Lady Margaret, his most worthy aunt, and faithful coadjutrix.

He had not been long in Ireland, but his false fortune began once again to play with him, as flattering him with assured confidence and warrant, that the western men would welcome and entertain him: from whom he had this notice, that they could not forget their former injuries and slaughters, nor determine a settled and true obedience to the Lancastrian family: whereupon, because something must be done, or else he should be for ever discredited; or that God, in his justice, derided all such enterprises to scorn; or else, in his mercy, would give King Henry a breathing time to set his other princely qualities of wisdom, magnificence, quietness, religion, charity, government, and policy on work; he sailed out of Ireland, with five small ships, and two-hundred men, his wife and attendants, his substance and wealth, and, in a word, all that he had.

But, when he was to confer about his landing, and setting forward his designs, he had such poor counsellors, as a man would smile at for pity, rather than laugh at for scorn: for his principal friends were now John Heron, a mercer and bankrupt: John of Water, sometime mayor of Cork; Richard Skelton, a taylor: and John Astley, a scrivener; men in general defame for dishonest actions, and in particular reproach, for understanding nothing but what consorted to their own wilfulness, and outrageous appetites; of whom I may say, as Ovid complains in another case, in his elegies:

Non bene conducti vendunt perjuria testes,
Non bene selecti Judicis arca patet:

With this crew, about the month of September, he landed at a place called Bodnam, and there so sollicited and excited the multitude, and wavering people, that, when they heard him proclaimed Richard the Fourth, as the undoubted son of Edward the Fourth, whom the Duke of Gloucester, or, if you will, Richard the Tyrant determined to murther, but that he escaped by the providence of God, they flocked unto him to the number of four-thousand, and, according to the nature

of children running after new-fangled toys and painted pictures, submitted to his highness, and swore, with all allegiance, to maintain his dignity and royalty; with which confidence and company, after they had taken the musters of his army, and concluded to get some strong towns into their possession, that so they might not only augment their forces, but still have places of supportation and refuge to retire unto, they went directly to Exeter, and besieged it. But because they wanted ordnance to make a battery, and other provision to raise their trenches, and approaches; or indeed, if you will, were ignorant of martial discipline, and the secrets of a true soldier's profession; they spent the more time against the gates, and endeavoured nothing, but a forcible entrance, assaulting the same, with great pieces of timber, like the Roman rams, crows of iron, firebrands, and impetuous violence of great stones cast at them, and amongst them. But the citizens manfully defended themselves, and held it out to their perpetual fame, letting over the walls, in secret places, divers in baskets, with strong cords, to post to the King, and acquaint him with their distress. In the mean while, seeing a fire made under their gates, and that the enemy's fury increased, they suspected themselves, and had no other shift but to put force to force, and with one fire extinguish, or, if you will, devour another; and so they caused great store of faggots and timber combustible to be brought close to the posterns and greater gates, where the mischief began, and set the same on fire, which increased with a filthy smoke, and smother, and, at last, burst out into a flame and blaze, so that neither the enemies could come in, nor citizens go out; but all were compelled to desist from that work, and apply themselves to more new and necessary labours. For the rebels assaulted the most weak and broken places of the wall, and the citizens ran to the expulsions, and repaired the breaches, as fast as they were made; besides, they had leisure to cast up great trenches under their gates, and by strong banks rampiering the same made them more difficult passages than before. The walls were mightily and impetuously assaulted, but the worthy citizens defended them, with that courage, and countermanding, that they slew above two-hundred soldiers, in their fury, and behaved themselves, as if they determined to obtain a perpetual name of renown, and unmatchable trophy of honour: so that I may well and briefly say of them:

——— *Serpens, sitis, ardor, arenæ*
Dulcia virtuti: gaudet patientia duris.

When Perkin and his associates saw so strong and strange opposition, they seemed both amazed and disheartened at the same; whereupon, between rage and despair, he retired his lousy and distressed army to the next great town, called Taunton, where he mustered them a-new, but found a great want of his company: for many of his desperate followers were slain and cut off; many of the honester and civiler sort, seeing the town of Exter, so well maintained, and that very few resorted unto him, contrary to his former flourishes and ostentation, fell from him, and retired themselves home; many weary of the wars, and con-

jecturing an impossibility to remove a King so firmly established, or terrified with the punishment impending on treason, and presumptuous rebellion, left him to his fortunes; and many politickly forecasting for the worst, seeing not one of the nobility or better sort to afford a helping hand to the lifting up of this frame, were contented to dispense with former protestations, and so provided for themselves, whereby as I said, as if the proverb was verified,

Non habet eventus sordida præda bonos,

he came short of his reckoning, and the items of his accounts were much curtailed of their former length and computation.

But, in truth, the posts of the country brought comfortable tidings of the King's army approaching, of which the Lord Daubney, a fortunate and successful man in all his enterprises, was general; yet, in the mean while, had Lord Edward Courtney, Earl of Devonshire, Lord William his son, Sir Edmund Carey, Sir Thomas Tretchard, Sir William Courtney, Sir Thomas Fulford, Sir John Hatwell, Sir John Croker, Walter Courtney, Peter Edgecomb, William Sentnaure, and divers others, brought forward the forces of the country, to raise the siege of Exeter; which not only animated and encouraged the citizens, but rebated the fury of the contrary, and diverted them from that sore and outrageous manner of assaulting the walls, where, in the last onset, the noble Earl, and divers others, were hurt with arrows; he wounded in the arm, and the rest in several parts of their bodies, but very few slain: and so, with much ado, this famous and honour-thirsting city, with the honest inhabitants of the same, were delivered and relieved.

By this time the royal standards of King Henry were advanced in sight of the city, and the drums beat up their accustomed marches, to the joy and fulness of contentment, both of the town and country: but, when the King was advertised of their returning to Taunton, he hasted thither. But first he welcomed Edward, Duke of Buckingham, a young noble, and well regarded prince, in whose company came along an hundred knights and esquires of special name and credit in their countries, amongst whom, Sir Alexander Bainham, Sir Maurice Berkley, Sir Robert Fame, Sir John Guise, Sir Robert Points, Sir Henry Vernon, Sir John Mortimer, Sir Thomas Tremaile, Sir Edward Sutton, Sir Amias Paulet, Sir John Bickwell, Sir John Sapcotes, Sir Hugh Lutterel, and Sir Francis Cheny were principal. O what a glorious thing it is, to see a nobleman either stand by the chair of the prince, as a court star and supportation, that, at last, the King may ask, What shall be done to the man he means to honour? Or move in his own orb, that is, the love and credit of his country, firm to the state, and graceful in all his actions and proceedings, still having a care to the government of the people, and an eye to the dignity of the commonwealth; so shall his fame be extended abroad, and his renown enlarged at home; which makes me remember the description of Capaneus in that ancient Euripides's Supplices, who may be a precedent to all young noblemen; yea, I wish with my heart, that such, as are not too presumptuous on their own gifts of nature and education, would take the book in hand, and

make use both of precept and example, for the illustration of their honours, and administration of their lives: the poet is somewhat large and more pleasant in the Greek, than the Latin. He thus beginneth:

Capaneus hic est, cui facultas vivendi erat abundans,
Minimè verò divitiis insolens erat; magnitudinem verò animi
Non majorem habebat, quam pauper vir,
Fugiens splendido victu, quicunque intumcesret minis,
Sufficientia vili pendens: Non enim in pastu ventris
Virtutem esse, mediocria verò sufficere dicebat, &c.

Capanei Laus.

But to our story again: when the King approached the town of Taunton, whether out of policy not to hazard the whole army at once, or out of suspicion of some revolters in his company, or humbly considering there might be a turning of fortune's wheel, as still *Rota fortunæ in gyro*, in the encounters of a battle, or harping upon some stratagem and enterprise, as providently forecasting both the worst and best, which might chance; he sent before him Robert, Lord Brooke, the steward of his house, Giles, Lord Daubney, and Sir Rice ap Thomas, to give the onset, and begin the battle, that he with the rest, as a strong ambuscade and relief, might come to the rescue, if they were wearied and fatigued. But little needed this policy or procrastination: for poor Perkin (desperate of his fortunes, and quite exanimated to encounter with the King's forces, in so warlike a manner and fearful a preparation, contrary to all the motives of a true Roman honour, and without knowledge of his army) about midnight, accompanied with sixty horse, departed in wonderful celerity to a sanctuary-town besides Southampton, called Bewdley, where he, John Heron, Thomas a Water, and others, registered themselves as persons privileged.

O what a God art thou! that canst, one way, humble settled princes, with the very shadows of peril and danger, making them confess their frailty and ticklish state of mortality, by the several incumbrances and mischiefs to which they are subject; and, another way, confound the mightiest projects, and annihilate their enterprises, turning all actions and mountains of pride, sedition, conspiracies, and ambition, to powder and dust, and then blowing it away like smoke and vapour; and, another way, protect the right of the innocent and distressed, sending remedy and comfort, when they least think of it, or know to help and advance themselves; and, another way, whip with the rods of vengeance the frenetical and vain multitude, who know nothing but rudeness and clamorous outcries, nor practise any thing but indecencies and outrageousness: so that we may well say:

O Jupiter, cur nam miseros sapere dicunt
Homines! ex tē enim pendemus,
Agimusqne ea, quæ tu volueris.
O nihili homines!
Qui arcum extendentes tanquam ultra articulum,
Et jure utique mala patientes multa,
Amicis non quidem creditis sed ipsis rerum eventibus, &c.

Eurip. Supplices.

When King Henry knew that Perkin was fled, and departed from his camp, he sent the Lord Daubney, with five-hundred horse, to intercept him; but he was lodged before they came, although most of his company were surprised and taken, who, as miserable caitifs, and poor wretched delinquents, were presented to his Majesty: but, when the residue of this fearful and staggering army could neither understand what was become of their general, nor see their accustomed pendants and ancients, nor their quarters so well ordered, as was the manner of soldiers, nor their companies so chearful and well heartened, they knew not what to say or to do; some supposing he was fraudulently slain, some suspecting he was traitorously fled, some reporting the manifestation of his deceit, some wondering at the strangeness of proceedings, in that he had so miraculously begun, and presumptuously prosecuted such a dangerous work; some exclaiming upon the simplicity of the matter, that built upon no better grounds, than vain hopes and presumptuous titles; some cursing themselves, that they had so far engaged their loyalties against their sovereign Lord and King; some, continuing in their rancorous malice, swore nothing but revenge and obstinacy; and some, never to be reclaimed, even when their forces failed, cried out to go forward, railing at the misfortune of the business, that they must now fail, when they were ready to pull down the town-walls with their hands: yet, when they were assured of his cowardly flight and base pusillanimity, the common fear, common mischief, and common danger, made them cast away their armour, and submit to the King; to whom, though they came with affrighted countenances, and venomous hearts, sad looks, and little repentance, curses in their souls, and promises of faith, loyalty, and obedience out of their mouths; yet did the King entertain them with all chearfulness and acceptable comfort, as the greatest benefit which God could, at that time, bestow upon him, not disputing of their hypocrisy, nor determining, by more narrow searches, or artificial incantations, to try out the depth, and search the bottom of their resolutions.

Thus, as a conqueror, without manslaughter and effusion of blood, he rode triumphantly into the city of Exeter; and knowing *Præmium* and *Pœna* to be the mastering cures of all the things in the world, not only praised and applauded the citizens, but opened the treasure-house of reward and honour amongst them, giving some presents, advancing others to the order of knighthood, and granting many petitions, according to the worthy condition of a prince, and the full corroboration of their obedience: then proceeded he to some exemplary punishment of divers refractory Cornishmen, whom their own companies accused as delinquents, and the Majesty of the government would not endure without correction.

But all this was nothing, in comparison of that which followed: for his horsemen prosecuted the chace so diligently and honestly, that they pursued the Lady Catharine Gordon, wife to this Perkin, even to Michael's Mount; who notwithstanding, had she not been betrayed by some of her own followers, might have escaped; for, transforming herself into one of her servant's habits, she had gone quite away to her ships, but that some, pitying the distress of the King, and turmoils of the king-

dom, and perceiving the end of the war, and pacification of these troubles, to depend upon her surprising, would, by no means, give way unto new disturbances, but took her, and presented her to the King's commissioners. What should I say, when she herself said nothing? but perceiving them gentlemen of worth, with Hypsipyle to Jason, she cried out:

Si vos nobilitas generosque nomina tangunt.

I know you will use me like yourselves, and understand I am a prince every way. So they gave her leave to adorn herself, and brought her, like a bond-woman and captive, to the King, who wondering at her beauty and attractive behaviour, lifted up his hands to heaven in her behalf, to see so great a worth betrayed to fanatical hopes and frenetical deceit, thanking God for himself, that he had such a trophy of his endurances and victories in his hands. Nor was the Emperor Aurelius more proud of Zenobia, than he rejoiced in this adventure; some say, he fancied her person himself, and kept her near unto him as his choicest delight; yea, so doated on her perfections, that he forgot all things, but the contentment which he received by her, insomuch that many dared to libel against him, with that saying of Dejanira to Hercules:

Quem nunquam Juno, seriesque immensa laborum
Fregerit, huic Iolen imposuisse jugum.

Some say, he durst not let her marry, for fear of ambitious tumours in such as could attain to such a fortune; some confirm, that she was of that greatness of spirit, that she scorned all others in regard of herself, both by the privilege of her birthright, and the possibility of her greatness. Howsoever, he intreated her most honourably and amiably (such a power hath beauty and comeliness ever in distress) and sent her to the Queen so majestically attended, as if she had been a Queen indeed.

In the mean while, my Lord Daubney employed himself, and his company, so effectually, that, invironing the sanctuary, wherein Perkin was, with two companies of light horse, who were vigilant, cautious, strong, and courageous, he so lay in the advantage of watching the place, that Perkin could no way escape. But the King was not satisfied with this protraction, and therefore loth to lose him, or give him liberty to run, with the blind mole, into further caverns of the earth, to cast up heaps, and little hills of commotion, and affrighting his estate; and yet daring not to infringe the privilege of these holy places (such a hand had superstition, and the pope's fulmination, got over all the princes of Europe) he went more politickly to work, and sent divers persons of account to persuade his submission, and render himself wholly into the King's hands, who not only promised him pardon of life, but comfort of liberty, yea, honourable maintenance, upon the easy conditions of desisting to perturb the commonwealth any further, and disclaiming so injuriously to pretend any title to the diadem.

When Perkin saw to what streights his barque was driven, and that he must either split on the rocks of despair, or retire back again into the

troublesome ocean of despight, according to the nature of cowardly and irresolute men, he chose the worst part, to save his life and submit to the King's acceptation; not remembering, because he was never acquainted with the secrets of Majesty, that he, which hath been once a prince, must never look for a settled quietness in a private estate (because he is still subject to the conqueror's pleasure) but an ignominious life, than which an honourable death is ten thousand times better; which made the noble Hecuba, as a worthy pattern to all unfortunate princes, thus answer the proudest conquerors themselves:

Porrigam collum cordatè, intrepidè,
Liberam vero me, ut libera moriar,
Per deos quæso dimittentes occidite: apud manes enim
Serva vocari, Regina cum sim, pudet me.

But, as I said, he now only recounted the difficult passages of his former travels, the dangers escaped, the deceit pretended, the peril imminent, and the misfortune too apparent, as being in no security in the place he was fled unto, nor having any confidence in the persons he had chosen: for, though he knew there was a reverence appropriate to sanctuaries, yet kings, if they pleased, would be tied neither to law nor religion, but perform what they list, or, under colour of their own security, say they are compelled unto. Therefore, without any further aggravation, relying on the King's pardon, and those honourable conditions propounded, he voluntarily resigned himself, and came to his Majesty, as a messenger of glad tidings, That now all wars, troubles, and commotions were, by this means, ended and determined.

The King wondered not much at him, for he only found him superficially instructed, of a natural wit, of reasonable qualities, well-languaged, and of indifferent apprehension, but far from that highness of spirit, or heroick disposition, to deserve the character of a prince, or lay claim to a diadem; yet, loth with any boisterous strength to handle a bruised arm, or draw the fellow into a new self-love, or good opinion of himself, he passed over his examination the slightlier, and brought him immediately to London, being met all the way with great concourses of people; who both came to gratify him and his auspicious success, and to see Perkin like some strange meteor or monster; or, if you will, because we will deal more cleanly with him, like a triumphant spectacle, to move amazement, delight, and contentment, according to that saying of the poet:

Nocte pluit tota, redeunt spectacula mane.

But, when they began to capitulate, that, being a stranger and an alien born, he durst not only abuse so many princes and commonwealths with lyes, fictions, and abominable deceit, but even bid battle to Kings and princes, yea, bring Kings and princes into the field for his assistance, they fell from wondering at him to rail and abuse him, both with checks and opprobrious taunts; yea, divers dared to put in practice many indecencies, both of rage and indignation, had not the reverence

of his Majesty's presence diverted their inconsideration, and commanded no further rumour, gazing upon him, or violent threatenings against him. To conclude, the King brought him quietly to London; and, though he had given him life, and afforded him a kind of liberty, yet did he set a guard over him, that he could neither have free conference, nor do what he wantonly listed without them.

By this time you must consider, that Lady Margaret in Flanders, Duchess-Dowager of Burgundy, was not so ill befriended, or negligent in her own affairs, but she had both intelligence from England, and spies of her own, to acquaint her with all occurrences and adventures, as they chanced. But, whether it was a news to her of bitterness and tormenting spight, or no, let them judge, that make their stomachs and inward faculties a store-house of rancour and malice, and cry out with Seneca *Felix jacet, quicunque quos odit premat;* yet was she not tormented so much with the loss, expences, or disaster of the business, which might be the chance of war, as that she could not prevail in her malignant courses against her enemy, the house of Lancaster: so that she bemoaned the lamentable success of her unfortunate darling, and, as many did testify, even shed tears again; but they were so far from compunction, or penitency, that they seemed rather signs of rage, phrensy, and intolerable madness, in which she cried out on nothing but revenge, and repeated an exclamation of Hermione's against Orestes:

Quæ mea Cœlestes injuria fecit iniquos!
Quodve mihi miseræ sidus abesse querar!

So that, if she had had power equal to her implacable hatred, King Henry should have felt the scourges of her wrathful hand, even to the lowest dejection, and she had, doubtless, shewed him a trick of a woman's will, or (if I might speak without offence) wickedness.

In this while, Perkin, having two years liberty to ruminate on his business, and swell up his vexed soul with uncomfortable commemoration of preceding misfortunes, would many times cast out abrupt and uncertain speeches concerning his distress, and the malevolent aspect of his fate, cursing his miserable life, and complaining of his unprofitable genius, that had stood him in no better stead, wishing he had been born to any mechanical drudgery, rather than from the royal blood of Plantagenet: insomuch that his keepers mistrusted him in these extasies, and the King was still troubled, that he could neither make him confess the truth, nor disclaim this high assumption of another's dignity and royalty. But at last, as all such discontentments and eruptions must have a vent, and so a determination, whether the scandal of this kind of imprisonment grieved him, or the unquietness of his thoughts vexed him, or the baseness of his submission abused him, or the loss of his sweet wife confounded him, or the instigations of others disturbed him; or indeed, because the last act of his tragedy and catastrophe was now in hand, he not only studied which way to escape, but put the same in practice, in spight of his own knowledge, that the King was acquainted with all his discontentments. For, alas! princes have long hands and

prying looks, to reach into the furthest parts of their kingdom, and search into the secretest closets of their palaces, yea, other men's houses, and so are made to understand the affairs of the remotest regions. But, concerning himself, his vain suppositions, as in his former enterprizes, still flattered him, that he should once again find fuel enough, to set another rebellion and commotion on fire: and his vexation to be bereaved of so delicate a creature, as his lady, made him desperate of all, and set his wits on the tenter-hooks, to put something in practice to his further contentment. So that one day reading the story of Mortimer's escape out of the Tower, by giving his keepers a sleepy drink; he, in such a manner deceiveth his guard, and betook him to a resolution of escaping and flying out of the land; wherein he proved only like the silly bird, that with striving, in the net, entangles herself the more: or, as deer that are hunted, betray themselves to well-scented hounds, by their faster running away, whereby they make the deeper impression in their steps: so fell it out with him,

Incidit in Scyllam, cupiens vitare Charybdim:

And, by seeking after liberty, he brought himself to a streighter and more unkindly endurance: for; when he had gone to the sea-coasts, and heard the exclamations of the people against him; saw all places debarred, knew great searches made for him, understood what an indignation the country had conceived of his mockeries and illusions, and found the whole kingdom up in his search, and posting after him; he was quite exanimated, and, like a man distracted, knew not what to do. At last, unstable in his former wilfulness, he once again altered his pretended journey, and came to the house of Bethlehem, called the priory of Shene, beside Richmond in Surrey, and committed himself to the prior, with a long and secret conference; concluding, with an impetration of his charity, that, being a man of God, he would not think it strange to see princes subject to disasters and fatal conclusions of misfortune: for he well knew the story, both of the Abbot of Westminster and the Bishop of Carlisle, who, in spight of King Henry's usurpation, who had not only projected the delivery of Richard of Bourdeaux, but opposed the King in his strength of sovereignty, against his wilfulness to destroy the other deposed; and therefore he desired him to obtain his pardon of the King, yielding forcible intimation for the same purpose.

The prior (glad to have interest in such a meritorious work, and proud to be serviceable to his prince and country) came with convenient speed to the court, and acquainted his Majesty with the accident, leaving no circumstance of any validity unrecounted; which ended to the King's wonderful content, and the whole court's disdain and amazement. But all times are not alike, and princes, in their mercies and pardons, are not so flexible, as presumption buildeth upon: yet, to please the prior, he gave him his life, which, to a generous and free-born spirit, was more irksome than death: for he was first taken and brought to Westminster, with all scorn and reproach; then set in a pair of stocks, with contumelious derision; then carried through all the streets of London, like a prodigious spectacle; then put to the rack,

which made him not only confess his pedigree and original, but write it with his own hands. Last of all, mounted on divers scaffolds, he read it in publick, and that so disgraciously, as in the commemoration was able to torment a looker-on, so that he might well cry out,

——————Vitamqae per omnem
Nulla fuit tam mœsta dies: nam cætera damna
Durata jam mente malis, firmaque tulerunt:

In some of your chronicles you have this confession at large, as in Grafton; which, to make the story complete, I have a little contracted, and thus expose the same:

BE it known unto all men, that I was born in the town of Tournay, in Flanders, my father, John Osbeck, comptroller of the said town, my mother Catharine Haro, and my grandfather Dirrck Osbeck, after whose decease, my grandmother married Peter Flamme, receiver of Tournay, and dean of the boat-men over Leschelt; my mother's father was called Peter de Faro, which kept the keys of St. Thomas's-gate, within the said town. I had also an uncle, Mr. John Statime, of St. Pia's parish, with whom I dwelled very young; he married my aunt Jane, and brought me up very well; yet my mother, not contented, as being very fond of me, had me to Antwerp, to learn Flemish more exactly, to a kinsman of my father's, John Steinbeck, with whom I remained a full half year; but, by reason of the wars, I returned to Tournay, where I was placed with Mr. Barlo, who, within another year, carried me to the mart at Antwerp, where I fell sick a while, and so was boarded in a skinner's house, much conversant with the English nation, whereby I learned the language, as you see. From thence I went to Barrow Mart, and lodged at the Old Man: Afterwards, Mr. Barlo left me at Middleborough with John Strew, a merchant, who first made me believe, I was better than I was. From Antwerp I sailed into Portugal, with my Lady Brampton, in a ship called the Queen's Ship, and served a knight in Lichborne, called Don Peter Les de Cogna, who had but one eye; yet the manner of his behaviour, and the order of his house, made me tarry a year. Then Pregent Meno, a Bretagner, carried me into Ireland, and either commanded so by my Lady Margaret, who, as she said, was my aunt, or projectiug something for his own private interest, would needs persuade me I was a Plantagenet of the house of York. For, when I arrived in Cork, because I was somewhat handsomely apparelled, they would needs bestow upon me the title of the Earl of Warwick, son to George Duke of Clarence, formerly in Ireland, which John Le Wellin, the mayor, maintained; and, forasmuch as my denial was contrary to their expectation, they brought me to the Cross, and made me swear, which I did, disclaiming him, or any of his kindred, until Stephen Poitron, with John à Water, came unto me, as resolved I was King Richard's bastard-son (then in the hands of the King of England) persuading me not to be afraid or daunted at any thing: For they would aid me and assist me, even to the obtaining the crown of England; yea, they knew of their own knowledge, the Earls of Des-

mond and Kildare were ready to venture their lives and estates for my sake: After this they carried me into Flanders, to Lady Margaret, Regent and Duchess of Burgundy, who prevailed so far with me, that I took upon me the person of Richard Duke of York, second son of King Edward the Fourth, and so, with reasonable preparation, I returned back again into Ireland, where the said John à Water, Stephen Poinings, John Tiler, Hubert de Brough, the foresaid earls, and many others, entered with me into a dangerous rebellion, and I was proclaimed by them Richard the Fourth. From hence the King of France sent for me, by Loyte Lucas and Stephen Frian; but, making peace with England, he left me to my fortunes: Then I sailed into Flanders, where my supposed aunt made more of me, than before; so I attempted England, but was driven back again into Flanders, from whence I went into Scotland, and from thence again into Ireland, and so into England.

When the people had heard him out, they wondered both ways at the matter, and stood, as it were, confounded betwixt shame and indignation. If it were a collusion, to think how grosly the kingdom, and some of the best therein, yea many kingdoms had been abused with such an imposture, to the prosecuting several facinorous actions, and disturbance of the peace and tranquillity of the commonwealth: If it were not so, and that for fear of life he confessed the contrary, being the true Plantagenet, and a prince born to so great a fortune; then they wondered that any man could be so base, as to deject himself to such ignominy and opprobrious disgraces, when to die had been honourable, and to sell one's life in the field, far better than to plead on a scaffold, where the many changes must needs distract him, and make a poor soul neither fit for life nor death: But, whatsoever he was, they could not chuse but deplore his estate and misfortune, as naturally and ordinarily all men are bemoaned in adversity, especially such an one, that was so forward in the race and journey to Majesty, and pulled back so often by the sleeve, and turned with a fury into the house of desolation, and dungeon of disconsolate wretchedness, when to have perished at once had been a favour of death and fortune indeed, according to our poet:

Mitius ille perit subita qui mergitur unda,
Quam sua qui liquidas brachia lassat aquis.
Lib. iii. De Ponto.

When the King had this way satisfied himself, and pleased the people, as he thought, he made no more ado, but, to prevent inconveniences, clapped him in the Tower, from whence he escaped not, until he was carried to Tyburn, and there swallowed up by the never-satisfied paunch of hell, for his former abuses and intolerable wickedness, which happened very shortly after. For, just at this instant, a roguish Augustin friar, called Patrick, on the borders of Suffolk, after Peter Warbeck's example, taught a poor scholar, one Ralph Wilford, to take upon him the title of the Earl of Warwick, as yet in the Tower of London; but supposed to escape, as corrupting his keepers, intimating the glory of the action, and the bravery of such an enterprise, wherein who would

be so base and cowardly, as not to adventure his life, and put in practice any design to attain a diadem, especially by so easy means as personating a prince, and assuming the title of the next heir to the crown? And when some of his better understanding friends laid open the danger and impossibility of the attempt, with the odiousness and perfidiousness of the treason, he answered the first with one poet:

Famaque post Cineres major venit, et mihi nomen,
Tum quoque cum vivis annumerarer, erat:
Lib. iv. De Ponto.

And the latter with another:

Si enim injustè facere oportet, potissimum propter
Imperium jus violandum est: alias pium esse convenit.
Eurip. Phenissos.

But although this mischief was quietly blown over, like a weak and thick cloud, suddenly dispersed by a forcible wind (for both master and scholar were quickly apprehended; the one hanged on Shrove Tuesday, at St. Thomas Watering's, and the friar condemned to perpetual imprisonment) yet it left such an impression behind, to the troubling, as a man may say, the whole region of the air, that the King would dally no longer, but, like the sun in his full strength, at the next incensing of his Majesty, dissolved all such vapours, and gave the law leave to play her part to the final extirpation of the very roots of sedition, which presently was thus set on work.

Peter Warbeck, impatient at this restraint of his liberty, and stomaching his former disgraces and indignities, would endure no longer, but studied every hour how to escape, not yet knowing what to do, when he did escape; to which purpose, by fair promises and false persuasions, he corrupted his keepers, Strangway, Blewet, Astwood, and long Roger, servants of Sir John Digby, lieutenant of the Tower, to slay their said master; and set both Perkin and the true Earl of Warwick at large, and so to make their fortunes, as they could, either by domestick or foreign friends; to which, when the innocent prince condescended, as glad any way to enjoy his liberty, and to be freed of his imprisonment (for you see birds kept in golden cages beat and flutter up and down, as scorning their inclosure, to get out into their native country, the region of the air) mischief and misfortune, which plays the tyrant with many men all their lives long, and never affordeth one day, or breathing-time, to give them a taste of any pleasure or contentment, discovered the whole conspiracy to the King and his council, not leaving out any circumstance which might either exasperate his rage, or pull forward death and destruction to the delinquents. Whereupon, without further disputing the matter, Perkin Warbeck, John à Water, sometime mayor of Cork, and his son were, the sixteenth of November, arraigned and condemned at Westminster of high treason, and the twenty-third hanged at Tyburn: Perkin mounted on a scaffold, reading his confession,

and, contrary to all expectation, asking the King and country forgiveness, and dying penitently, with great remorse of conscience, and compunction of spirit:

Et sic finis Priami——

Not long after, Edward Earl of Warwick, who had been the twenty-first of November arraigned at Westminster, before the Earl of Oxford, high constable of England for the present, was, upon the twenty-eighth, 1499, beheaded on Tower-hill; For he quietly confessed the inditement, concerning his consent and willingness to obtain his liberty, though it were by violating the law in that kind, and breaking of prison, whose simplicity I rather lament than condemn the offence. For it was a dangerous time for any Plantagenet to live in, and I may well cry out,

Omne tulit secum Cæsaris ira malum:

But the King was indeed glad of this occasion, and fortune gave virtue the check, because, as he had imprisoned him without a cause, he knew not what do with him without a fault; yet some report that the principal reason of accelerating his death was a speech of Ferdinando's, King of Spain, who should swear, that the marriage between Lady Catharine, his daughter, and Prince Arthur of Wales, should never be consummated, as long as any Earl of Warwick lived. For the very name and title was not only formidable to other nations, but superstitious to the wavering and unconstant English; whereupon the King was the gladder to take hold of this opportunity, wherein the conviction of the law had cast this stumbling-block of treason in his walk and race to a longer life; and yet was there nothing done, but by orderly proceedings, and justifiable discourses, more than, when the silly prince submitted to his mercy, he thought it the greatest point of mercy to look to himself, and so, for the benefit of his posterity, and the sedation of all troubles, both present and to come, struck off his head, and with him the head of all division and dissension.

CHOROGRAPHIA:

OR,

A SURVEY OF NEWCASTLE UPON TINE.

The Estate of this Country, under the Romans. The Building of the famous Wall of the Picts, by the Romans. The ancient Town of Pandon. A brief Description of the Town, Walls, Wards, Churches, Religious Houses, Streets, Markets, Fairs, River, and Commodities; with the Suburbs. The ancient and present Government of the Town. As also, a Relation of the County of Northumberland, which was the Bulwark of England against the Inroads of the Scots. Their many Castles and Towers. Their ancient Families and Names. Of the Tenure in Cornage. Of Cheviot-Hills. Of Tinedale and Reedsdale, with the Inhabitants.

Potestas omnium ad Cæsarem pertinet, proprietas ad singulos.

Newcastle, printed by S. B. 1649. Quarto, containing thirty-four pages, besides the title and preface to the reader.

TO supply some omissions, and some particulars that have been erected since this author's time, you will please to observe that this incorporated town and county is situated at the end of the famous wall, built by the Roman Emperors to guard their conquest from the incursions of the Picts, and from thence is called the Picts-Wall, on the north bank of the River Tine, from which it takes its name, to distinguish it from the town of Newcastle under Line, in Staffordshire; and is built upon the declivity of a steep hill, which makes it very uneven and unpleasant, because the streets are difficult of access, and uneasy, you being obliged, in many places, to go up to the upper part of the town by high and narrow stairs, some fifty or sixty steps in height; besides, in that steep part, the streets are extremely close built.

By some, the village of Gateside, which lieth on the south end of Tine Bridge, has been reckoned as a suburb to this great trading town; but that is a mistake, for the jurisdiction of Newcastle reacheth no farther than the blue stone upon the bridge.

In the time of the Saxons, it was so crouded with monasteries of monks, that they gave it the name of Moncaster, or Monkchester, which was exchanged afterwards by Robert, son of William the Conqueror, as hereafter is recorded.

The consequence of this fortification against the insults of the Scots was the settlement of a good trade to the coasts of Germany, and since, by the sale of its coal, to other parts; for which, and for other merchandise, it is now become the great emporium of the north parts of England, and extends its credit and commerce to a good part of Scotland.

The antiquity of its charters, and the form of its government, is particularly related in this treatise. But, to what has been been said, I must add, that, since this author's time, the revenue of this corporation, which it now holds in its own right, is at least eight-thousand pounds per annum; and, I may presume to say, it is more than is held by any other town corporate in England.

Its exchange is a noble and magnificent building, on the south-side of the Sandhill, but is too much confined on the south by the river, and by the bridge, on the west. Between the town-wall and the river is a wharf so well faced with free-stone, and so spacious, as well for length as breadth, that it exceeds all others in England, except that at Yarmouth. This key is for the use of merchandise only; for the colliers take in their loading at Sheilds, or in some part of the river below Newcastle, not at a key, but by the help of the keels.

Here is also by the water side above the bridge, at the farther end almost of the close, an handsome mansion-house, built at the publick expence for the mayor. This mansion-house is also furnished, and upheld with proper servants, by the corporation; so that the mayor has no more to do, than to move himself and family. And he is allowed six hundred pounds a year for his table, with a coach and a barge.

Here is also a fine hall for the surgeons, where they have skeletons, and other rarities in their way, and a very large room for their publick meetings. The surgeons are a considerable part of this corporation.

Adjoining to the surgeons hall, there is a stately foundation, built with brick upon piazza's, for the relief of decayed freemen and their widows; and, a little lower, on the same parcel of ground, has been erected, within these twenty years, another house of charity, containing six rooms, for three merchants widows, and three clergymen's widows, endowed with ten pounds a year each, besides coals, and a servant maid in common to keep the stairs, &c. clean.

There has been lately erected a library in this town, near St. Nicholas's church: Dr. Robert Thomlinson, Rector of Wickham, in the Bishoprick of Durham, and lecturer of St. Nicholas's, in gratitude to the corporation, who chose him their lecturer many years ago, gave them about six thousand valuable books; and Walter Blacket, esq; one of its worthy representatives in parliament, has generously built the library, and settled a rent-charge of twenty-five pounds a year for ever, to maintain a librarian.

This town sends two members to parliament, which are chosen by the freemen, and gives the title of marquis and duke to the Holles family, in the person of the most noble prince, Thomas Holles Pelham, the present Marquis and Duke of Newcastle.

In the parliament wars, this town was taken and plundered by the Scots, and was the place, where these traitors sold their King, viz. Charles the First, for two-thousand pounds in hand, and security for as much more.

After the title there follows the arms of Newcastle upon Tine, which is, Three Castles, Argent, in a Field, Gules, with the following inscrip- and motto:

S. P. D.

Dilectis Burgensibus, & probis Hominibus Novicastri super Tinam.

W. G.

Fortiter Defendit Triumphans.

Portus, Castrum, Carbo, Salmo, Salina, Molaris,
Murus, Pons, Templum, Schola sunt Novi gloria Castri.

TO THE CANDID READER.

EVERY country hath its chronologer, or writer, to pourtrait unto their countrymen their antiquities and noble acts. Greece had its Homer, Rome its Virgil. Our Britons had their Gildas; the Saxons had their Beda; England had of late its learned Camden, and painful Speed, to delineate and pourtrait unto their countrymen the antiquities and situations of all shires in England; yet it is impossible, that any one man, being never so inquisitive and laborious, should attain unto the perfect knowledge of all passages, in all places. I have adventured to write of the antiquity of this town and country, which, by reading and experience, I have gathered out of the ruin of antiquity; that those monuments, which these late wars have obliterated and rumed, may be left to posterity; for, *Tempus edax rerum.* I find a great difficulty in my undertaking, because the records of this country are but few, and confused, being so often infested by the Scots and Danes, who consumed and fired all before them, whersosoever they came. Questionless, many brave men have lived in this town and country, many memorable acts have been atchieved; but they are all buried in oblivion. I hope, the courteous reader will pardon the faults committed herein; *nam in priscis rebus veritas non ad unguem quærenda est.* Many errors, many suppositions upon probabilities may be found in it. *Humanum est errare et decipi.* I have begun the work, I hope some of my fellow burgesses will finish what I have begun, to the everlasting memory of this famous town.

Some criticks have presumed to correct and blame me (with their indigested zeal, and unknown enthusiastick knowledge of Chimæra's in

in their giddly pericraniums) for fables and errors; as the priest, that found it written of St. Paul, *Demissus est per sportam*, mended his book, and made it, *Demissus est per portam*; because sporta was an hard word, and out of his reading. But, *ne sutor ultra crepidam*, let no man profess that he knows not. It is true, he, that writes, resembleth a man acting his part upon a theatre, or stage, where the spectators have their eyes fixing upon him, all observing his gesture and words; if he fail in either, presently he is censured and condemned. Lastly, we live in an age, that mechanicks will presume to step into Moses's chair, and become politicians to contradict and controul whatsoever is acted and done according to the laws divine and human. One thing I desire of these fantasticks: *Carpere vel noli mea, vel ede tua.* Vale.

W. G.

The first Natives of this Island.

THE Britons were Autocthones, natives of this island, for more ancient inhabitants we find none. The people of this nation are thought to have been descended from the neighbouring Gauls, in regard of the same religion, language, and manners. Their original from the Trojans by Brute is altogether fabulous; there being no Greek or Latin authors, or any monument in this island, which makes mention hereof. Their descent from the Gauls is more probable, being the next part of the continent unto Britain, or their way from Asia to the east, from whence all countries were first peopled.

Romans first in Britain.

The Romans were the first certain and known foreigners in this island. C. J. Cæsar was the first of the Romans that invaded Britain: He, having subdued the nation of the Gauls, made his journey into Britain, Cassivellanus reigning King. Some victories he atchieved, some hostages he took, imposed a tribute upon the nation, and so returned into the continent: he made no conquest of them, but discovered them to posterity.

A long time after, the Roman Emperor, Claudius, sent Aulus Plautius hither, accompanied by two brethren. Sabinus Vespasian, who made war against the Britons, vanquished them in several fights, took Camalodunum, the chief seat of their Kings, and their King prisoner; planted a colony at Camalodunum (now Maldon in Essex) and reduced the higher or south parts of Britain into the form of a Roman province.

The first Roman Conquest in the North.

In the year of Vespasian, the great and populous nation of the Brigantes are warred upon, and in part overcome. These Brigantes

contain all the country north of Humber to the river of Tine and Picts Wall, called lower Britain.

Julius Agricola, in the reign of Domitian, set limits here to the Roman greatness, and extended it northward into the seas and friths of Dunbritton and Edinburgh in Scotland.

The Emperor Adrian, not long after, removed the pale more southward, and, the better to keep out the enemy, drew a trench and wall of turfs cross the land, betwixt the two seas.

The Roman Britons being continually molested, by often incursions of the barbarous people called Caledonii or Picts, who brake down the sod-wall, harrassing and spoiling this country; which moved the Emperor Severus to build a wall of stone, with great wisdom and industry, to strengthen these northern parts of Britain against the many inroads of the barbarous Picts. At every mile's end of this wall was a tower, and, in the wall, a pipe of metal, betwixt the tower or sentinel-houses, that, so soon as a man had set his mouth to this pipe, they might hear, through all the sentinels, where the enemy were, and so, in a short time, give warning from one end of the wall to the other. One of these towers remaineth whole in the town-wall of Newcastle in Pampeden, older than the rest of the towers, and after another fashion, standing out of the wall.

The North brought into a Roman Province.

At this same time began this country to flourish, being reduced into a Roman province, to be civilised to learn Roman letters, habits, and manners; for, before this time, the inhabitants went naked, had no houses to live in, neither did they till the ground, as one writeth: *De præda et venatione frondibusque arborum vivunt? degunt in tentoriis nudi et sine calceis.* Xiphilin.

This country had the presence of the Emperors of Rome. York was a municipium of the Romans, and the seat of their Emperors, during the time of their abode in this island, attending the wars of the Picts and Caledonians; famous for the death and funeral exequies of the Emperor Severus and Constantius, and the happy inauguration of Constantine the Great, son to Constantius, here beginning his reign over the Roman and Christian world.

I find, in the time of the Romans, many places in Northumberland that were their stations about this famous wall, called sometimes, vallum, a rampire; sometimes, Murus Pictiticus, or Murus Severi.

The most remarkable is upon the Tine-West-Hexam, called of old Axelodunum, the station of the first cohort of Spaniards, a bishop's see under the Saxons. Corebridge Curia of Ptolemy, a city of the Otadeni. Prudo castle, the station of the first cohort of the Batavi. Stighill, of old called Segedunum, the station of the fourth cohort, named of the Lergi. Pons Ælii, the station of a cohort of Cornavii, now Portland. Gabrosentum, the station of the second cohort of the Thracians, probably, saith my author *, Newcastle upon Tine. Pampeden, a part

* Camden.

of Newcastle, probably a station of the Romans, having an ancient Roman tower, and another ancient building called the Wall-Knowl, a part of the Picts wall. This town of Pampeden is very ancient; probably some building was erected here in this place to their great God Pantheon; this wall being the outmost confines of the Roman empire, called now Pandon. I find of the Kings of Northumberland, that had a house in Pampeden, which we call now Pandon-Hall; an ancient old building and seat of the Kings of Northumberland.

Tunnocellum, the station of the first cohort, named Ælia Classica, now Tinmouth, at the mouth of the Tine. There is a village near Newcastle called Hetton, where there is an old Roman tower, probably named from the proconsul Ætius, who was sent from Rome into these parts; whom the Britons petitioned for help in these words: *Ætio ter Consuli gemitus Britannorum, &c. Repellunt nos barbari ad Mare, repellit Mare ad barbaros, inter hæc oriuntur duo genera funerum, aut jugulamur, aut mergimur.* Beda. When the Romans had their empire much weakened by their own discords, and by the irruptions of the Goths and Vandals, proconsul Ætius was forced to retire their legions from the northern parts; so leaving the country naked, the Picts did break in, who most miserably wasted and spoiled the country.

The Coming in of the Saxons.

Thus Britain became a prey again to the Picts. When the Britons had despaired of Roman help, they sent into Germany to crave help of a people called Saxons, who entered and inhabited Britain to their aid against the Picts.

The Picts being vanquished and overthrown, through their valour, they possessed themselves of this north kingdom, upon the driving out of the native Britons. The victorious Saxons erected their heptarchy, or seven several kingdoms.

The kingdom of Northumberland was the most spacious, populous, and victorious kingdom against the Picts or Scots, until the Danes invaded these northern parts, and broke out like a violent thunder-clap on the Northumberlanders, and put the English Saxons to much slavery and bondage many years, until they were expelled by the English.

The kingdom of Northumberland, being in peace, began to build and erect many strong castles for defence, against the Scots and Picts, as Dunstanborough-Castle, Bamborough, Alnewicke, Morpeth, and Tinmouth, which were the seats of the Kings of Northumberland.

In time of this heptarchy, many famous monasteries were erected, viz. Hexam made a bishop's see under the Saxons; many erected in this town of Newcastle and Pandon. Some of their Kings were interred in Saint Augustine's Friars, now called the Mannors. The upper part and well was called Monk-Chester, before the conquest; a place wholly dedicated to devotion and religion. Chester signifies a bulwark, or place of defence; which sheweth, that, in antient time, under the Saxons, it had been a place of fortification for religious men that lived in monasteries.

The first Denominations of Newcastle.

After the conquest it got the name of Newcastle, by the New Castle, which Robert de Cantois, son of William the Conqueror built there out of the ground against the neighbouring Scots.

This town of Newcastle, and town of Pampeden, made one town, by the grants of the Kings of England, being in old time belonging to the county of Northumberland.

This town of Newcastle is seated upon the Picts Wall, and side of a steep hill, upon the north side of the river Tine: The Picts Wall came through the west gate, Saint Nicholas's church through Pampeden, then to the town east, called Wallsend.

The bounds of the town, upon the west, the lands belonging to the prior of Tinmouth. On the north, the town-moor, as some say, the gift of Adam de Athell of Gesmond; upon the east, the land of Biker; upon the south, the river of Tine. Gateside in the county palatine of Durham.

The Walls and Gates of Newcastle, and who built them.

The town of Newcastle is environed about with a strong thick stone wall, having seven gates or ports, with many round towers and square turrets. These walls began to be built in King John's reign, the north part of the wall at Newgate. The west part of the town, in King Henry the Third's reign. Pandon gate, and the east and south of the town wall, built in Edward the First's reign, and so continued building, until it was finished. The town is two miles in circuit, with trenches in the outside of the wall, ramparted within with earth.

The cause, that moved them in those days to build this great wall, was the often invasions of the Scots into this place and country; they were continually infesting and foreigning this country, and rich monasteries in these northern parts; the religious houses of this town, and adjacent, being above forty houses, which have been dedicated to pious uses.

There was a rich man, in Edward the First's reign, of Newcastle, that was taken prisoner out of his house, and carried into Scotland, ransomed and brought home; which act moved the townsmen and burgesses, and the religious men therein, to contribute towards the building of these walls.

The question is, Who built these walls? Some are of opinion that King John built them; others Roger de Thornton. King John gave many privileges to this town, and probably, the new gate and walls thereabout were built in his time; that north part of the wall being the oldest, and of another fashion than the other walls.

As for Thornton, who lived in Henry the Sixth's days, all the walls of the town were then finished. It is probable that Thornton built the west gate, which is a strong and fair gate, in memory that he came from the west country, according to the old saying;

In at the West Gate came Thornton in,
With a Hap and a Halfpenny, and a Lamb's skin.

The walls and gates were built by several persons, as by the names of the round towers doth appear. Some of them were built by the friars and monasteries that did dwell in the town, as the White, Black, Grey, and Austin Friars. Others, named Durham and Carlisle Towers. Others by noblemen and gentry of the country, as Nevil's Tower, adjoining to his house in west gate.

There are seven ports or gates in Newcastle, besides postern gates, which belonged to the religious houses. In the lower part of the town upon the river are many little gates to that famous long key.

1. West is Close Gate, called so from a street called the Close, which * goeth up the water, a place of recreation, called the Forth †, given to the town for good services performed by the burgesses of the same.

In Edward the Third's reign, three-hundred valiant men issued out of the town, through a postern gate; came suddenly in the night upon a great army of the Scots, which lay in that part west of the town; raised the army of the Scots, put them to flight, and took Earl Murray prisoner in his tent, and others.

2. The next west is West Gate, a stately and fair gate, built by Roger de Thornton, a rich man, that lived in Henry the Sixth's days, the high-way west into Northumberland and Cumberland.

3. Is New-gate, the ancient and strongest of all the ports, having a causey that leadeth to the town-moor, and towards the north parts of Northumberland and Scotland. Now a prison for debtors and felons.

4. Pilgrimstreet-gate; so called, because of pilgrims lodging in that street; and went out of that gate to the shrine of the Virgin Mary in Gesmond; to which place, with great confluence and devotion, people came from all parts of this land, in that time of superstition.

5. Pandon-gate, so called from the ancient town of Pampeden, where was the Picts Wall, and a Roman tower, lately decayed; out of which wall is a causey that goeth into a place of recreation and perambulation, called the Shields-field; and a way to a village called the Wall's End, by Beda, Villa ad Murum, and so into Tinmouthshire.

6. East of the town is Sand-gate, built upon the river-side. Without this gate are ‡ many houses, and populous, all along the water-side; where shipwrights, seamen, and keelmen most live, that are employed about ships and keels.

The Bridges of Newcastle upon Tine.

7. The bridge of this tower, over the river Tine, consisteth of arches high and broad, having many houses and shops upon the bridge, and three towers upon it; the first § on the south side; the second in the middle ||, and the third in Newcastle side, lately built upon an arch in the bridge, used for a magazine for the town; and an old chapel.

There is a blue stone about the middle of the bridge, which is the

* Beginning at the bridge. † Now a bowling-green. ‡ An hospital for the reception of poor keelmen. § This is demolished. || It is now used as an house of correction, or confinement, for unruly apprentices, disorderly women, &c.

bounds of Newcastle southward from Gate-side in the county palatine of Durham.

There was a strange accident upon the bridge, happened to an alderman of Newcastle, looking over the bridge into the river, with his hands over; his gold ring fell off his finger into the water; which was given for lost: It chanced that one of his servants bought a salmon in the market, who, opening the belly of the fish, found his master's ring in the guts.

The other bridge, within the town, is the upper and nether Dean Bridge; under the last bridge came boats up from the river, and the Picts wall came over that bridge, and so along into Pandon.

The Stock-bridge in Pampeden, where is thought to be the ancient market for fish; where boats came up from the river.

The Churches of Newcastle.

There are four churches and parishes in this town. The first is Saint Nicholas *, in the midst of the town; a long, fair, and high church, having a stately high stone steeple, with many pinnacles; a stately stone lanthorn, standing upon four stone arches, built by Robert de Rhodes, Lord Prior of Tinmouth, in Henry the Sixth's days: It lifteth up a head of Majesty, as high above the rest, as the cypress-tree above the low shrubs.

Ben Johnson.

My altitude high, my body four-square,
My foot in the grave, my head in the air,
My eyes in my sides, five tongues in my womb,
Thirteen heads upon my body, four images alone;
I can direct you where the wind doth stay,
And I tune God's precepts thrice a day.
I am seen where I am not, I am heard where I is not,
Tell me now what I am, and see that you miss not.

In this church are many porches, especially Saint George's, or the King's porch; built by some of the Kings of this land.

In it are many sumptuous windows; that in the east surpasseth all the rest in height, largeness, and beauty, where the twelve apostles, seven deeds of charity, &c. built by Roger de Thornton (a great benefactor of this town) with this inscription, *Orate pro anima Rogeri de Thornton, et pro animabus Filiorum et Filiarum.*

In the north part of the same is a shrine of Henry Percy, the fourth Earl of Northumberland, who was killed by the hands of rebels in Yorkshire, gathering up a subsidy; he was buried at Beverley, and this made in memory of him in his own country, he having a house in this town and parish; and other noblemen and gentry had in those days in this town. *Orate pro anima Henrici Percy* iv. *Northumbriæ, qui per Rebellium manus occubuit, &c.*

* This church is a vicarage and peculiar of the Bishop of Carlisle.

In the south part of the middle of this church, under a window, is an ancient tomb of a warlike gentleman, lying with his legs a-cross, his escutcheon of arms and sword; after the fashion in those days were they only interred, who took upon them the cross, and were marked with the badge of the cross, for sacred warfare, to recover the Holy Land from the Turks. In the quire and walks about it are many fair monuments, tombs, and marble-stones of mayors of this town, their names and arms engraven in stone, with their titles of (some time mayor of Newcastle) honours; not one word of their good deeds; their generations and names are worn out. Only that thrice noble mayor, Mastert Robert Anderson, whose memory will continue until there be no more time; *Ære vel marmore perennius, viz*, his gift of twenty pounds per annum for ever to the four churches in Newcastle.

Dignum laude virum, Musa vetat mori.

There is a tomb, as is reported, belonging to the Fitz-Williams, not placed, who, going ambassador into Scotland, died, and was interred in Saint Nicholas.

2. Is Allhallows, *Omnium animarum, Panten theon*, from the ancient name of that part of the town Pampeden; having a broad and square church, and more populous than all the three other parishes, and able to contain more people than the rest, having three galleries.

There are few monuments or tombs in it. Only one stately tomb of that worthy benefactor, Roger de Thornton, having a large jet-stone, curiously engraven with his arms, and the arms of that noble family of the Lord Lumley, who married a daughter of Thornton's. He died in the reign of Henry the Seventh.

There was one Thomas Smith, shipwright, of this parish, that gave four pounds eighteen shilling and ten pence, yearly, for ever, to the distressed poor of that parish.

3. Church is Saint John's, a pretty little church, commended by * an arch-prelate of this kingdom; because it resembleth much a cross. In this parish the Earl of Westmoreland had his house, as others, good benefactors to this town.

4. Saint Andrews, the ancientest of all the four, as appeareth by the old building and fashion of the church. In it is to be seen a pardon of a pope for nine thousand years to come.

Likewise there is an ancient large stone of one Adam de Athell of Gesmond, with this inscription, *Hic jacet Dominus* Adamus de Athell, *miles, qui obiit*, anno 1387.

The parson of the town is the Bishop of Carlisle, who hath his vicar or substitute, and a fair old house belonging to the vicar.

The Streets and Buildings of the ancient Town of Pampeden.

I come in the next place to describe every part of this town, what it was in the times of the heptarchy of this kingdom, and in after succeeding ages.

* Laud.

First of Pampeden, alias Pantheon: It hath retained its name, without much alteration, since the Romans resided in it. After the departure of the Romans, the Kings of Northumberland kept their residence in it, and had their house, now called Pandon-Hall. It was a safe bulwark, having the Picts wall on the north side, and the river of Tine on the south. This place of Pandon is of such antiquity, that, if a man would express any ancient thing, it is a common proverb *, *As old as Pandon*. In it are many ancient buildings, houses, and streets. Some gentlemen of Northumberland had their houses in it. There is an ancient place called the Wall Knowl, called since, Saint Michael upon the Wall Knowl, having a high and strong tower, now called the Carpenter's tower, adjoining to that place upon the town wall. There is below, towards the river of Tine, an ancient religious house, called Trinity-house not many houses in England named by that name) now converted to another use, for the masters of Trinity-house, which have many privileges and immunities granted unto them for services done by sea.

In this part of the town of Pandon, below, are many narrow streets or chairs, and ancient buildings; through the midst of it the river of Tine flows and ebbs, and a burne runs, called Pandon-burne. This place, called the Burnebank, stands very low. It is recorded, that, in Edward the Third's time, an hundred and forty horses were drowned by overflowing of water; since, the houses towards the key-side are heightened with ballast, and a high stone wall, without which wall, is a long and broad wharf or key, which hindereth the like inundation.

In the upper part of this Pandon is an ancient religious house, founded by the Kings of Northumberland, now called the Mannors (formerly Saint Augustine Friars) where the Kings of Northumberland were interred: since, in succeeding ages, enlarged and beautified with stately buildings, cloisters, and a fair church. The Kings of England, since the conquest, kept house in it, when they came with an army royal against Scotland; and since the suppression of monasteries, made a magazine and storehouse for the north parts. Now of late that princely fabrick is demolished, and laid level with the ground. The pride, covetousness, luxury, and idolatry of these houses brought a sudden ruin upon themselves and houses.

In this place of Pandon is a bridge called Stock-bridge, where fishers come up with their fish, and sell them here.

The Grants and Charters to the Town.

The antiquity of this town is known to be from that time, that the Romans had command in the northern parts, who built the Picts wall. After their departure, the Saxons became masters of this country; then the Danes. The Danes being vanquished and expelled this land, the English enjoyed it, until William the Conqueror made all England vassals, and obey his Norman laws, as far as the river Tine.

* At Newcastle.

King William overthrew the northern forces in Gateside Fell, near Newcastle. Since which time, great is the privilege that Kings and princes have endowed this town with.

Robert, son of William the Conqueror, built the castle * called Newcastle, against the often inroads of our neighbouring Scots.

King John gave the first grant to Newcastle, and endowed it with many privileges and immunities to the good men of the same.

King Henry the Third made it a corporation, whereas formerly it belonged to the county of Northumberland, as by Henry the Third's charter doth appear, " Noveritis nos concessisse et demisisse, et hac Charta nostra confirmasse pro nobis et hæredibus nostris, probis hominibus nostris, de Novo Castello super Tinam, et hæredibus eorum villam nostram cum Novo-Castello, cum omnibus pertinentibus suis ad feod. firmum," &c.

The town of Pampeden was granted to the beloved burgesses, and good men of Newcastle, in King Edward the First's reign, as by his charter appears, " Sciatis quod dedimus et concessimus, et hac Charta nostra confirmavimus pro nobis, et hæredibus nostris, dilectis Burgensibus, et probis hominibus nostris villæ Novicastri super Tinam, omnes terras et tenementa cum pertinentibus in Pampeden in Biker, juxta prædictam Villam Novicastri, &c. Et quod prædicta Villa Novicastri, et terra, et tenementa prædicta in Pampeden, unica Villa de cætero sint, et unus Burgus, ad uniendum et concludendum dictæ Villæ Novicastri in augmentationem, emendationem, et securitatem ejusdem Villæ, &c."

All the Kings and Queens of England successively granted unto the town some honour and privilege, and enlarged their charters.

Edward the Third gave them the Forth, for the good services of the townsmen.

Edward the Fourth gave them power to choose, yearly, mayor and aldermen, in lieu of bailiffs.

After Kings granted, to the mayor and commonalty, all the royalties of the river of Tine, from Sparrow-Hawkun to Heddon-Streams; and that no ship load and unload any manner of goods, wares, and merchandises in, or any place of the river, but only at the key of Newcastle. Also granted commissioners to measure keels.

King Edward the Sixth grants the town of Gateside to be united to the town of Newcastle. Repealed by Queen Mary.

Sir Thomas White, Lord Mayor of London, gave one hundred pounds yearly to the chief cities and towns of England for ever, to be lent to four clothiers merchants for ten years without interest. The town of Newcastle enjoyeth her hundred pounds in her turn: The first hundred pound which came to Newcastle was in 1599. The noblest gift that ever was given in England by any subject. Some think, in time, it will ingross the most of the money in this land.

* Now used as a common prison for the felons to be tried at the assizes for the county of Northumberland.

The highest and North parts of the Town.

The ancient parts of the town of Newcastle were, in the upper parts of it, about Newgate, where are many old houses and cottages, which served these religious houses with provisions. This part of the town is called, to this day, the Hucksters Booths. These people, in those days, had their livelihood from those friars and nuns that lived in that part of the town.

In after ages, the burgesses and good men of the town began to trade, and venture beyond the seas into foreign places; they built many ships, procured a charter from the Kings of England to carry fells beyond seas, and bring in foreign commodities. The staple was then at Antwerp in Brabant, called *Commune totius Europæ Emporium.* This charter of the merchant adventurers, was the first charter that was granted by any King to any town. After which grant, this town flourished in trading; built many fair houses in the flesh market, then called the cloth market. The merchants had their shops and warehouses there, in the back parts of their houses; the river of Tine flowed and ebbed, where boats came up with commodities; which trade of merchandises continued many years. In that street the mayors, aldermen, and richest men of the town lived. In after times, the merchants removed lower down towards the river, to the street called the Side, and Sand-hill, where they continue unto this day *.

The Sand-hill.

Now let us describe unto you the other streets and markets in this town. First of the Sand-hill, a market for fish, and other commodities; very convenient for merchant adventurers, merchants of coals, and all those that have their living by shipping. There is a navigable river, and a long key or wharf, where ships may lie safe from danger of storms, and may unload their commodities and wares upon the key. In it are two cranes for heavy commodities, very convenient for carrying of corn, wine, deals, &c. from the key into the water gates, which are along the key-side, or into any quarter of the town.

In this market-place are many shops and stately houses for merchants, with great conveniencies of water, bridge, garners, lofts, cellars, and houses of both sides of them. Westward they have a street called the Close. East, the benefit of the houses of the key side.

In this Sand-hill standeth the Town Court or Guildhall, where are held the guilds every year by the mayor and burgesses, to offer up their grievances, where the mayor keepeth his court every Monday, and the sheriff hath his county court upon Wednesday and Friday.

In it is kept a court of admiralty, or river-court, every Monday in the afternoon. This is a court of record for inrolling of deeds and evidences.

There is a court of pie-powder, during the said two fairs, Lammas and St. Luke; all the privileges and power, that a court-leet can have, are granted to this court.

* Viz. 1649.

Under the town-court is a common weigh-house for all sorts of commodities. King Henry the Sixth sent to this town, as to other cities and towns, brass weights according to the standard.

Near this is the town-house, where the clark of the chamber and chamberlains are to receive the revenues of the town for coal, ballast, salt, grind-stones, &c.

Next adjoining is an alms-house, called the *Mason de Dieu*, built by that noble benefactor Roger de Thornton.

Above which is the stately court of the merchant adventurers, of the old staple, resident at that flourishing city of Antwerp in Brabant, since removed to the more northern provinces under the states. Their charters are ancient, their privileges and immunities great; they have no dependence upon London, having a governor, twelve assistants, two wardens, and a secretary.

There is an old chapel upon the bridge.

Next west is a street called the Close, where are many stately houses of merchants and others. The Earl of Northumberland had his house in this street.

Near the Sand-hill east, is Allhallows Bank, or Butchers Bank, where most butchers dwell, the way to Allhallows church; on the south side of which are many chairs or lanes that go down to the key side

The middle parts of the Town.

Next up street is the street called the Side. In the lower part of it standeth a fair cross, with columns of stone hewn, covered with lead, where are sold milk, eggs, butter, &c.

In the Side are shops for merchants, drapers, and other trades. In the middle of the Side is an ancient stone-house, an appendix to the castle, which in former times belonged to the Lord Lumleys, before the castle was built, or at least coetany * with the castle.

Next up the town north, is Middle-street, where all sorts of artificers have shops and houses.

The west side of this street is the oat-meal market.

On the east side of it is the flesh market, I think the greatest market † in England for all sorts of flesh and poultry that are sold there every Saturday; the reason is not the populousness of the town that makes it, it is the people in the country, within ten miles of the town, who make their provision there; as likewise all that live by the coal-trade, for working and conveying coals to the water; as also the shipping which comes into this river for coals, there being sometimes three-hundred sail of ships. In this market are kept two fairs in the year, for nine days together; one of them at that remarkable time of the year, the first of August; the other is held, the eighteenth of October, upon St. Luke's Day.

Next above north is the big ‡ and oat-market every Tuesday and Saturday in the week.

* Of the same age. † Except Leadenhall-Market, in London. ‡ Barley.

In which street is an ancient house, with a large gate, called the Scots Inn, where the Kings, nobility, and lairds of Scots lodged, in time of truce or league with England.

Pilgrim Street.

East again is Pilgrim-street, the longest and fairest street in the town. In it is a market for wheat and rye every Tuesday and Saturday.

Likewise an house called the Pilgrims Inn, where pilgrims lodged that came to visit the shrine in Gesmond, or Jesu de Munde, which occasioned to call this street Pilgrim Street.

In the upper part of this street is a princely house, built out of the ruins of the Black Friars.

Both east and west of this street are many passages into other parts of the town, as the nether and higher Dean-Bridge into the west, the Manour-Chair upon the east, having a way to that sumptuous building of the Minorites, of old called St. Augustin Friars; also a street called Silver Street, having a passage down to Pandon.

West-gate Street.

Upon the west of the town is Denton-Chair, which goeth into West-gate Street, which is a broad street, and private; for men that live there have employment for town and country. The Earl of Westmoreland had his house in this street, and other gentlemen.

In this street is an hospital, called the Spittle; in the east of that chapel is the place for electing of mayors, aldermen, sheriffs, and other officers in the town next Monday after Michaelmas day. In which place are made, of late, a famous grammar-school, writing-school, and houses within the Spittle for the masters. Protos Archididascalos, or the first head school-master, was that reverend master Robert Fowberry, a learned and painful man to indoctrinate youth in Greek and Latin.

In the north-side of the street, towards West-gate, is an ancient building, called now Bannet Chessy Friars, where now the nine crafts of this town have their meeting-houses *. It was called, in old time, the Gray-Friars.

In the south west of the town is the White-Friars, and near that a street called Bailiff-gate, which, in former times, belonged unto the castle and county of Northumberland. There is a postern-gate, where prisoners, taken in time of hostility with Scotland, and felons of the county of Northumberland, were brought in privately into the castle in Newcastle, where the common jail for the county is.

Near this street are two ways, which go down into the Close, the long stairs and Tudhill stairs.

The Government of the Town.

Now let us speak concerning the government of this town. The first grant was, *Burgensibus et probis hominibus Novicastri super Tinam*, i. e.

* Or halls for the meeting of their respective companies.

To the burgesses and good men of the town of Newcastle: Out of whom yearly were closen bailiffs, which are the ancient officers of cities and towns in England.

King Edward the Fourth, out of his abundant grace and favour to the aforesaid town-burgesses, their heirs and successors, grants yearly to choose a mayor and six aldermen; and that the aforesaid mayor and aldermen, for the time being, or any four, three, or two of them, have full power and authority to enquire, hear, and determine all manner of complaints and causes, appertaining to the office of a justice of the peace.

Instead of bailiffs is chosen a sheriff yearly.

King Richard the Second gave the sword to be carried before the mayor, which represents royal power and authority; delegated, by charters, to them, their heirs, and successors, from their sovereign.

The power of a mayor is great, the highest dignity or honour that can be bestowed upon a city or town; according to that office among the Romans, of proprætors and proconsuls, who had, in all countries and kingdoms under their command, their viceroys, or representatives.

In after times, upon a division among the aldermen, there were four aldermen more added: so now it is governed by a mayor, recorder, ten aldermen, and one sheriff. Their officers are two clerks, one for the town court, the other for the town chamber.

The officers that attend upon his person are, a sword-bearer, with a cap of maintenance, a water-bailiff, and seven serjeants, in their gowns and maces. All these nine officers go before the mayor and aldermen, in their gowns, to church, and at any solemnity.

In former times, the aldermen of the town had their scarlet gowns, but the proud Scot got them by conquest, as they did other ornaments of the town, thinking no English, in authority, worthy to wear scarlet but themselves; and so they continued lording over us for two years, until they were hired out, as they were brought in, being a mercenary nation, for any nation for money.

There are twelve trades or crafts, which are chief in electing of mayors, viz. drapers, mercers, glovers, taylors, boothmen, shoemakers, bakers, tanners, saddlers, butchers, smiths, and dyers.

There are the by-crafts, which are fifteen in number; every one of them hath their meeting-houses in the towers of the wall, and are called, at this day, by the name of By-crafts; their ancient name is after the name of the founder.

The Twenty-four Wards of the Town.

There are four and twenty wards in the town; every ward hath its tower or gate in the walls, which they were to keep in times of hostility with the Scots, whereof these are some:

White Friars Tower-Ward.
Nevil's Tower-Ward.
West-Spittle Tower.
Stanke Tower.

Pink Tower.
Gunners Tower.
West-gate Tower.
Durham Tower.
Thicket's Tower.
Carlisle Tower.
Barthram Mumbugget Tower.
Ever's Tower.
Saint Austin's Tower.
Walk-Knowl Ward, &c.

Of the River Tine, and the Commodities.

The port or haven of this river is able to receive ships of four-hundred tuns, having rocks on the north side of the Haven, and stands upon the south, dangerous in a north-east wind:

Incidit in Scyllam, qui vult vitare Charybdim.

Upon the north side of the Haven is an ancient strong castle, the seat of the prior of Tinmouth. King Henry the Eighth converted the castle from a priory, to be a defence for the river and country, against foreign invasions.

1. The south side of the river is Warwickshire, in the county of Durham, where are many salt-pans, which make white salt out of salt water, boiled with coal.

2. Another commodity, that this river bringeth forth, is coal in great abundance; most of the people, that live in these parts, live by the benefit of coals, that are carried out of this river into most parts of England southward, into Germany, and other transmarine countries.

John Johnston, out of the poems of the cities of Britain, Newcastle.

Seated upon high rock, she sees Dame Nature's wonders strange,
Or else to others wittily doth vent them for exchange:
In vain why seek you fire from heaven, to serve your turn?
The ground here either keeps it close, or quickly makes it burn.
Nor that which folk with stony flesh, or whirl-wind grim affrights,
But giveth life to earthly things, and minds to living wights;
This melteth iron, brass, and gold, so pliable and soft,
What mind the allective shade of gold stirs not, nor sets aloft?
Nay, more than so, men say it doth dull metal change to gold;
To say therefore it is a God, our alchymists are bold.
If God he be, as thou giv'st out, great master, of thy word,
How many Gods then doth this place, and our Scotland afford?

Many thousand people are employed in this trade of coals; many live by working of them in the pits; many live by conveying them in waggons and wains to the river Tine; many men are employed in conveying the coals in keels, from the Stathes *, a-board the ships: One coal-merchant

* Or Coal-Wharfs.

employeth five-hundred, or a thousand, in his works of coal, yet, for all his labour, care, and cost, can scarce live of his trade; nay, many of them have consumed and spent great estates, and died beggars. I can remember one of many, that raised his estate by the coal-trade; many I remember, that have wasted great estates. I shall illustrate this by a story of two Spaniards, brothers, who travelled into the West Indies, with that estate and means which they had acquired: One of the brothers was a miner, to employ many slaves in silver mines; the other brother was to be an husbandman, to provide corn, sheep, and other provisions for the miner and his men; much silver was got out of the ground by these miners; the husbandman got monies out of his stock for his commodities. After many years delving and labouring in these silver-mines, at last the mines were exhausted and decayed, and all the money, which he had got for many years labour and cost, was run into his brother's, the husbandman's hands, and all his stock upstanding; he living all that time of the profit that his ground yielded.

So it is with our coal-miners; they labour, and are at a great charge to maintain men to work their collieries; they waste their own bodies with care, and their collieries with working; the kernel being eaten out of the nut, there remaineth nothing but the shell; their collieries are wasted, and their monies are consumed. This is the uncertainty of mines; a great charge, the profit uncertain.

Some south gentlemen have, upon great hope of benefit, come into this country to hazard their monies in coal-pits. Mr. Beaumont, a gentleman of great ingenuity and rare parts, adventured into our mines, with his thirty-thousand pounds, who brought with him many rare engines, not known then in these parts; as, the art to bore with iron rods, to try the deepness and thickness of the coal; rare engines to draw out of the pits; waggons, with one horse, to carry down coals from the pits to the stathes, to the river, &c. Within a few years, he consumed all his money, and rode home upon his light horse.

Some Londoners, of late, have disbursed their monies for the reversion of a lease of colliery, about thirty years to come of the lease: When they come to crack their nuts, they find nothing but the shells; nuts will not keep thirty years; there is a swarm of worms under ground, that will eat up all before their time; they may find some meteors, *Ignis fatuus*, instead of a mine.

A third commodity, that this river bringeth forth, is grind-stones, which are conveyed into most parts of the world, according to the proverb: *A Scot, a rat, and a Newcastle grind-stone, you may find all the world over.*

The fourth commodity of this river is the great plenty of salmon taken in this water, which serveth this town, and other parts.

Upon the south side of this river, stands a town, called Jarro, where lived that venerable Bede, admired for his learning, in these times of darkness. Camden intituleth him, "The singular glory and ornament of England." Malmesbury, "Vir erat, quem mirari facilius, quam dignum prædicari possis, qui extremo natus orbis angulo doctrinæ corusco terras omnes perstrinxerat."

Bede lived in the time of the Saxons heptarchy in England, in the kingdom of Northumbers, seven hundred years after Christ.

This river hath two heads, or main streams; South Tine, which runs though Allendale; North Tine, which runs through Tinedale. They meet west of Hexam, and salute one another.

Divine Providence over all Nations and Countries.

Our most provident and glorious Creator hath so furnished all countries with several commodities, that, amongst all nations, there might be a sociable conversation and mutual commerce; one people standing in need of another, all might be combined in a common league, and exhibit mutual succours. *Non omnia fert anima tellus.* From the Indies; gold, silver, gems, drugs, &c. From Italy; silks. From Spain; fruits, saffron, sacks. From Denmark; amber, cordage, firs, and flax. From France; wines and linnen. From England; wool, tin. From these Northern parts; coal, salt, grind-stones, &c. Which trade of coal began not past fourscore years since. Coals, in former times, were only used by smiths, and for burning of lime. Woods in the south parts of England decaying, and the city of London, and other cities and towns growing populous, made the trade for coal increase yearly, and many great ships of burthen built, so that there were more coals vended in one year, than were in seven years, forty years by-past. This great trade hath made this part to flourish in all trades.

Camden calls Newcastle Ocellus, or the eye of the north; the hearth, that warmeth the south parts of this kingdom with fire; an Ægypt to all the shires in the north (in time of famine) for bread. All quarters of the country come with money in their purses, to buy corn to feed their families, this summer.

This town hath been famous, in four ages of the world.

1. In the time of the Romans, being, in these parts, the outmost limits of the Roman empire.

2. Famous for the monasteries in old times.

3. This town famous, being a bulwark against the Scots. All the power of Scotland could never win it, since the walls were built; but of late *, being assisted by the English, it was stormed, our churches and houses defaced, the ornaments of both plundered and carried away. The crown of our heads is fallen; Woe unto us now, for we have sinned.

4. Famous for the great trade of coal, white salt, grind-stones, &c. which they furnish other countries with.

Newcastle, likewise, excels in four things before spoken:

1. The town, walls, gates, towers, and turrets.

2. St. Nicholas's church-steeple *caput inter nubila condit.*

3. The Tine-bridge, consisting of eight stately arches, towers, and houses.

4. The long and fair key, for ships to unload their commodities.

The revenues of the town are not great, considering the disbursements

* By the Parliament Army.

for repairing of streets, highways, bridges; maintenance of ministers, school-masters, poor, &c.

The arms of the town is, the three castles, argent, in a field, gules.

Camd. Newcastle, 22 grad. 30. min. long. 54 gr. 57 min. lat.

Hues. Newcastle, 23 grad. 10 min. long. 55 grad. 20 min. lat.

The Suburbs of Newcastle.

Gate-side, a borough upon the south side of the river Tine, an ancient inhabited place, a parish of itself, in the bishoprick of Durham. King Edward the Sixth united it to the town of Newcastle; since, Queen Mary gave it again to the bishop's see of Durham.

The suburbs out of Newgate and Pilgrim-street were ruinated in these late wars. Near the Barras-bridge is an hospital, dedicated to Mary Magdalene. There are many closes in that part, and large fields of meadows, called, the Castle Leases, belonging to the town, the gift of King John, as some say, to the good men of Newcastle.

There is a postern between Newgate and West-gate, which goeth into a close, called, The Warden-close, where the warden of the prior of Tinmouth had his house, garden, fish-ponds, &c.

The suburbs of Sand-gate escaped the fury of these wars, except some near the walls of the town, which was fired.

One remarkable thing is recorded of two carpenters hewing of a tree; blood issued out of the timber, in what part of the wood they cut.

Below east is the Ballast-hill, where women upon their heads carried ballast, which was taken forth of small ships which came empty for coals; which place was the first ballast shore out of the town; since which time, the trade of coals increasing, there are many ballast-shores made below the water, on both sides of the river.

Upon the north side of the river is the Ewes-Burne, over which is a wood-bridge, which goeth down to a place called the Glass-houses, where plain glass for windows is made*, which serveth most parts of the kingdom. Below east are many shores built for casting of ballast out of ships: which brings profit to the town, and the occupiers of the same.

Of the noble and ancient Families of the North, and their Castles.

The north parts of England have been in the Romans time, and in after-ages, the bulwarks and fortresses of England against the inroads of the Scots; Newcastle for the east parts of this land, and Carlisle for the west.

The two great princes of the North were, the Earls of Northumberland at Alnwick, and Westmoreland at Raby-Castle, in the bishoprick of Durham: The first, famous for the great overthrow, he gave Malcolm, King of the Scots, and his son Edward, slain at his castle of Alnwick. The second earl, made famous for David, King of Scots, prisoner, and the overthrow of his army at Nevil's cross †, near Durham.

* This has been much improved since that time; for now they make all sorts of glass in great perfection. † Half a mile out of Cross-gate.

The Lords Dacres and Lumley were famous in their generation; the first lived in Cumberland, in his many castles; the other, in the bishoprick of Durham, in Lumley Castle; both of them having lands in Northumberland, who held their lands of the King in knight-service for his wars against the Scots.

The bishops of Durham had their castles in the frontiers, in Norhamshire and Elandshire.

The nobility and gentry of the north are of great antiquity, and can produce more ancient families, than any part of England; many of them gentry before the conquest, the rest came in with William the Conqueror. The noblemen and gentry of the North have been always employed in their native country, in the wars of the Kings of England against the Scots, all of them holding their lands in knights-service to attend the wars in their own persons, with horse and spear, as the manner of fighting was, in those days.

Some gentlemen held their lands in Cornage, by blowing a horn, to give notice that the Scots, their enemies had invaded the land *. The Scots, their neighbouring enemies, have made the inhabitants of Northumberland fierce and hardy, whilst sometimes they kept themselves exercised in the wars; being a most warlike nation, and excellent good light-horsemen, wholly addicting themselves to Mars and arms; not a gentleman among them, that hath not his castle or tower; and so it was divided into a number of baronies, the lords whereof, in times past, before King Edward the First's days, went, commonly, under the name of Barons; although some of them were of no great living. It was the policy of the Kings of England to cherish and maintain martial prowess among them, in the marches of the kingdom, if it were nothing else, but with an honourable bare title. Some gentlemen of the north are called, to this day, Barons.

The ancient families and names of the gentry are many, which have continued, from William the Conqueror, unto these late days.

The Grays, of Chillingham and Horton, Barons of Warkecastle.
Ogles, of Ogle-castle.
Fenwickes, of Wallington.
Widdrington, of Widdrington-castle
Delavale, of Seaton-Delavale.
Ridleys, of Williams-Week.
Muschampes, of Barsmore, the chief baron of Northumberland, in Edward the First's reign.
Middletons, of Belsey.
Midfords, of Midford.
Fosters, of Edderston.
Claverings, of Callalie.
Swinbournes, of Swinbourne; now of Capheaton.
Radcliffes, of Delston †,
Harbottle, of Harbottle-castle, extinct.

* Camden. † Extinct in the late Earl of Derwent-water.

Haggerston, of Haggerston.
Hebburne, of Hebburne.
Blankenship, of Blankenship.
Fetherstonhaugh, of Fetherstonhaugh.
Herons, of Chepchase.
Horsley, of ———.
Craster, of Craster.
Laraines, of Kirkharle.
Collingwoods, of Estington.
Whitfield, of Whitfield.
Carnaby, of Halton.
Lisles, of Felton.
Strudders, of Kirknewton.
Selbyes, of Twisel.
Eringtons, of Bewfrom.
Weldon, of Weldon.
Bradforth, of Bradforth.
Rodom, of Little-Haughton.
Carres, of Ford-castle.
Creswell, of Creswell.
Halls, of Otterburne.
Thirlwall, of Thirlwall-castle.
Killingworth, of Killingworth.

These ancient noble families continued many years valiant and faithful unto the kingdom of England, and flourished all in their times; until the two powerful earls of the north rose in rebellion, in Queen Elisabeth's reign, who drew along with them many gentry of the north, who overthrew themselves and confederates, and many ancient families of the north. Since, many ancient names have been extinct, for want of heirs male, and have been devolved upon other names and families.

Since the union * of both kingdoms, the gentry of this country have given themselves to idleness, luxury, and covetousness; living not in their own houses, as their ancestors have done; profusely spending their revenues in other countries, and have consumed of late their ancient houses.

The castles in the north are many and strong.

Morpeth Castle, so called, from the death of the Picts in that place.

Alnwick-Castle, where the Earls of Northumberland kept their court; famous for two battles fought against the Scots, who received a shameful overthrow, by the valour of the Earls of Northumberland.

Upon Tweede and borders are, Wark-Castle, a barony of the Grays; Norham-Castle, belonging to the Bishops of Durham; Berwick, upon the left bank and river, a strong town of war, opposite sometimes against the Scots, the farthest bounds of the English empire. Upon Till (a river, falling into Tweede above Norham) is Ford-Castle. To the west, beyond the river, Floddon-Hill, made famous by the death of James the

* In the person of King James the First.

Fourth, King of Scotland, slain in a memorable battle, by Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, General of the English, in the reign of Henry the Eighth.

Upon the east sea are Bambrough-castle and Dunstanbrough-castle, built by the Saxons, and sometimes the royal seats of the Kings of Northumbers. Bambrough-castle afterward converted into a priory, and did homage and vassalage to their lord prior.

Many battles and skirmishes have been in this north, and always have been victorious against the Scots. Besides the forenamed battles of Alnwick-castle and Floddon, at Solom-moss fifteen-thousand Scots were put to flight, eight-hundred slain, and one and twenty of their nobles taken prisoners, by the English.

There were lord-wardens of the east, west, and middle marches appointed: who had power, by martial law, to repress all enormities and outrages committed in the borders. They had their laws, called, Border-Laws.

In the north, towards the borders, are many hills; one of them most eminent, called, Cheviot hill: Upon the top of it is snow to be seen at Midsummer; and a land-mark for seamen, that come out of the east parts from Dantzick, through the Baltick seas, and from the King of Denmark's country; it being the first land, that mariners make for the coast of England. These Cheviot-Hills are made famous for the hunting of the Earl of Northumberland; at the hunting the Earl Douglas of Scotland, who met him with his forces, and engaged one the other, where were many bickerings and skirmishes, to the loss of many men, where both earls fought valiantly; called to this day Cheviot Chace.

There are many dales; the chief are Tinedale and Reedsdale, a country, that William the Conqueror did not subdue; retaining to this day their ancient laws and customs (according to the county of Kent) whereby the lands of the father are equally divided, at his death, amongst all his sons. These Highlanders are famous for thieving; they are all bred up, and live by theft. They come down from these dales into the low countries, and carry away horses and cattle so cunningly, that it will be hard for any to get them, or their cattle, except they be acquainted with some master-thief; who, for some money (which they call saufey-money) may help them to their stolen goods, or deceive them.

There are many, every year, brought in of them into the jail of Newcastle, and, at the assizes, are condemned and hanged, sometimes twenty or thirty *. They forfeit not their lands (according to the tenure in Gavelkind) the father to bough, the son to the plough.

The people of this country have had one barbarous custom amongst them: If any two be displeased, they expect no law, but bang it out bravely, one and his kindred against the other and his; they will subject themselves to no justice, but, in an inhuman and barbarous manner, fight and kill one another; they run together clangs (as they term it) or names.

* This nuisance has been long removed; and I can affirm, that there have not been half a score executions, for these twenty years.

This fighting they call their feides, or deadly feides; a word so barbarous, that I cannot express it in any other tongue. Of late, since the union of both kingdoms, this heathenish bloody custom is repressed, and good laws made against such barbarous and unchristian misdemeanours and fightings.

In this north country, groweth plenty of hadder, or ling, good for cattle to feed upon, and for moor-fowl, and bees. This herb yieldeth a flower, in June, as sweet as honey; whereof the Picts, in time past, did make a pleasant drink, wholesome for the body of man.

Upon the west parts of Northumberland the Picts wall is, out of the ruins of which are built many towers and houses, in that part where the Picts wall stood. In some of the waste ground, the wall is to be seen of a great hight, and almost whole; many stones have been found with Roma upon it; and all the names of the Roman Emperors, consuls, and proconsuls, both in stone, and in coin of silver and brass, with their Emperor's image upon them. So the Picts wall goes through Northumberland into Cumberland; where I end my peregrination and travel, keeping myself within the limits and bounds of Northumberland.

A DECLARATION *

OF THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE JAMES, MARQUIS AND EARL OF MONTROSE,

LORD GREEM AND MUGDOCK,

Captain-General of all his Majesty's Forces, raised and to be raised for his Service, in his Kingdoms of Great Britain, concerning his Excellency's Resolution to settle his Majesty, Charles the Second, in all his Dominions, July 9, 1649.

London, printed in the year 1649. Quarto, containing five pages.

ALTHOUGH the universal and just reputation of that cause, in which at present I am engaged; the barbarity of those rebels, against whom I am designed; my manifest constancy and fidelity to the trust reposed in me by the late King, of ever blessed memory; my honest and honourable behaviour in the late wars; my candid and sincere profession of the true protestant religion, might very well wipe away all those foul and

* See No. 56. in the catalogue of the Harleian Pamphlets.

base aspersions, which my enemies (and not so much mine, as his Majesty's) have maliciously thrown upon me, and remove all those jealousies and causeless suspicions, which many have erroneously conceived against me; yet, that I may clearly demonstrate my disposition and passionate desire to give the world full and perfect satisfaction of the candour of my intentions in this present design, I will, this third time, open the book of my soul, and clearly deliver the very sense of my heart, and tenour of my resolutions, in the prosecution of this present engagement; wherein I shall neglect nothing, that may win credit to my present undertakings, propagate his Majesty's service to the best advantage, and stir up all his Majesty's loyal subjects to an unanimous conjunction with me in this pious and honourable enterprise.

And, first, I must, with very affectionate regret, acknowledge myself to be deeply sensible of that harsh and uncharitable censure, which the parliament and Kirk of Scotland are pleased to pass upon me, giving a mis-interpretation to the best of my actions; the very worst whereof, I am well assured, might have justly deserved an honourable reward. But such is the unhappy fate of some men (in which list I am unfortunately inrolled) that even their best actions are clothed with scandal, and their most faithful services rewarded with disgrace. But, to shew that there shall be nothing wanting in me, that may give any satisfaction to that kirk and kingdom, I do here solemnly protest, in the presence of Almighty God, who knows the secrets of all hearts, and to whom I must one day give a just account of all my actions, whether good or evil, That I do intend, nor will act, nothing prejudicial to the well-being and present government of that kirk and kingdom; but will, with the utmost hazard of my life and fortune, preserve them in the full perfection of their glory and splendor; and, by God's assistance, will faithfully endeavour to settle his Majesty, my dread sovereign lord, in the thrones of his kingdoms; to maintain and continue his just and indubitable prerogative, the privileges of the parliament, the authority of the kirk, and the immunities of the people; and shall freely leave the continuance, or alteration, of government, either in church or state, in his Majesty's other dominions, to the judgment and discretion of his Majesty and the parliaments thereof. And, by the same solemn protestation, I do further engage to intermeddle with nothing, but the affairs of the sword; wherein as always, so my behaviour herein shall declare me a Christian, as well as a soldier; most cordially desiring my proceedings herein no otherwise to be blessed, or blasted, than I shall exceed, or confine myself to, the limits of my present declaration.

And, although the crimes of my combatants are loud and capital, common even in the mouths of the lowest vulgar; yet I shall think it no vain tautology to make a brief repetition of their tedious treasons, that the world may see with what justice and conscience I am backed, in pursuing their destruction, who have so far abused the credit of parliaments, that they have made them odious and terrible to the people. And certainly, the world cannot but take notice, that their oaths, covenants, protestations, declarations, fastings, and thanksgivings are no other, but engines of fraud and deceit to cheat and delude the people; and

their fears and jealousies, and so often suggested dangers, but landskips, or counterfeit thunders, to amaze and affright the admiring multitude, while, through large and specious pretences, and expectation of liberty and freedom, they are cunningly conveyed into a miserable and eternal bondage. These are they, who, cancelling the sacred bonds of religion and loyalty, forfeited their trust both with God and man; and, in pursuance of their own base and ambitious ends, eight years since, in the name, and under the authority of the parliament of England, waged war against their sovereign, and, under pretence of the defence and preservation of the protestant religion, his Majesty's royal person, the privileges of parliament, the law of the land, and liberty of the subject, drew the over-credulous people into a most intestine and savage rebellion, to the utter ruin and subversion thereof. For, instead of settling religion in its ancient purity, they have set open the flood-gates of confusion, and overflowed the church with a whole sea of unheard of errors, heresies, schisms, and damnable blasphemies, to the scandal and ruin thereof. The privileges of parliament are quite broken, they have destroyed the very being thereof, not having left so much as a picture of a parliament: The law of the land is quite subverted and annihilated, the stream thereof being wholly turned into the arbitrary channel of their usurping wills: The liberty of the subject is subjected strangely to the insupportable slavery of their monstrous tyranny. And, for his Majesty's sacred person, it was preserved indeed, but to a miserable catastrophe; for, after their many desperate and bloody battles, wherein they aimed at, but could not reach it, yet at length, being delivered up to them upon their faith, and the faith of the kingdom, after a long and tedious imprisonment, wherein he was debarred from all the common comforts of this life, and when he had granted such large and free concessions, as even themselves had voted satisfactory, and tending to the peace of the kingdom: Yea, and one of his greatest and most ancient enemies had ingenuously acknowledged, in open parliament, to be such, so many, and so gracious, as were never before granted by any King, in any age of the world: Yet, even after all this, laying aside all principles of honour and honesty, nulling their own faith, and the whole kingdom's, contrary to all their vows, protestations, and declarations, to the truth whereof they had so often called God to be a witness; and abjuring all their oaths, solemn leagues, and covenants, manifesting their thirsty appetites to royal blood, after a most disgraceful manner, they bring his sacred person to the mock-bar of justice; where, after many taunts, scorns, and contempts cast upon the brow of sovereign majesty, permitting Unjeckt, a villain, to spit in his royal face, their bloody president passed a grim and ugly sentence upon him, which, upon the thirtieth of January, 1648, was barbarously executed upon a scaffold, in the face of the sun, and sight of his people, before his royal court-gate, where, as a traitor, they suffered his royal head to be chopped off, by the hands of the common hangman. Nor did they cease to pursue their malice, even after death, laying the odious scandals of tyrant, traitor, and murderer on his royal name; and yet employ their most exquisite skill to perpetuate his memory to posterity, in an infamous and loathsome character.

And, as if they had made a covenant with hell to banish modesty, and put on a resolution to be wicked, that their sin might be as boundless as their wills, and their rebellion as unlimited as either; they overthrow the foundation of government, even in that instant that they declared to maintain it, and are entered into a solemn agreement to abolish monarchy, and, in the room thereof, to establish an eternal anarchy; and, to that end, have disinherited all the royal issue, and proclaimed that their act, in the customary places, with all solemnity.

For restoring of whom, and reducing all things, both in church and state, into their ancient and fit channel; although it hath always been my constant and sollicitous request to his Majesty, to give me leave to serve him only in a private command, yet I have received a commission, under his royal hand and seal, whereby I have full and free authority to raise an army, and therewith to enter any part of his Majesty's kingdoms of Great Britain, and there to fight with, kill, and slay all that I shall find armed, or acting in rebellion against his Majesty; and to give a free and absolute pardon to all such, as, in apprehension of their offences, shall lay down their arms, and submit to mercy. For the due execution of which commission, I declare, that I will, by God's assistance, speedily enter the kingdom of Scotland, through which I will march into the kingdom of England, where I will receive into mercy all such, as, by the fifth of November next ensuing, shall lay down their arms, and, renouncing their rebellion, humbly submit themselves to his Majesty's obedience, and will give them such entertainment, as I shall find compatible to their capacities. And I do further declare, that, after that day, I will receive none to mercy; and do solemnly protest, never to lay down arms, not doubting of God's assistance to hold them up, until I have reduced all rebels to their due obedience; and I will, with all violence and fury, pursue and kill them, as vagabonds, rogues, and regicides: not sparing one that had any hand in that horrible and barbarous murder, committed upon the sacred person of our late dread sovereign; but utterly extirpate and eradicate them, their wives, children, and families, not leaving one of their cursed race, if possible, to breathe upon the face of the earth.

And I do now conjure all his Majesty's good subjects, by all ties, sacred and civil, by the duty they owe to God, by their loyalty to their sovereign, by their love to their native country, and by their tender affection to their dear wives, children, and posterity, that they make their speedy repair to Enderness in Scotland, or to any other place upon my march, and to join with me in this pious and honourable engagement, for the defence of the protestant religion, the privileges of parliaments, the laws of the land, the due execution of justice, and their redemption from bondage, and, as a necessary means hereunto, for the speedy establishing of his Majesty in his thrones, in power and greatness, wherein, I doubt not, but we shall meet with the blessing of God, and prosperous success.

From Hafnia, in the kingdom of Denmark,
July 9, 1649.

A WINTER DREAM.

——*Quæ me suspensum insomnia torrent?* Virg.
Sæpe futurarum præsagia somnia rerum.

Printed Anno Domini QuanDo ReX AngLoruM VectI victItabat CaptIvus, 1649. Quarto, containing twenty-two pages.

The Printer to the Reader.

Because the interpretation of this dream may be obvious to all capacities, I have presumed, with the author's leave, to prefix here the names of those countries he hints.

1. The States of Holland.
2. High Germany.
3. The Kingdom of Naples.
4. The Republick of Venice.
5. The Kingdoms of Spain.
6. The Kingdom of France.
7. The Kingdoms of England, and the confusions thereof, by way of apology.
8. The Scots.

IT was in the dead of a long winter night, when no eyes were open but watchmen and centinels, that I was fallen soundly asleep; the Cinque out-posts were shut up closer than usually, and the senses so treble locked, that the moon, had she descended from her watery orb, might have done much more to me than she did to Endymion, when he lay snoaring upon the brow of Latmus's hill; nay, be it spoken without prophaneness, if a rib had been taken out of me that night, to have made a new model of a woman, I should hardly have felt it.

Yet, though the cousin-german of death had so strongly seized thus upon the exterior parts of this poor tabernacle of flesh, my inward were never more active, and fuller of employments, than they were that night:

Pictus imaginibus, formisque fugacibus adstat
Morpheus, et variis fingit nova vultibus ora.

Methought my soul made a sally abroad into the world, and fetched a vast compass. She seemed to soar up and slice the air, to cross seas,

clamber up huge hills, and never rested till she had arrived at the Antipodes. Now, some of the most judicious geometricians and chorographers hold, that, the whole mass of the earth being round like the rest of her fellow-elements, there, are places, and poising parts of the continent; there are peninsula's, promontories, and islands upon the other face of the earth, that correspond and concenter with all those regions and islands that are upon the superficies which we tread; countries that symbolise with them in qualities, in temperature of air and clime, as well as in nature of soil: The inhabitants also of those places, which are so perpendicularly opposite, do sympathise one with another in disposition, complexions, and humours, though the astronomers would have their east to be our west, and so all things *vice versa* in point of position, which division of the heaven is only man's institution.

But, to give an account of the strange progress my soul made that night, the first country she lighted on was a very low flat country, and it was such an odd amphibious country, being so indented up and down with rivers, and arms of the sea, that I made a question whether I should call it water or land; yet, though the sea be invited and ushered in into some places, he is churlishly penned out in some others; so that, though he foam and swell, and appear as high walls hard by, yet they keep him out, maugre all his roaring and swelling.

As I wandered up and down in this watery region, I might behold from a streight strong dike, whereon I stood, a strange kind of forest, for the trees moved up and down; they looked afar off, as if they had been blasted by thunder, for they had no leaves at all; but, making a nearer approach unto them, I found they were a numberless company of ship-masts, and before them appeared a great town * incorporated up and down with water. As I mused with myself upon the sight of all this, I concluded that the inhabitants of that country were notable industrious people, who could give law so to the angry ocean, and occupy those places where the great Leviathan should tumble and take his pastime in. As my thoughts ran thus, I met with a man, whom I conjectured to be betwixt a merchant and a mariner; his salutation was so homely, the air also was so foggy, that methought it stuck like cobwebs in his mustacheos; and he was so dull in point of motion, as if his veins had been filled with butter-milk in lieu of blood. I began to mingle words with him, and to expostulate something about that country and people; and then I found a great deal of downright civilities in him. He told me that they were the only men who did miracles of late years; those innumerable piles of stones, you see before you in such comely neat fabricks, is a place (said he) that, from a fish-market in effect, is come to be one of the greatest marts in this part of the world, which hath made her swell thrice bigger than she was fifty years ago; and, as you behold this floating forest of masts before her mole, so, if you could see the foundations of her houses, you should see another great forest, being reared from under ground upon fair piles of timber, which, if they chance to sink in this marshy soil, we have an art to screw them up

* Amsterdam.

again. We have, for seventy years and above, without any intermission, except a short lived truce that once was made, wrestled with one of the greatest potentates upon earth, and borne up stoutly against him, gramercy our two next neighbour Kings, and their reason of state, with the advantage of our situation. We have fought ourselves into a free state, and now quite out of that ancient allegiance we owed him; and though we pay twenty times more in taxes of all sorts, than we did to him, yet we are contented: We have turned war into a trade, and that, which useth to beggar others, hath benefited us: Besides, we have been, and are still, the rendezvous of most discontented subjects, when, by the motions of unquiet consciences, in points of religion, or by the fury of the sword, they are forced to quit their own countries, who bring their arts of manufacture and moveables hither; insomuch that our Lombards are full of their goods, and our banks superabound with their gold and silver which they bring hither in specie. To secure ourselves, and cut the enemy more work, and to engage our confederates in a war with him, we have kindled fires in every corner; and, now that they are together by the ears, we have been content lately, being long wooed thereunto, to make a peace with that King to whom we once acknowledged vassalage; which King, out of a height of spirit, hath spent five-hundred times more upon us for our reduction, than all our country is worth. But now he hath been well contented to renounce and abjure all claims and rights of sovereignty over us; insomuch that, being now without an enemy, we hope, in a short time, to be masters of all the commerce in this part of the world, and to eat our neighbours out of trade in their own commodities. We fear nothing but that excess of wealth, and a surfeit of ease, may make us careless, and breed quarrels among ourselves, and that our general, being married to a great King's daughter, may——

Here he suddenly broke the thread of his discourse, and got hastily away, being hailed by a ship that was sailing hard by.

Hereupon my soul took wing again, and cut her way through that foggy condensed air, till she lighted on a fair, spacious, clear, continent, a generous and rich soil, mantled up and down with large woods, where, as I ranged to and fro, I might see divers fair houses, towns, palaces, and castles, looking like so many carkases, for no human soul appeared in them. Methought I felt my heart melting within me, in a soft resentment of the case of so gallant a country; and, as I stood at amaze, and in a kind of astonishment, a goodly personage makes towards me, whom, both for his comportment, and countenance, I perceived to be of a finer mould than that companion I had met withal before. By the trace of his looks, I guessed he might be some nobleman that had been ruined by some disaster. Having accosted him with a fitting distance, he began in a masculine strong-winded language, full of aspirations and tough collisions of consonants, to tell me as followeth: Sir, I find you are a stranger in this country, because you stand so aghast at the devastations of such a fair piece of the continent; then know, sir, because I believe you are curious to carry away with you the causes thereof, that these rueful objects, which you behold, are the effects of a long lingering war, and of the fury of the sword, a cruentous

civil war, that hath raged here above thirty years. One of the grounds of it was the unfortunate undertaking of a prince, who lived not far off, in an affluence of all earthly felicity; he had the greatest lady to his wife, the best purse of money, the fairest stable of horses, and choicest library of books, of any other of his neighbour princes. But, being by desperate and aspiring counsels put upon a kingdom, while he was catching at the shadow of a crown, he lost the substance of all his own ancient possessions. By the many powerful alliances he had (which was the cause he was pitched upon) the fewd continued long; for, among others, a Northern King took advantage to rush in, who did a world of mischiefs; but, in a few years, that King and he found their graves in their own ruins, near upon the same time. But now, may heaven have due thanks for it, there is a peace concluded; a peace which hath been fourteen long years a moulding, and will, I hope, be shortly put in execution; yet it is with this fatal disadvantage, that the said northern people, besides a mass of ready money we are to give them, are to have firm footing, and a warm nest, ever in this country hereafter, so that I fear we shall hear from them too often. Upon these words this noble personage fetched a deep sigh, but in such a generous manner, that he seemed to break and check it before it came half forth.

Thence my soul taking her flight over divers huge and horrid cacuminous mountains, at last I found myself in a great populous town; but her buildings were miserably battered up and down: She had a world of palaces, castles, convents, and goodly churches. As I stepped out of curiosity into one of them, upon the west side there was a huge grate, where a creature all in white beckoned at me; making my approach to the grate, I found her to be a nun; a lovely creature she was, for I could not distinguish which was whiter, her hue or her habit, her veil or her face: It made me remember (though in a dream myself) that saying, If dreams and wishes had been true, there had not been found a true maid to make a nun of, ever since a cloistered life began first among women. I asked her the reason how so many ugly devastations should befall so beautiful a city? She, in a dolorous gentle tone, and ruthful accents, the tears trickling down her cheeks like so many pearls, such pearly tears that would have dissolved a diamond, sobbed out unto me this speech: 'Gentle Sir, it is far beyond any expressions of mine, and indeed beyond human imagination, to conceive the late calamities which have befallen this fair, though unfortunate city: A pernicious popular rebellion broke out here, upon a sudden, into most horrid barbarisms, a fate that hangs over most rich popular places, that swim in luxury and plenty; but, touching the grounds thereof, one may say, that rebellion entered into this city, as sin first entered into the world, by an apple: For, our King, now in his great extremities, having almost half the world banding against him, and putting but a small tax upon a basket of fruit, to last only for a time, this fruit-tax did put the people's teeth so on edge, that it made them gnash against the government, and rush into arms; but they are sensible now of their own follies, for, I think, never any place suffered more in so short a time: The civil combustions abroad, in other kingdoms, may be said to be but small squibs, compared to those horrid flakes of fire which have

raged here, and much ado we had to keep our vestal fire free from the fury of it. In less than the revolution of a year, it consumed above four-score thousand souls within the walls of this city: But it is not the first time of forty, that this luxurious foolish people hath smarted for their insurrections and insolencies; and that this mad horse hath overthrown his rider, and drawn a worse upon his back; who, instead of a saddle, put a pack-saddle and panniers upon him. But, indeed, the voluptuousness of this people was grown ripe for the judgment of heaven.' She was then beginning to expostulate with me about the state of my country, and I had a mighty mind to satisfy her; for I could have corresponded with her, in the relation of as strange things; but, the lady abbess calling her away, she departed in an instant, obedience seemed to be there so precise and punctual.

I steered my course thence through a most delicious country, to another city, that lay in the very bosom of the sea. She was, at first, nothing else but a kind of posy, made up of dainty green hillocks, tied together by above four-hundred bridges, and so coagulated into a curious city. Though she be espoused to Neptune very solemnly once every year, yet she still reserves her maidenhead, and bears the title of the Virgin City in that part of the world: But I found her tugging mainly with a huge giant, that would ravish her. He hath shrewdly set on her skirts, and a great shame it is, that she is not now assisted by her neighbours, and that they should be together by the ears, when they should do so necessary a work, considering how that great giant is their common enemy, and hath lately vowed seven years wars against her; especially considering, that, if he comes once to ravish her, he will quickly ruin them; she, to her high honour be it spoken, being their only rampart against the incursion of the said giant, and, by consequence, their greatest security.

From this maiden city, methought, I was in a trice carried over a long gulf, and so though a midland sea, into another kingdom, where I felt the climate hotter by some degrees; a rough-hewn soil, for the most part, it was, full of craggy barren hills; but, where there were vallies and water enough, the country was extraordinarily fruitful, whereby nature, it seems, made her a compensation for the sterility of the rest. Yet, notwithstanding the hardships of the soil, I found her full of abbies, monasteries, hermitages, convents, churches, and other places of devotion. As I roved there a while, I encountered a grave man in a long black cloke, by the fashion whereof, and by the brims of his hat, I perceived him to be a jesuit: I closed with him, and questioned with him about that country. He told me, the King of that country was the greatest potentate of that part of the world; and, to draw power to a greater unity, they of our order could be well contented, that he were universal head over temporals, because it is most probable to be effected by him, as we have already one universal head over spirituals. This is the monarch of the mines, I mean of gold and silver, who furnishes all the world, but most of all his own enemies with money, which money foments all the wars in this part of the world. Never did any earthly monarch thrive so much in so short a tract of time; but of late years he hath been ill-favouredly shaken by the revolt

and utter defection of two sorts of subjects, who are now in actual arms against him, on both sides of him, at his own doors. There hath been also a long deadly feud betwixt the next tramontan kingdom and him, though the Queen that rules there be his own sister, an unnatural odious thing: But it seems God Almighty hath a quarrel of late years with all earthly potentates; for, in so short a time, there never happened such strange shocks and revolutions. The great Emperor of Ethiopia hath been outed, he and all his children, by a petty companion. The King of China, a greater Emperor than he, hath lost almost all that huge monarchy by the incursion of the Tartar, who broke over the wall upon him. The grand Turk hath been strangled, with thirty of his concubines. The Emperor of Muscovy hath been content to beg his life of his own vassals, and to see before his face divers of his chief officers hacked to pieces, and their heads cut off and steeped in strong water, to make them burn more bright in the market-place. Besides the above-mentioned, this King hath also divers enemies more, yet he bears up against them all indifferently well, though with infinite expence of treasure; and the church, especially our society, hath stuck close unto him in these his exigents. Whence may be inferred, that, let men repine as long as they will at the possessions of the church, they are the best anchors to a state in a storm, and in time of need, to preserve it from sinking. Besides, acts of charity would be quite lost among men, did not the wealth of the church keep life in them. Hereupon, drawing a huge pair of beads from under his cloke, he began to ask me of my religion. I told him I had a long journey to go, so that I could not stay to wait on him longer; so we parted, and methought I was very glad to be rid of him so well.

My soul then made another flight over an assembly of hideous high hills, and lighted under another clime, on a rich and copious country resembling the form of a losenge,* but methought I never saw so many poor people in my life. I encountered a peasant, and asked him what the reason was that there should be so much poverty in a country where was so much plenty? Sir, they keep the commonalty poor in pure policy here; for, being a people, as the world observes us to be, that are more humorous than others, and that love variety and change, if we were suffered to be pampered with wealth, we would ever and anon rise up in tumults, and so this kingdom should never be quiet, but subject to intestine broils, and so to the hazard of any invasion. But there was of late a devilish cardinal, whose humour, being as sanguine as his habit, and working upon the weakness of his master, hath made us not only poor, but stark beggars, and we are like to continue so by an eternal war, wherein he hath plunged this poor kingdom, which war must be maintained with our very vital spirits; but, as dejected and indigent as we are, yet, upon the death of that ambitious cardinal, we had risen up against this, who hath the vogue now, with whom he hath left his principles, had not the fearful example of our next transmarine western neighbours, and the knowledge we have of a worse kind of slavery of those endless arbitrary taxes, and horrid confusions they have fooled themselves lately into, utterly deterred us, though we have twenty times more reason to rise than ever they had; yet our great city

hath shewed her teeth, and gnashed them ill-favouredly of late. But we find she hath drawn water only for her own mill; we fare little the better, yet we hope it will conduce to peace, which hath been so long in agitation. I cannot remember how I parted with that peasant, but, in an instant, I was landed upon a large island, and methought it was the most temperate region I had been in all the while; the heat of the sun there is as harmless as his light; the evening serenes are as wholesome there as the morning dew; the dog-days as inocuous as any of the two equinoxes. As I ranged to and from that fair island, I espied a huge city, whose length did far exceed her latitude, but neither, for length or latitude, did she seem to bear any political proportion with that island. She looked, methought, like the jesuit's hat whom I had met withal before, whose brims were bigger than the crown, or like a petticoat, whose fringe was longer than the body. As I did cast my eyes upwards, methought I discerned a strange inscription in the air, which hung just over the midst of that city, written in such huge visible characters, that any one might have read it, which was this: *Woe be to the bloody city.*

Hereupon a reverend bishop presented himself to my view; his grey hairs and grave aspect struck in me an extraordinary reverence of him; so, performing those compliments which were fitting, I asked him of the condition of the place. He, in a submissive sad tone, with clouds of melancholy waving up and down his looks, told me: Sir, this island was reputed few years since to have been in the completest condition of happiness of any part on earth, insomuch that she was repined at for her prosperity and peace by all her neighbours, who were plunged in war round about her; but now she is fallen into as deep a gulf of misery and servitude, as she was in a height of felicity and freedom before. Touching the grounds of this change, I cannot impute it to any other than to a surfeit of happiness; now there is no surfeit so dangerous as that of happiness. There are such horrid divisions here, that, if they were a foot in hell, they were able to destroy the kingdom of Satan. Truly, Sir, there are crept in more opinions among us about matters of religion, than the pagans had of old of the *Summum bonum*, which Varro saith were three-hundred; the understandings of poor men were never so puzzled and distracted; a great while there were two opposite powers, who swayed here in a kind of equality, that people knew not whom to obey; many thousands complied with both, as the men of Calecut, who adore God and the Devil, *Tantum Squantum*, as it is in the Indian language; the one for love, the other for fear. There is the most monstrous kind of wild liberty here that ever was upon earth; that, which was complained of as a stalking-horse to draw on our miseries at first, is now only in practice, which is mere arbitrary rule; for now both law, religion, and allegiance are here arbitrary. Touching the last, it is quite lost; it is permitted that any one may prate, preach, or print what they will in derogation of their anointed King; which word King was once a monosyllable of some weight in this island, but it is as little regarded now as the word pope, among some, which was also a mighty monosyllable once among us. The rule of the law is, that the King can do no wrong; there is a contrary rule now crept in, that the King can

receive no wrong; and truly, sir, it is a great judgment both upon prince and people; upon the one, that the love of his vassals should be so alienated from him; upon the other, that their hearts should be so poisoned, and certainly it is the effect of an ill spirit. Both the one and the other, in all probability, tend to the ruin of this kingdom. I will illustrate this unto you, Sir, by an apologue, as followeth:

There happened a shrewd commotion and distemper in the body natural, betwixt the head and the members; not only the noble parts, some of them, but the common inferior organs also banded against him in a high-way of unnatural presumption. The heart, which is the source of life, with the pericardium about it, did swell against him; the liver, which is the shop of sanguification, gathered ill blood; all the humours turned to choler against him; the arms lifted up themselves against him; neither back, hams, or knees would bow to him, nay, the very feet offered to kick him; the twenty-four ribs, the reins, the hypochondrium, the diaphragma, the miseraic, and emulgent veins were filled with corrupt blood against him; yea, the hypogastrium and the bowels made an intestine war against him. While the feud lasted, it happened that these tumultuary members fell out amongst themselves; the hand would have all the fingers equal, nay, the toes would be of even length, and the rest of the subservient members would be independent. They grew so foolish, that they would have the fundament to be where the mouth is, the breast where the back, the belly where the brain, and the yard where the nose is; the shoulders should be no more said to be backwards, nor the legs downwards; a bloody quarrel fell betwixt the heart and the liver, which of them received the first formation, and whether of the two be the chiefest officine of sanguification, which question bred so much gall betwixt the Aristotelians and the Galenists. While this spleen and strange tympany of pride lasted, it caused such an ebullition and heat in the mass of blood, that it put the microcosm, the whole body, in a high burning fever, or frenzy rather, which, in a very short time, grew to be a hectick, and so all perished by a fatal consumption.

I fear the same fate attends this unfortunate island; for such as was the condition of that natural head, this apologue speaks of, the same is the case of the politick head and body of this island. Never was sovereign prince so banded against by his own subjects; never was the patience of a prince so put upon the tenter; he is still no less than a captive; his children are in banishment in one country, his Queen in another, the greatest Queen of blood upon earth; a Queen that brought with her the greatest portion that ever Queen did in treasure; yet, in twenty years and upwards, her jointure hath not been settled as it should be; nor hath she been crowned all this while, according to matrimonial articles; notwithstanding that, for the comfort of this nation, and the establishment of the throne, she hath brought forth so many hopeful princes.

But now, sir, because I see you are so attentive, and seem too much moved at this discourse, as I have discovered unto you the general cause of our calamities, which was not only a satiety, but a surfeit of

happiness; so I will descend now to a more particular cause of them; it was a northern nation that brought these cataracts of mischief upon us; and you know the old saying,

Out of the North
All ill comes forth.

Far be it from me to charge the whole nation herewith; no, but only some pernicious instruments, that had insinuated themselves, and incorporated among us, and swayed both in our court and councils. They had a hand in every monopoly; they had, out of our exchequer and customs, near four-hundred thousand crowns in yearly pensions, *viis et modis;* yet they could not be content, but they must puzzle the peace and policy of this church and state; and, though they are people of different intellectuals, different laws, customs, and manners unto us, yet, for matter of conscience, they would bring our necks into their yoke, as if they had a greater talent of reason, and clearer illuminations; as if they understood scripture better, and were better acquainted with God Almighty, than we, who brought them first from Paganism to Christianity, and also to be reformed Christians. But, it seems, matters have little thriven with them; nay, the visible hand of heaven hath been heavily upon them divers ways, since they did lift their hands against their native King: For, notwithstanding the vast sums they had hence, yet is the generality of them as beggarly as ever they were; besides, the civil sword hath raged there as furiously as here, and did as much execution among them. Moreover, the pestilence hath been more violent and sweeping in their chief town, than ever it was since they were a people. And now lately there is the notablest dishonour befallen them, that possibly could light upon a nation, in that seven thousand of ours should, upon even ground, encounter, kill, slay, rout, and utterly discomfit thrice as many of theirs, though as well appointed and armed as men could be. And truly, Sir, the advantages, that accrue to this nation, are not a few, by that exploit; for, of late years, that nation was cried up abroad to be a more martial people than we, and to have baffled us in open field in divers traverses; besides, I hope a small matter will pay now their arrearages here and elsewhere; but principally, I hope they will not be so busy hereafter in our court and council, as they have been formerly.

Another cause of our calamity is a strange race of people sprung up among ourselves, who were confederate with those of the north. They would make God's house clean, and put out the candle of all ancient learning and knowledge; they would sweep it only by the light of an *Ignis fatuus;* but it is visibly found, that they have brought much more rubbish into it; and whereas, in reforming this house, they should rather find out the groat that is lost, they go about to take away the mite that is left, and so put Christ's spouse to live on mere alms. True it is, there is a kind of zeal that burns in them (and I could wish there were as much piety) but this zeal burns with too much violence and presumption; which is no good symptom of spiritual health, it being a rule, that, as the natural heat, so the spiritual should be moderate,

else it commonly turns to a frensy; and that is the thing, which causeth such a giddiness and distraction in the brains. This, proceeding from the suggestions of an ill spirit, puffs them up with so much mental pride; for the devil is so cunning a wrestler, that he oftentimes lifts men up to give them the greater fall. They think they have an unerring spirit, and that their dial must needs go true, howsoever the sun goes. They would make the gospel, as the Caddi's make the alcoran, to decide all civil temporal matters under the large notion of slander, whereof they to be the judges, and so in time to hook in all things into their classis. I believe, if these men were dissected, when they are dead, there would be a great deal of quicksilver found in their brains:

Proh superi, quantum mortalia pectora cæcæ
Noctis habent!

But I could pity the giddiness of their brains, had they not so much gall in their breasts, were they not so thirsting after blood, so full of poison and irreconcileable malice; insomuch that it may be very well thought, these men are a-kin to that race which sprung out of the serpent's teeth. These are they which have seduced our great council, and led this foolish city by the nose, to begin and foment this ugly war; insomuch that, if those numberless bodies, which have perished in these commotions, were cast into her streets, and before her doors, many thousand citizens noses would bleed of pure guilt.

Not to hold you long, these are the men who have baffled common sense, blasted the beams of nature, and offered violence to reason; these are they who have infatuated most of the people in this island. So that, whereas, in times past, some called her the Isle of Angels, she may be termed now the Isle of Gulls, or more properly the Isle of Dogs, or rather, indeed, the Isle of Wolves, there is such a true lycanthropy come in among us; I am loth to call her the Island of Devils, though she hath been branded so abroad.

To conclude, Sir, the glory of this isle is quite blasted. It is true, they speak of peace, but, while the King speaks to them of it, they make themselves ready for battle. I much fear, that, Ixion-like, we embrace a cloud for peace, out of which there will issue out centaurs, and monsters, as sprung out of that cloud.

Touching that ancientest holy order, whereof you see me to be, I well hoped, that, in regard they pretended to reform things only, they would not have quite extirpated, but regulated only, this order. It had been enough to have brailed our wings, not to have seared them; to have lopped and pruned, not to have destroyed root and branch of that ancient tree, which was planted by the hands of the Apostles themselves. In fine, Sir, we are a lost people; it is no other Dædalus, but the high Deity of heaven, can clue us out of this labyrinth of confusions; can extricate us out of this maze of miseries. The philosopher saith, it is impossible for man to quadrate a circle; so it is not in the power of man, but of God alone, to make a loyal subject of a roundhead. Among other things, that strangers report of this island, they say, That winter here hath too many tears in his eyes. Alas! Sir, it

is impossible he should have too many, now, to bewail the lamentable base slavery, that a free-born people is come to; and, though they are grown so tame, as to kiss the rod that whips them, yet their task-masters will not throw it into the fire.

Truly, Sir, as my tongue is too feeble to express our miseries, so the plummet of the best understanding is too short to fathom the depth of them.

With this, the grave venerable bishop, giving me his benediction, fetched such a sigh that would have rended a rock asunder; and suddenly vanished, methought, out of my sight up towards heaven. I presently after awoke about the dawnings of the day, when one could hardly discern dog from wolf; and my soul, my *Animula vagula blandula*, being re-entered through the horn gate of sleep into her former mansion, half tired after so long a peregrination; and, having rubbed my eyes, distended my limbs, and returned to a full expergefaction, I began to call myself to account, touching those worlds of objects my fancy had represented unto me that night; and, when by way of reminiscence I fell to examine and ruminate upon them, Lord, what a mass of ideas ran in my head! but, when I called to mind the last country my soul wandered in, methought I felt my heart like a lump of lead within me, when I considered how pat every circumstance might be applied to the present condition of England. I was meditating with myself, what kind of dream this might be; whereupon I thought upon the common division that philosophers make of dreams; that they are either divine, diabolical, natural, or human.

For the first, they are visions more properly or revelations, whereof there are divers examples in the holy oracles of God, but the puddled crannies of my brain are not rooms clean enough to entertain such. Touching the second kind, which come by the impulses of the devil. I have heard of divers of them, as when one did rise up out of his sleep, and fetched a poniard to stab his bedfellow; which he had done, had he not been awake; another went to the next chamber a bed to his mother, and would have ravished her; but I thank God this dream of mine was not of that kind. Touching the third species of dreams, which are natural dreams, they are according to the humour which predominates; if melancholy sway, we dream of black darksome devious places; if phlegm, of waters; if choler, of frays, fightings, and troubles; if sanguine predominate, we dream of green fields, gardens, and other pleasant representations; and the physician comes often to know the quality of a disease by the nocturnal objects of the patient's fancy.

Human dreams relate to the actions of the day past, or of the day following, and some representations are clear and even; others are amphibious, mongrel, distorted, and squalid objects, according to the species of things in troubled matters; and the object is clear or otherwise, according to the tenuity or the grossness of the vapours which ascend from the ventricle up to the brain.

Touching my dream, I think it was of this last kind; for I was discoursing of, and condoling the sad distempers of our times, the day before. I pray God some part of it prove not prophetical; for,

although the Frenchman saith, *Songes sont Mensonges*, dreams are delusions, and that they turn to contraries, yet the Spaniard hath a saying,

Et ciego sonnava que via,
Y era lo que querria.
The blind man dream'd he did see light,
The thing he wish'd for happen'd right.

Insomuch that some dreams oftentimes prove true; as St. Austin makes mention of a rich merchant in Milan, who being dead, one of his creditors comes to his son to demand such a sum of money which he had lent his father; the son was confident it was paid, but, not finding the creditor's receipt, he was impleaded and like to be cast in the suite, had not his father's ghost appeared to him, and directed him to the place where the acquittance was, which he found the next day accordingly. Galen speaks of one that dreamed he had a wooden leg, and the next day he was taken with a dead palsy in one whole side. Such a dream was that of William Rufus, when he thought he had felt a cold gust passing through his bowels; and the next day he was slain in the guts, by the glance of an arrow, in New Forest, a place where he and his father had committed so many sacrileges. I have read in Artemidorus, of a woman that dreamed she had seen the pictures of three faces in the moon like herself, and she was brought to bed of three daughters a little after, who all died within the compass of a month. Another dreamed, that Xanthus's water ran red, and the next day he fell a spitting blood.

To this, I will add another foretelling dream, whereof I have read, which was thus: Two young gentlemen travelling abroad in strange countries, and being come to a great town, the one lay far in the city, the other in an hostry without the walls in the suburbs. He in the city did dream in the dead of night, that his friend which he had left in the suburbs rushed into his chamber, panting and blowing, being pursued by others; he dreamed so again, and the third time he might see his friend's ghost appearing at his bed's side with blood trickling down his throat, and a pomard in his breast, telling him: Dear friend, I am come now to take my last farewel of thee, and, if thou rise betimes, thou shalt meet me in the way going to be buried. The next morning, his friend going with his host towards the inn in the suburbs where he left his friend, they met with a cart laden with dung in the way, which being staid and searched, the dead body was found naked in the dung.

I will conclude with a notable dream that Osman the great Turk had, not many years since, a few days before he was murthered by his janizaries, 1623. He dreamed that, being mounted upon a huge camel, he could not make him go, though he switched and spurred him never so much; at last the camel overthrew him, and, being upon the ground, only the bridle was left in his hand, but the body of the camel was vanished. The mufti not being illuminated enough to interpret this dream, a Santon, who was a kind of idiot, told him, the camel represented the Ottoman Empire, which he not being able to govern, he should be overthrown, which two days after proved true.

By these, and a cloud of examples more, we may conclude, that dreams are not altogether impertinent, but something may be gathered out of them; though the application and meaning of them be denied to man, unless by special illumination:

Somnia venturi sunt præscia sæpe diei.
By dreams we oft may guess
At the next day's success.

Thus have you a rough account of a rambling noctivagation up and down the world. I may boldly say, that neither Sir John Mandevile, nor Coryat himself, travelled more in so short a time. Whence you see what nimble postillions the animal spirits are; and with what incredible celerity the imagination can cross the line, cut the tropicks, and pass to the other hemisphere of the world; which shews, that human souls have something in them of the Almighty, that their faculties have a kind of ubiquitary freedom, though the body be never so under restraint, as the author's was.

The last country, that is here aimed at, is known already; I leave the application of the rest to the discerning reader, to whom only this dream is addressed.

A LETTER TO THE LORD FAIRFAX,

AND HIS COUNCIL OF WAR,

With divers Questions to the Lawyers and Ministers:

Proving it an undeniable Equity, That the common People ought to dig, plow, plant, and dwell upon the Commons, without hiring them, or paying rent to any. Delivered to the General and the chief Officers, on Saturday, June 9. By Jerrard Winstanly, in the Behalf of those who have begun to dig upon George-hill in Surrey.

London: Printed for Giles Calvert, at the Black-Spread-Eagle, at the West End of St. Paul's, 1649. Quarto, containing sixteen Pages.

To the Lord Fairfax, General of the English Forces, and his Council of War.

Sir,

OUR digging and plowing upon George-hill in Surrey is not unknown to you, since you have seen some of our persons, and heard us speak in defence thereof; and we did receive mildness and

moderation from you, and your council of war, both when some of us were at Whitehall before you, and when you came in person to George-hill, to view our works. We endeavour to lay open the bottom and intent of our business, as much as can be, that none may be troubled with doubtful imaginations about us, but may be satisfied in the sincerity and universal righteousness of the work.

We understand that our digging upon that common is the talk of the whole land; some approving, some disowning; some are friends, filled with love, and see the work intends good to the nation, the peace whereof is that which we seek after; others are enemies filled with fury, and falsely report of us, that we have intent to fortify ourselves, and afterwards to fight against others, and take away their goods from them, which is a thing we abhor; and many other slanders we rejoice over, because we know ourselves clear, our endeavour being no otherwise, but to improve the commons, and to cast off that oppression, and outward bondage, which the creation groans under, as much as in us lies, and to lift up and preserve the purity thereof.

And the truth is, experience shews us, that in this work of community in the earth, and in the fruits of the earth, is seen plainly a pitched battle between the lamb and the dragon, between the spirit of love, humility, and righteousness, which is the lamb appearing in flesh, and the power of envy, pride, and unrighteousness, which is the dragon appearing in flesh; the latter power striving to hold the creation under slavery, and to lock and hide the glory thereof from man; the former labouring to deliver the creation from slavery, to unfold the secrets of it to the sons of men, and so to manifest himself to be the great restorer of all things.

And these two powers strive in the heart of every single man, and make single men to strive in opposition, one against the other; and these strivings will be till the dragon be cast out, and his judgment and downfal hastens a-pace; therefore let the righteous hearts wait with patience upon the Lord, to see what end he makes of all the confused hurlyburlies of the world.

When you were at our works upon the hill, we told you, many of the country-people, that were offended at first, begin now to be moderate, and to see righteousness in our work, and to own it, excepting one or two covetous free-holders, that would have all the commons to themselves; and that would uphold the Norman tyranny over us, which, by the victory that you have got over the Norman successor, is plucked up by the roots, therefore ought to be cast away. And we expect, that these our angry neighbours, whom we never wronged, nor will not wrong, will in time see their furious rashness to be their folly, and become moderate, to speak and carry themselves like men rationally, and leave off pushing with their horns like beasts. They shall have no cause to say we wrong them, unless they count us wrongers of them, for seeking a livelihood, out of the common-land of England, by our righteous labour, which is our freedom, as we are Englishmen, equal with them; and rather our freedom than theirs, because they are elder brothers, and freeholders, and call the inclosures their own land, and

we are younger brothers, and the poor oppressed, and the common-lands are called ours, by their own confession.

We told you, upon a question you put to us, that we were not against any that would have magistrates and laws to govern, as the nations of the world are governed; but, as for our parts, we shall need neither the one, nor the other, in that nature of government. For as our land is common, so our cattle is to be common, and our corn and fruits of the earth common, and are not to be bought and sold among us, but to remain a standing portion of livelihood to us, and our children, without that cheating intanglement of buying and selling, and we shall not arrest one another.

And then, What need have we of imprisoning, whipping, or hanging laws, to bring one another into bondage? And we know, that none of those that are subject to this righteous law dares arrest or inslave his brother for, or about the objects of the earth, because the earth is made by our Creator, to be a common treasury of livelihood to one equal with another, without respect of persons.

But now, if you that are elder brothers, and that call the inclosures your own land, hedging out others, if you will have magistrates and laws in this outward manner of the nations, we are not against it, but freely, without disturbance, shall let you alone; and if any of we commoners, or younger brothers, shall steal your corn, or cattle, or pull down your hedges, let your laws take hold upon any of us that so offends.

But, while we keep within the bounds of our commons, and none of us shall be found guilty of meddling with your goods, or inclosed proprieties, unless the spirit in you freely give it up, your laws then shall not reach to us, unless you will oppress or shed the blood of the innocent; and yet, our corn and cattle shall not be locked up, as though we would be proprietors in the middle of the nation: No, no, we freely declare, that our corn and cattle, or what we have, shall be freely laid open, for the safety and preservation of the nation, and we, as younger brothers, living in love with you our elder brothers, for we shall endeavour to do, as we would be done unto; that is, to let every one enjoy the benefit of his creation, to have food and raiment free by the labour of his hands from the earth.

And, as for spiritual teachings, we leave every man to stand and fall to his own master. If the power of covetousness be his master, or King, that rules in his heart, let him stand and fall to him; if the power of love and righteousness be his master or King, that rules in his heart, let him stand and fall to him; let the bodies of men act love, humility, and righteousness, one towards another, and let the spirit of righteousness be the teacher, ruler, and judge, both in us and over us; and, by thus doing, we shall honour our father, the spirit that gave us being. And, we shall honour our mother, the earth, by labouring her in righteousness, and leaving her free from oppression and bondage.

We shall then honour the higher powers of the left-hand man, which is our hearing, seeing, tasting, smelling, feeling, and walk in the light of reason and righteousness, that is the King and judge that sits upon this five-cornered throne; and we shall be strengthened by those five wells

springs of life, of the right-hand man, which is, understanding, will, affections, joy, and peace, and so live like men, in the light and power of the sun of righteousness within ourselves feelingly. What need, then, have we of any outward, selfish, confused laws made, to uphold the power of covetousness, when we have the righteous law written in our hearts, teaching us to walk purely in the creation?

Sir, the intent of our writing to you, is not to request your protection, though we have received an unchristian-like abuse from some of your soldiers; for, truly, we dare not cast off the Lord and make choice of a man or men to rule us. For the creation hath smarted deeply for such a thing, since Israel chose Saul to be their King; therefore, we acknowledge before you, in plain English, That we have chosen the Lord God Almighty to be our King and protector.

Yet, in regard you are our brethren, as an English tribe, and for the present are owned to be the outward governors, protectors, and saviours of this land, and whose hearts we question not, but that you endeavour to advance the same King of righteousness with us, therefore, we are free to write to you, and to open the sincerity of our hearts freely to you, and to all the world.

And if, after this report of ours, either you, or your forces, called soldiers, or any that own your laws of propriety, called freeholders, do abuse or kill our persons, we declare to you, that we die, doing our duty to our Creator, by endeavouring, from that power he hath put into our hearts, to lift up his creation out of bondage; and you and they shall be left without excuse in the day of judgment, because you have been spoken to sufficiently.

And, therefore, our reason of writing to you is this, in regard some of your foot soldiers of the general's regiment, under Captain Stravie, that were quartered in our town, we bearing part therein as well as our neighbours, giving them sufficient quarter, so that there was no complaining, did, notwithstanding, go up to George hill, where was only one man and one boy of our company of the diggers. And, at their first coming, divers of your soldiers, before any word of provocation was spoken to them, fell upon those two, beating the boy, and took away his coat off his back, and some linnen and victuals that they had, beating and wounding the man very dangerously, and fired our house.

Which we count a strange and heathenish practice, that the soldiery should meddle with naked men, peaceable men, countrymen, that meddled not with the soldiers business, nor offered any wrong to them in word or deed; unless, because we improve that victory, which you have gotten in the name of the commons over King Charles, do offend the soldiery. In doing whereof, we rather expect protection from you, than destruction. But, for your own particular, we are assured of your moderation and friendship to us, who have ever been your friends in times of straits; and that you would not give commission to strike us, or fire or pull down our houses, but you would prove us an enemy first.

Yet, we do not write this, that you should lay any punishment upon them, for that we leave to your discretion; only we desire, in the request

of brethren, that you would send forth admonition to your soldiers, not to abuse us hereafter, unless they have a commission from you; and truly, if our offences should prove so great, you shall not need to send soldiers for us, or to beat us, for we shall freely come to you upon a bare letter.

Therefore, that the ignorant, covetous freeholders, and such of your ignorant soldiers, that know not what freedom is, may not abuse those, that are true friends to England's freedom, and faithful servants to the creation, we desire, that our business may be taken notice of by you, and the highest council the parliament; and if our work appear righteous to you, as it does to us, and wherein our souls have sweet peace, in the midst of scandals and abuses:

Then, in the request of brethren, we desire we may enjoy our freedom, according to the law of contract between you and us, that we, that are younger brothers, may live comfortably in the land of our nativity, with you the elder brothers, enjoying the benefit of our creation, which is food and raiment, freely by our labours; and that we may receive love, and the protection of brethren from you, seeing we have adventured estate and persons with you, to settle the land in peace; and that we may not be abused by your laws, nor by your soldiers, unless we break over into your inclosures, as aforesaid, and take away your proprieties, before you are willing to deliver it up. And, if this you do, we shall live in quietness, and the nation will be brought into peace, while you, that are the soldiery, are a wall of fire round about the nation, to keep out a foreign enemy, and are succourers of your brethren, that live within the land, who endeavour to hold forth the sun of righteousness in their actions, to the glory of our Creator.

And you and the parliament, hereby, will be faithful in your covenants, oaths, and promises to us, as we have been faithful to you and them, in paying taxes, giving free-quarter, and affording other assistance in the publick work, whereby we, that are the common people, are brought almost to a morsel of bread; therefore we demand our bargain, which is freedom with you in this land of our nativity.

But, if you do slight us and our cause, then know we shall not strive with sword and spear, but with spade and plough, and such like instruments, to make the barren and common lands fruitful; and we have, and still shall, commit ourselves and our cause unto our righteous King, whom we obey, even the prince of peace, to be our protector; and unto whom you likewise profess much love, by your preaching, praying, fastings, and in whose name you have made all your covenants, oaths, and promises to us: I say, unto him we appeal, who is and will be our righteous judge, who never yet failed those that waited upon him, but ever did judge the cause of the oppressed righteously.

We desire that your lawyers may consider these questions, which we affirm to be truths, and which give good assurance, by the law of the land, that we that are the younger brothers, or common people, have a true right to dig, plow up, and dwell upon the commons, as we have declared.

1. Whether William the Conqueror came not to be King of England by conquest, turned the English out of their birth-rights, burned divers

towns, whereof thirty towns were burned by him in Windsor Forest, by reason whereof all sorts of people suffered, and compelled the conquered English, for necessity of livelihood, to be servants to him and his Norman soldiers?

2. Whether King Charles was not successor to the crown of England from William the Conqueror? And whether all laws, that have been made in every King's reign, did not confirm and strengthen the power of the Norman conquest, and so did, and do still hold the commons of England under slavery to the kingly power, his gentry, and clergy?

3. Whether lords of manors were not the successors of the colonels and chief officers of William the Conqueror, and held their royalty to the commons by lease, grant, and patents from the King, and the power of the sword was and is the seal to their title?

4. Whether lords of manors have not lost their royalty to the commonland, since the common people of England, as well as some of the gentry, have conquered King Charles, and recovered themselves from under the Norman conquest?

5. Whether the Norman conqueror took the land of England to himself, out of the hands of a few men, called a parliament, or from the whole body of the English people? Surely he took freedom from every one, and became the disposer both of inclosures and commons; therefore every one, upon the recovery of the conquest, ought to return into freedom again, without respecting persons, or else what benefit shall the common people have, that have suffered most in these wars, by the victory that is got over the King? It had been better for the common people there had been no such conquest; for they are impoverished in their estates by free-quarter and taxes, and made worse to live than they were before. But, seeing they have paid taxes, and given free-quarter, according to their estates, as much as the gentry to theirs, it is both reason and equity, that they should have the freedom of the land for their livelihood, which is the benefit of the commons, as the gentry have the benefit of their inclosures.

6. Whether the freedom, which the common people have got by casting out the kingly power, lie not herein principally, to have the land of their nativity or their livelihood, freed from the intanglement of lords, lords of manors, and landlords, which are our taskmasters? As, when the enemy conquered England, he took the land for his own, and called that his freedom; even so, seeing all sorts of people have given assistance to recover England from under the Norman yoke, surely all sorts, both gentry in their inclosures, and commonalty in their commons, ought to have their freedom, not compelling one to work for wages for another.

7. Whether any laws, since the coming in of Kings, have been made in the light of the righteous law of our creation, respecting all alike; or have not been grounded upon selfish principles, in fear or flattery of their King, to uphold freedom in the gentry and clergy, and to hold the common people under bondage still, and so respecting persons?

8. Whether all laws, that are not grounded upon equity and reason, not giving an universal freedom to all, but respecting persons, ought not to be cut off with the King's head? We affirm, they ought.

If all laws be grounded upon equity and reason, then the whole land of England is to be a common treasury to every one that is born in the land; but, if they be grounded upon selfish principles, giving freedom to some, and laying burdens upon others, such laws are to be cut off with the King's head, or else the neglecters are covenant, oath, and promise-breakers, and open hypocrites to the whole world.

9. Whether every one without exception, by the law of contract, ought not to have liberty to enjoy the earth for his livelihood, and to settle his dwelling in any part of the commons of England, without buying or renting land of any, seeing every one, by agreement and covenant among themselves, have paid taxes, given free-quarter, and adventured their lives to recover England out of bondage? We affirm, they ought.

10. Whether the laws, that were made in the days of the Kings, do give freedom to any other people, but to the gentry and clergy? All the rest are left servants and bond-men to those taskmasters; none have freedom by the laws, but those two sorts of people; all the common people have been, and still are, burdened under them.

And, surely, if the common people have no more freedom in England, but only to live among their elder brothers, and work for them for hire, What freedom, then, have they in England, more than we can have in Turkey or France? For, there, if any man will work for wages, he may live among them, otherwise not; therefore consider, whether this be righteous, and for the peace of the nation, that laws shall be made to give freedom to impropriators and freeholders, whereas the poor, that have no land, are left still in the streights of beggary, and are shut out of all livelihod, but what they shall pick out of sore bondage, by working for others, as masters over them; and, if this be not the burden of the Norman yoke, let rational men judge: Therefore take not away men, but take away the power of tyranny and bad government (the price is in your hand), and let no part of the nation be wronged, for want of a representative.

And here now we desire your publick preachers, that say they preach the righteous law, to consider these questions, which confirm us in the peace of our hearts, that we, that are the common people born in England, ought to improve the commons, as we have declared, for a publick treasury and livelihood; and that those that hinder us are rebels to their Maker, and enemies to the creation.

First, We demand, Yea or No, Whether the earth, with her fruits, was made to be bought and sold from one to another? And whether one part of mankind was made a lord of the land, and another part a servant, by the law of creation before the fall?

I affirm (and I challenge you to disprove) That the earth was made to be a common treasury of livelihood for all, without respect of persons, and was not made to be bought and sold: And that mankind, in all his branches, is the lord over the beasts, birds, fishes, and the earth; and was not made to acknowledge any of his own kind to be his teacher and ruler, but the spirit of righteousness only his Maker, and to walk in his light, and so to live in peace; and, this being a truth, as it is,

then none ought to be lords or landlords over another, but the earth is free for every son and daughter of mankind to live free upon.

This question is not to be answered by any text of scripture, or example since the fall; but the answer is to be given in the light of itself, which is the law of righteousness, or that word of God that was in the beginning, which dwells in man's heart, and by which he was made, even the pure law of creation, unto which the creation is to be restored.

Before the fall, Adam, or the man, did dress the garden, or the earth, in love, freedom, and righteousness, which was his rest and peace; but, when covetousness began to rise up in him, to kill the power of love and freedom in him, and so made him (mankind) to set himself one man above another, as Cain lifted up himself above Abel; which was but the outward declaration of the two powers that strive in the man Adam's heart: And, when he consented to that serpent, covetousness, then he fell from righteousness, was cursed, and was sent into the earth to eat his bread in sorrow. And from that time began particular propriety to grow in one man over another; and the sword brought in propriety, and holds it up, which is no other but the power of angry covetousness; for Cain killed Abel, because Abel's principles, or religion, were contrary to his. And the power of the sword is still Cain killing Abel, lifting up one man still above another. But Abel shall not always be slain, nor always lie under the bondage of Cain's cursed propriety, for he must rise; and that Abel of old was but a type of Christ, that is now rising up to restore all things from bondage.

Secondly, I demand, Whether all wars, bloodshed, and misery came not upon the creation, when one man endeavoured to be a lord over another, and to claim propriety in the earth one above another? Your scripture will prove this sufficiently to be true. And whether this misery shall not remove (and not till then) when all the branches of mankind shall look upon themselves as one man, and upon the earth as a common treasury to all, without respecting persons, every one acknowledging the law of righteousness in them and over them, and walking in his light purely? Then cast away your buying and selling the earth with her fruits; it is unrighteous, it lifts one above another, it makes one man oppress another, and is the burden of the creation.

Thirdly, Whether the work of restoration lies not in removing covetousness, casting that serpent out of heaven (mankind) and making man to live in the light of righteousness, not in words only, as preachers do, but in action, whereby the creation shines in glory? I affirm it.

Fourthly, Whether is the King of Righteousness a respecter of persons, yea, or no? If you say no, then Who makes this difference, That the elder brother shall be lord of the land, and the younger brother a slave and beggar? I affirm, It was and is covetousness since the fall, not the King of Righteousness before the fall, that made that difference; therefore, if you will be preachers, hold forth the law of righteousness purely, and not the confused law of covetousness, which is the murderer. The law of righteousness would have every one to enjoy the benefit of his creation, that is, to have food and raiment by his labour freely in the land of his nativity; but covetousness will have none to live free, but he that hath the strongest arm of flesh; all others must be servants.

Fifthly, Whether can a man have true peace by walking in the law of covetousness and self, as generally all do, or by walking in the law of universal righteousness, doing as he would be done by? I affirm, there is no true peace, till men talk less, and live more actually in the power of universal righteousness. Then, you preachers, lay aside your multitude of words, and your selfish doctrines, for you confound and delude the people.

Sixthly, Whether does the King of righteousness bid you love or hate your enemies? If you say, Love them, then I demand of you, Why do some of you, in your pulpits, and elsewhere, stir up the people to beat, to imprison, put to death, or banish, or not to buy and sell with those that endeavour to restore the earth to a common treasury again? Surely, at the worst, you can make them but your enemies; therefore love them, win them by love, do not hate them, they do not hate you.

Seventhly, Whether it be not a great breach of the national covenant to give two sorts of people their freedom, that is, gentry and clergy, and deny it to the rest? I affirm, It is a high breach; for man's laws make these two sorts of people the antichristian task-masters over the common people; the one forcing the people to give them rent for the earth, and to work for hire for them; the other, which is the clergy, forcing a maintenance of tithes from the people: A practice, which Christ, the Apostles, and prophets never walked in; therefore, surely, you are the false Christs, and false prophets, that are risen up in these latter days.

Thus I have declared to you, and to all in the whole world, what that power of life is, that is in me; and, knowing that the spirit of righteousness does appear in many in this land, I desire all of you seriously, in love and humility, to consider of this business of publick community, which I am carried forth in the power of love, and clear light of universal righteousness, to advance as much as I can; and I can do no other, the law of love in my heart does so constrain me; by reason whereof I am called fool and madman, and have many slanderous reports cast upon me, and meet with much fury from some covetous people; under all which my spirit is made patient, and is guarded with joy and peace. I hate none, I love all, I delight to see every one live comfortably, I would have none live in poverty, streights, or sorrows; therefore, if you find any selfishness in this work, or discover any thing that is destructive to the whole creation, that you would open your hearts as freely to me, in declaring my weakness to me, as I have been open-hearted, in declaring that which I find and feel much life and strength in. But, if you see righteousness in it, and that it holds forth the strength of universal love to all, without respect to persons, so that our Creator is honoured in the work of his hand, then own it, and justify it, and let the power of love have his freedom and glory.

JERRARD WINSTANLY.

The reformation, that England now is to endeavour, is not to remove the Norman yoke only, and to bring us back to be governed by those laws, that were before William the Conqueror came in, as if that were the rule or mark we aim at: No, that is not it; but the reformation is

according to the word of God, and that is the pure law of righteousness before the fall, which made all things, and unto which all things are to be restored; and he, that endeavours not that, is a covenant-breaker.

This letter, with the questions, was delivered by the author's own hand to the general and the chief officers; and they very mildly promised, they would read it, and consider of it.

NATURAL AND REVEALED RELIGION

EXPLAINING EACH OTHER.

IN TWO ESSAYS.

The first shewing what religion is essential to man. The second, the state of souls after death, as discovered by revelation.

M. S. Never before published.

ESSAY THE FIRST.

On the Religion essential to Man.

IN religion all true principles must depend upon one only principle; this only principle is that of a self-sufficient being.

Every relation between two intelligent beings is necessarily founded in the nature of both. Now religion is essentially no more than a relation between God and man. It can therefore be founded only in the nature of these two beings.

Then every point of doctrine, every opinion, which is evidently opposite as well to the nature of God, as to that of man, ought to be deemed false, or at least, foreign to man's essential religion.

From hence it is plain, that the religion, essential to man, must be simple, evident, free from all contradiction; that it must exclude every thing false and imaginary; that it cannot require any man to strain his belief to what savours of an impossibility, much less to what savours of contradiction.

If God is self-sufficient, he is perfectly disinterested; for what is infinite can lose nothing, as it can gain nothing. Therefore he did not make man out of nothing to increase his own happiness; consequently his creating him capable of happiness could be for no other end, but to render him happy. If this be his end, which cannot be doubted, this end subsists invariably. God is therefore concerned for the happiness of those beings whom he has created.

The conclusion from hence is plain, that, since God does nothing for his own advantage, he has nothing in view but the advantage of his creatures; that, whatever is called religion, is reduced to this. (If it be objected to this, that the scripture says, God made all things for his own glory: I answer, that it is not from the expressions of scripture we form the idea of God, but on the contrary, by the idea of God we rectify whatever these expressions seem to ascribe to him, that is either imperfect or contradictory;) therefore every other idea of religion is so far

from honouring God, that it really dishonours him, by supposing him to be like unto men, who, in consequence of their insufficiency, cannot be perfectly disinterested.

The first idea a man has, is, that he exists. He finds he could not be the author of his own existence, so that the source of existence resides elsewhere. Where must it reside? It must be in some being that has not received its existence from any other; man, therefore, is obliged to own, that there is a first, a self-existent being. This first discovery (which you see is only an unavoidable consequence of experience) is sufficient to lead him to others, I mean to more particular ideas concerning the attributes of that First Being; as whatever we are capable of feeling, tasting, or knowing, must necessarily proceed from that First Cause. This idea leads us to discover in the First Being, not only power but also wisdom and goodness, and this discovery also arises from experience.

Nothing is more familiar to experience than the sentiment of joy. This sentiment, which is only momentary in man, gives him some idea of a more real felicity, whereof that which he feels is only a specimen or sample. From this experience he concludes that the author of his being, having made him capable of so delicious a sentiment, must be the source of all felicity.

Another thing, which he feels, leads him still farther, I mean the invincible inclination he has to happiness; and, as this desire is inseparable to his being, it must likewise be ascribed to the Author of his Being; from whence he justly concludes, that happiness is the end of his being. This conclusion leads him to another; he finds it is not completely attained in this world, consequently there must be one hereafter, which will accomplish that end. All these sentiments naturally arise from a man's considering himself only. Let us now introduce him into society. He observes that the earth produces all the necessary things for man's subsistence, but this being not equally divided, begets the language of mine, and thine; this language occasions another, namely, that of just and unjust, true and false.

When we hear men say to one another, This is false, that is unjust, he enquires into the meaning of these terms. He finds that the word false, consists in the denying what we know to be true, or affirming what we know not to be so.

That what is called unjust, consists in taking from another what is allowed to be his, or in not keeping one's promise.

But notwithstanding he has clear ideas of what is truth or falshood, justice or injustice, yet, upon examining things more, he sometimes observes, that falshood lends such assistance to injustice, that judges are sometimes at a loss to discern who is in the right, and who in the wrong, so that sometimes the innocent suffer, and the guilty escape. He then concludes, that if a being, equitable in the highest degree, suffers for a time, that justice should not be rightly administered, it is, because he reserves to himself the care of distributing it hereafter in the most exact proportion, when the unjust, and the murtherer, will receive the retribution due to their violence, and the poor and innocent persons, who sunk under the weight of injustice, will receive a proportionable recompence.

Hence we may see that real religion is not so much above the reach of man, as some would persuade us; for it does not consist so much in a knowledge acquired by the instruction we receive from others, as in that we receive or attain from our selves by sentiment and experience.

But some perhaps will say, that such a religion as this founded on our natural faculties is not sufficient for salvation; this is only the religion of nature, which is infinitely inferior to revealed religion, which is not founded on sentiment and experience, but on faith, since the Christian is obliged to believe what he does not see.

Don't let attachment to words mislead us. Natural religion, say these men, is greatly inferior to revealed. This is a lame proposition. Here is one equivalent to it. Nature in children is greatly inferior to education.

The use of education is most certainly not to destroy nature, but to bring it to perfection. Revealed religion ought to be with respect to men, what education is with respect to children, it can only build upon the foundation of nature.

This being supposed, 'tis plain, revealed religion bears a relation to our natural faculties, and ought neither to destroy them, or be substituted in their room. This idea of substitution, which we adopt without being aware of it, would appear ridiculous in any other case, as may be proved by an example taken from education. A school-boy has a good natural genius for arithmetick, and desires to learn the rules of it. A master gives him a book of sums, all done to his hand: the scholar then has no more to do but to believe, without examining, the exactness of every one of the rules, being pretty sure the master is not mistaken. I say this book would in that case be substituted in the room of the natural capacity, which the boy has for cyphering. He will not exert it, as finding the work ready done to his hand, but what is the boy the better for this? All that he will know is this, That he must believe, without knowing why, that such and such figures so put together make such a sum.

Thus you tell me I must believe without examining, because God hath said it; but this examination, which you exclude, necessarily supposes another, or perhaps several, before I can be convinced of this. For, from my knowing there is a God, it does not follow that 'tis he that speaks in such a book. That book, say you, carries with it the marks of truth, for which it ought to be received. Very well. You no longer then insist that I should believe without examining, since you yourself invite me to judge of this book by the marks it carries with it. But how shall I judge of them? By what rule shall I be inabled to discern what you call the marks of truth? In order to do this, I must consult the principles of truth, and from them form my notion of these marks.

People are undoubtedly guided by a false notion, when they consider revealed religion, and the religion of nature, as opposite to one another. To decide the matter, a person need only ask himself, Whether the means can be opposite to the end? And whether we can warrantably extol the means above the end, to which they are subservient?

Well now, allowing that our rational man has examined, and is intirely satisfied by the marks, that such a book contains the revealed

will of God; for he cannot think it strange that the deity should interest himself for men, who are the work of his own hands, and that for the same reason he should employ different means to form and perfect them, like a father who takes pains to form and perfect his children; that, God having placed us amongst such a number of different objects, he should condescend to warn and instruct us as to the use we are to make of them, and that, considering the shortness of life, he should also warn us of what is to be our future portion, according to the use we shall make of our time here.

By examining this revelation, he finds it exactly agree with the religion of his understanding. He finds the author of it, Jesus Christ himself, declaring that both the law and the gospel center in the accomplishment of this immutable law: *Do to others as you would that they should do to you.* And this he has made good by most of his precepts.

But it will be said, If the whole doctrine of Christ centered there, What did he teach men that they did not know before? I answer, That Jesus Christ has (properly speaking) required nothing of men, but what they themselves could perceive to be just. He appealed on all occasions to their discernment. He never grounds his precepts upon his own authority, but upon their agreement with common sense, upon the force of truth, which they are capable of feeling, when they do not wilfully oppose it. *If I do not speak truth*, said he, *do not believe me.* He invites men to examine, and made the most simple amongst them judges of his actions.

Now such is the nature of the understanding, that it can believe nothing but what it discovers to be true. If God should require men to believe what they can't discern to be true, he would in that case disown the intelligent faculty which he has given them; truth would no longer have any force to convince and persuade; they must become like those idols of whom 'tis said, that *they have eyes, but see not*, &c. If men could believe what they please, to what purpose should we appeal to common sense, and ask those questions in every body's mouth, *Is it not true? Is it not just?* Accordingly we find Jesus Christ speaking to men, always supposing them to have understanding and liberty. He appeals to the understanding of the Jews against their laws and customs, which they reckoned to be most sacred, such as observing the sabbath, &c. For common sense would have told them, that the sabbath must have been made for man, and not man for the sabbath. If so, the doing or receiving good, on that day, would not have been looked upon as they pretended or imagined a breach of it. He does not stop at the letter of the law we see, but enter into the spirit of it; he appeals to themselves, whether any of them would not, or ought not to take care of his ox or his ass on that day.

But then 'tis urged, That if the nature of the understanding be such, that it can believe nothing but what it discovers to be true, What must we do with the mysteries of revealed religion? The word mystery denotes something hid, the knowledge of which God has reserved to himself; let us therefore confine ourselves to evident and undoubted truth! and if so, what would be the consequence of such a conduct? Would it hinder us from knowing and practising the duties of natural and revealed religion?

No, but we should be ignorant of a great many things. We should indeed be ignorant of that art which passes under the name of controversy; we should have no idea of those distinctions of words, and of those subdivisions *in infinitum*, which have inriched dictionaries. We should be ignorant of those names of sects, Arianism, Pelagianism, Socinianism, &c. We should not have known to what a pitch animosity, rancour, bigotry, and ambition can be carried under the name of zeal. If we had been ignorant of these things, would not the world have been a gainer in other respects? Wars about religion, which of all wars are the bloodiest, had never been known. Christians would have made (without these controversies) the study of religion to consist in being good men. The gospel would only lead them to that; in every page of it, they will find instructions tending to make them sincere, equitable, and beneficent. Every man then who should be wanting in such virtues, or have their opposite vices, would be deemed (as indeed they are) void of religion. For what is called devotion, would not supply the place of religion where the fundamentals of it are wanting. Men would not damn one another then; that privilege would be unknown to them; and they would be as little acquainted with that of tyrannising over the consciences of others.

But, if you set aside mysteries, religion would be reduced to something so very simple, that the most illiterate men may understand it. What advantage would the learned have over them? And would it be reasonable that they, who consume themselves in laborious researches about mysteries, should have made no farther progress than the greatest part amongst the illiterate! In answer, I say that I know the gospel was preached to the illiterate, and I know that the religion proper for all mankind ought to be within the reach of the illiterate. From whence I may justly conclude, that Christ did not require of any one to penetrate into things which are obscure; nay I go farther in my belief, that what is a mystery to the illiterate, will be equally so to those learned men who have exhausted themselves perhaps in useless researches. Is this a conjecture only? Not in the least. These learned men have multiplied contradictions, in proportion as they attempted to explain those mysteries. Therefore let those who are lovers of truth embrace in its full force this maxim: *Things which are hid are to God, but things revealed are to us, and to our children, to do them.*

Whenever we put this question to ourselves, What is the end, or design of religion? The most natural answer that occurs is, That religion is intended to make us good men, that is, upright, equitable, beneficent, sincere, or true in our discourse, as well as in our conduct. This answer all Christians unanimously approve of. If this be the end, as we are all agreed in it is, must we, before we are capable of attaining it, know thoroughly all the different senses which are put upon the different passages in scripture? And also which is the true genuine sense? But perhaps my whole life would not be sufficient for such a study. At what time then must I begin to be a good man? From hence I may safely conclude, that the essential part of religion is uprightness and sincerity, and the accessory part is a knowledge of particular things offered to us in scripture

When a thing contains two parts, the one essential, the other accessory, in order to know which part is essential, if you cut off one part, and, by so doing, you do not destroy the essence of the thing, then it is plain, the part cut off is only accessory.

Now I ask: If you remove from the idea of religion that fund of uprightness abovementioned, and place in its room all the acquired knowledge, which the written revelation offers, What would happen? Would a man, in this case, have any religion? On the other hand, If you remove from religion that acquired knowledge, and substitute in its room a fund of uprightness, as before described, I ask, Whether such a man would be void of religion?

It may, however, and ought to be observed, That what is only accessory, with respect to one man, may be essential in respect to another; for, if sincerity requires me to assent to every truth, that is either sensible, or evident, all the truths, which appear to me as such, become essential with respect to me.

Let us now proceed to shew how this essential religion is to be practised. The comparison, we are apt to make upon all occasions, between the Supreme Being and those men we call sovereigns, is apt to lead us into numberless mistakes. Christians, by it, are accustomed from their infancy to consider religion as something by which God is honoured. So early do they fancy to themselves, that, when they pray to him, or praise him, he is much obliged to them for it; and that, by giving alms, and doing what we call good works, they honestly purchase heaven.

If afterwards they do not think so grosly, this opinion subsists in the main, though, perhaps, so secretly, that they themselves are not aware of it. We find our common discourse receive some tincture from this opinion; we talk of glorifying God, and paying him the homage that is due, as a thing advantageous to him; we insinuate, that he must be highly offended (not to say affronted) by those who refuse to pay him this homage.

The usual distinction between what we owe to God, and what we owe to ourselves, gives many people room to make separate articles of them. They give him his portion, if we may use the word; they set a-part a certain time for worshipping him; in short, they render unto God what they think is his due; so that it would be hard to convince many people, that this part of religion, which seems only to relate to God, does, like all the rest, tend solely to the advantage of man. For, if, according to the foundation principle here laid down, God is a self sufficient Being, our worshipping him can benefit none but ourselves.

Yet, what strange metamorphoses some people imagine are produced by devotion! During these unhappy minutes, an unjust man puts on sentiments of equity, a severe man sentiments of humanity, a proud man sentiments of humility. Now let us examine, whether there is any thing in all this, whether we do not impose upon ourselves *Sentiments put on!* Does not this phrase seem to imply a contradiction? Is it in a man's power to assume what sentiments he pleases? No, but he may strongly imagine them; and these imagined, not to say imaginary senti-

ments, is called putting on, because the appearances of them are put on, and afterwards we are apt to take it for reality.

What proves them to be merely borrowed is, That we are presently stripped of them. This is experienced in seasons of high devotion; which as soon as over, the very next day we find, that we are no longer the same men which we believed ourselves to be, the day before; and yet it is in these efforts of devotion, that many people make their Christianity to consist. They complain, and blame themselves for their lukewarmness, and that want of fervency, which they ought to have, but not their neglect of practising the duties flowing from beneficence: Lament, above all, the badness of their memories, in not retaining the good things which they read and hear, but neglect to blame themselves for not performing the duties they do remember. These borrowed sentiments, on which they set so great a value, is what makes them neglect the study of themselves. They torment themselves about what is not in their power, and oftentimes neglect what deserves their greatest attention.

No imaginary effort can deserve the name of virtue, for virtue must have truth for its foundation. I ask, Can a man, that is six feet high, persuade himself that he is but four?

It is plain, our passions cannot be commanded; we cannot love, hate, or fear, purely by being bid to do it. But then, say you, If the passions are not under command, if love, for instance, is not to be commanded, because the heart is framed in such a manner, as not to love any thing, but what appears amiable to it, What shall we do with several precepts of the gospel, injoining us to love our neighbour as ourselves, &c.? Must we suppose, that the gospel commands us to do a thing impossible? Or must we blindly suppose, that it is possible for us to love, upon command? Surely, neither one, nor the other. The first supposition would be injurious to the author of the gospel, the second opposite to the laws of nature. What medium must be then taken? It is plain, nature and the gospel have but one and the same original: When, therefore, I read, *Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. By this shall all men know, that ye are my disciples, if ye love one another.* Let us examine into the other parts of the gospel, and the difficulty will soon cease: we there shall find other commands of the same import, where the difficulty above-mentioned will quickly vanish. Here is a proposition will do it: *All things, which ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them in like manner: for this is the law and the prophets.* Are we not, by this, commanded to be equitable, or to endeavour to be so? Without dispute, we are. Here, then, the voice of the gospel and that of nature are but one and the same voice; consequently, we cannot refuse our assent to it; there is no room here for the presence of impossibility. So that, you see, in this sense, it is not impossible to obey our Saviour's precept of loving our enemies; and he himself shews you how to do it, by doing good to them that hate you. Now, it is plain, we can easily conceive a difference between loving one, and doing good to him: If the former is not your power, the latter surely is; for, to love any one, we must think him possessed

of some amiable qualities, whereas, to do good to him, it is sufficient if we see him in want of it.

To conclude as I began: I say, That, in true religion, all that are called the Duties of Men, whether relating to God, to our neighbours, or ourselves, when strictly considered, melt as it were into one another, and all tend to procure him good, and that happiness for which he was made. For, seeing God is a self-sufficient Being, he does nothing for his own advantage; he can have no other view, than the advantage of his creatures: Therefore whatever is called religion is reduced to this; any other idea of religion is so far from honouring God, that it really dishonours him; for, otherwise, you suppose him to be like unto men, who, in consequence of their known insufficiency, cannot be perfectly disinterested.

From hence it is evident, even to a demonstration, That the principle of a self-sufficient Being is so far from ruining religion, that it is the real basis of it; it is so far from destroying morality, that it comprehends the strongest motives to it. For the self-sufficient Being, having no need of his creatures, has, in what we call religion, no other interest in view, but theirs; no other aim, but that of making them happy; which was the sole design of his creating them, all his laws having the same tendency.

Agreeable to the foregoing abstract or plan of the Christian religion, let us now consider the state of souls after death as discovered to us by revelation.

Mankind are agreed that the ideas of goodness and justice are inseparably connected with the idea of God; but our custom of setting these attributes, in opposition to each other, is a proof that we are strangers to their nature.

We usually say, that justice gives way to goodness, or goodness gives place to justice; and hence imagine, that they are so far from being one and the same, that there is even a considerable distance between them. If we survey them in another light, and trace them up to their origin, we shall find that goodness is, as it were, the center of justice, the latter losing itself in the former.

Let us then represent to ourselves the infinite Being in the eternity, prior to the existence of time, before any creatures came out of his hands. Let us represent to ourselves this Being self-sufficient, designing to form intelligent Beings. Let us suppose ourselves acquainted with this purpose, before it was put in execution: What can we presume concerning the state of these new Beings, that are to come from the hands of a perfectly happy Being, but they will be rendered as happy as their finite capacities will admit of?

For the perfectly happy being, wanting nothing for himself, cannot create beings with a view of making addition to his own felicity; it must then be to make them happy as he himself is, in proportion to finite and infinite. Hence it follows that the idea of infinite goodness is inseparable from that of an infinitely happy being; the pure and perfect good cannot do, or confer, any thing but what is good, and, did it communicate any thing else, it would be inconsistent with itself.

This idea of goodness in the Deity is a positive one, which justice is not. Equity therefore constituting without dispute the essence of justice, I would ask whether infinite goodness and perfect equity do not harmoniously agree? And whether they can be set in opposition?

Hence it follows that the effects of sovereign goodness are never suspended, but that we even share of them when under punishment; some resemblance we see of it in the chastisements that parental affection inflicts. Thus the Deity, by the small portion of benevolence we feel in ourselves, invites us to judge how far his own immense goodness may reach.

Now let us suppose that a man who has this idea of infinite goodness, but has never heard talk of a miserable eternity. How do we imagine such a man would relish the first proposal of it? What horror would not such an image give him? He would conclude that those, who admit of such a state, have a God different from his; that they were never acquainted with the immense goodness of the supremely happy being. He would even conjecture, that those, who espouse this opinion, feel not within themselves, those characters of beneficence which are inseparable from human nature.

In reality, this strange opinion degrades the divine goodness, and places it below human goodness. For it supposes that God could not foresee what would befall the work of his own hands; that he ventured to give being to an infinite number of creatures, without any certainty of being able to make them happy.

It will be granted, that this plan is worthy of God, and its end above all fully satisfactory. But still it may be objected, That, in order to arrive at this happy end, there is a terrible interval; the unavoidable miseries of the present life are light, and will soon have an end; but the additional prospect of future sufferings, the end of which we know not, is terrible. Would it not be more worthy of immense goodness to exempt men from all manner of punishment after this life, since they were formed and infallibly destined for bliss? Why does not that now happen, which one day will certainly be brought about?

This question amounts to the same as that concerning the fall of the first man: Why did not God prevent his making that use of his liberty? Or rather, why did he create him a free agent? For a confined liberty is no liberty. Such difficulties as these take their rise from our ignorance, and our short-sighted views of things. A being without liberty would no longer be a man, and then we might ask, Why God thought fit to make men? Now let us return to something certain.

It is certain, that infinite goodness cannot make a present of any thing to man, but what is for his good. Since therefore man is endowed with liberty, and that this might prove prejudicial to him, it necessarily follows, that it is in itself so essential to man's nature, that Divine wisdom could not divest him of it, without divesting him of the quality of man.

We likewise clearly see, that the good, accruing to him from it, must infinitely surpass the damage he may possibly sustain from it; without which we may presume that divine wisdom and goodness would never have made him a present of so pernicious a nature.

Let us now examine whether the scripture contradicts this notion. Indeed, there are repeated expressions of *Eternal fire*, and *the worm that dieth not*, &c. But are not the terms, eternal, eternity, and never, very equivocal, both in Greek and Hebrew, most commonly signifying a long period of time, and sometimes an indefinite time? It is said the slave shall continue in his master's house for ever: and Jeremy speaks of the temple and sacrifices, as of things that never were to be abolished. God swore to David, that a successor upon his throne should never fail.

Now let us agree upon an incontestable principle for understanding the scriptures. It contains truths which we may call eternal and unchangeable, which are the foundation of all the rest, independent of expressions, figures, parables, &c. Of this sort are the spirituality, eternity, omnipotence of God, and whatever else we can know of his perfections. Next to these, which serve as a foundation to all the rest, we find in scripture God's design of saving men through his Son. These truths, which are the basis of all religion, and as there are in scripture a prodigious number of figurative, allegorical, equivocal, and even contradictory expressions, must we not then judge of their true sense, not by what the words seem to import, but by those unshaken truths that never can vary?

Thus we see the spirituality of God takes away the literal sense of his eyes, hands, nostrils, &c. In like manner his sanctity will not allow us to ascribe to him the passions of wrath, jealousy, fury, and partiality Thus this unerring rule is applicable to a thousand places in scripture, and would clear up abundance of difficulties, if rightly applied.

Let us try it upon the present subject. What supports the eternity of hell torments? Why only three or four expressions of eternity, *the worm that never dieth*, &c. which may be taken in different senses. But what supports the contrary opinion? Why, those very unchangeable truths which are the basis of all religion.

God is wise, just, and good. Justice is not opposite to goodness, nor goodness to justice. I go a step farther, and say they are so inseparable, that we cannot suppose a man to be just, unless he is good, or good unless he is just. In God goodness and justice are boundless. If God's justice is not attended either with hatred, fury, or revenge, but is inseparable from infinite goodness, can we conceive it will condemn millions of creatures, formed after God's own image, to dreadful and never ending misery, and even doom them to the hatred of God, to rage, to despair and blasphemy to all eternity? May we not rather on the contrary say, that the chief business of this sovereign justice, is to make just whatever is unjust, and render the crooked straight? What is more unjust and contrary to the views of the Creator, than that myriads of his creatures should for ever hate him? Once more I ask, Can sovereign justice will injustice, or permit it to subsist to all eternity?

Let us now proceed to consider the design of Jesus Christ's coming into the world. The New Testament tells us, in almost every page, that it was *to save all men*. And is it not surprising that the expression, *Amen*, so often repeated, should make no impression on the minds of men, while those of eternity and for ever have been received without

restriction. The Particularists tell us by *All men* is meant the *elect* only. The Universalists say 'tis an offer of grace to all men. But those Universalists, that are against the eternity of hell torments, think that God's declaring his desire, *that all men should be saved*, will accomplish it in its utmost extent. It expresses, say they, a positive will, which sooner or later will have its effect, and not a bare wish that all men may be saved.

No sooner did Adam fall, but the promise of salvation was made to him and his posterity. St. Paul is very express on this subject: *As in Adam all die, so in Christ shall all be made alive.* This proof I think is exceeding strong, by the comparison made between Adam and Christ. Therefore, as it is past dispute, that in *Adam all die*, so it is unexceptionably true, that in *Christ all shall be made alive.* But what the Apostle subjoins is a proof, that this will happen at very different periods: *But every man*, says he, *in his own order; Christ the first-fruits, afterwards they which are Christ's at his coming.* 'Tis plain, by this coming, he means the last judgment, and, by those that are Christ's, the souls of the just. Nevertheless, he afterwards speaks of another future period, which he calls the *End*: *And then the end shall come, when he shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even to the father.* But what is this end? *That all things should be subjected to him.* But is it a forced or voluntary subjection? If the former, he would never speak of it as a thing to come, because, from the foundation of the world, all things are subject to him. If the latter, there is no more hell. What follows seems to prove this clearly: *The last enemy that shall be destroyed is Death.* Is the separation of the soul from the body the death here meant? No, for after the coming of Christ there is no room for that death.

Another proof, that the death here mentioned is not temporal death, is, that St. Paul ranks it with the enemies of God, over whom Jesus Christ should reign till they were all destroyed. Temporal death is no enemy, but an agent in God's hands to execute his orders; but 'tis spiritual death which is called *Enmity against God*, a rebellion of the creature against the Creator; 'tis this death to which the title of enemy perfectly agrees.

Now, when Christ hath delivered up his kingdom to his father, then God is said to be *All and in all.* Now these words could have no sense, if hell torments were eternal. God can never be *All and in all*, but by restoring the order of things. Indeed, these words are an irrefragable argument for the abolition of sin and hell, and the restoration of all the creatures; which is farther confirmed by St. Paul's exclamation, *O Death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?* Now if Death and the grave have no other sting but sin, and this sting must be destroyed, does it not follow that hell must be destroyed also? Since 'tis certain that, if sin were killed in men, there would be no hell.

This chapter alone affords sufficient arguments for the support of this doctrine, but we will not intirely stop here. In the second of Hebrews 'tis said, that *Jesus Christ tasted death for all men.* And elsewhere, *That he is made the propitiation for the sins of the whole world*, and *that every knee shall bow at the name of Jesus, of things in heaven, &c.* I shall only

dwell a little on the last verses of the fifth of the Romans, thatare very clear in this case, where the Apostle compares Jesus Christ to Adam, and also the fruits we reap from each: *As by one man sin entered into the world, and Death by sin, so that Death is passed upon all men: In like manner, by the righteousness of one, the gift is come upon all men to justification of life.* For, adds he, *As by the disobedience of one many*, &c. This word, *many*, here undoubtedly comprehends all mankind. All were made sinners by Adam, therefore all ought to be made righteous by Christ. And here we may very justly apply that excellent but abused text, *Where sin did abound, grace did much more abound.* That is, the grace of Christ Jesus is so abundant that it shall at last destroy the sins of all mankind, so that, as sin has reigned unto death, in like manner grace should reign by righteousness unto eternal life. As if he had said, the reign of sin and death must come to an end, to make room for that of grace through all eternity.

Let us now, after having considered the end of Christ's coming, in support of this subject, examine the nature of justice. At the end of the second commandment, we find a positive declaration of the eternal laws of justice and mercy. In the first part God shews himself as a powerful and jealous God, punishing iniquity to the fourth generation; but, in the last, he is represented as exerting mercy to thousands of generations. Doth not this shew plainly, that justice in his punishments is restrained within certain bounds, whereas mercy knows no limits? To this it may be objected, If bounds be set to the divine justice, what becomes of its infinity? I answer, that divine justice, considered in itself, is without bounds; but its infinity does not consist in punishing without bounds, but in being infinitely equitable, entering into an infinite detail of what can render every creature, more, or less, culpable, and more, or less, pardonable, in weighing with a perfect equal ballance, not only actions, but particular intentions, motives, knowledge, circumstances, temptations; in a word, in entering into the infinite proportions of rewards and punishments, so that it incline not to one side more than another. Now, was it to punish infinitely, there must needs be a heavier weight in the scale of rigour, than in that of clemency, which cannot suit with the idea of justice.

The first verse of the cviith psalm is, as it were, an abridgement of the whole, saying, *O give thanks unto the Lord, for he is good, because his mercy endureth for ever.* What does this declaration tell us? That immense goodness is not confined to the short space of this life; since it endureth for ever, it must certainly be employed in the life to come, for the benefit of such subjects as shall be capable of receiving its influence. But who are those subjects? The same psalm is very express on that article. They are such as, having been rebels against God, have been humbled, mortified, and crushed by his justice, who have felt inexpressible anguish on the account of their transgressions. But then here follows one of the strongest expressions against the eternity of their torments: *He will not always chide, nor keep his anger for ever.*

But, granting my arguments for a restoration be true, I have made this objection to myself: To what purpose is it to set in too clear a light truths that may possibly encourage licenciousness and remissness?

Would it not be better to have mankind in an error, that may be a means to awaken their attention, and lead them to virtue? I own that the knowledge of this truth is not absolutely necessary. We may rest satisfied with the speaking of hell in the terms of scripture, and leave every one to explain them in the sense he likes best. However we don't find, that the opinion about the eternity of hell-torments produces any very remarkable effect, or proves a sufficient curb to prevent mankind's going on in wicked courses. The fear of a violent distemper, of twenty or thirty years continuance, would make a deeper impression on them. What can be the reason of this amazing indifference about an evil of so desperate a nature, which they profess to believe, and yet do nothing towards avoiding it? It is true they imagine they believe it, but see how they make themselves easy! Every one is persuaded that he himself is not of the number of the wicked, whose portion shall be in the lake of fire and brimstone; they cannot conceive, if they be not notoriously wicked, that God will condemn them to frightful and endless torments. They are sensible, indeed, that they are guilty of several faults; but, Where is the man, say they, without sin? Besides, for these they ask forgiveness daily; and what are the merits of Christ good for, if they do not deliver men from everlasting misery? Nay, even sinners of the first magnitude hope to escape hell, either by repenting, as they propose to do sooner or later, or through the infinite mercy of God; for it is as easy, say they, for God to pardon the greatest as the least sinners. By a single act of his will he can make a creature happy for ever, or let him perish eternally; surely then he will not chuse the last, because that would suppose cruelty in an infinitely merciful Being. Thus it is plain, that, the more terrible hell becomes, by supposing it eternal, every one more easily persuades himself that divine mercy will exempt him from it.

Hence it is evident, that the greater number of Christians, who profess the belief of the eternity of hell-torments, are so far from using it as a motive to holiness, that it is only made a handle to sloth and security. This may seem to be a paradox, but it is no hard matter to explain it.

For, the greater disproportion the punishment men are threatened with seems to have, either with their crimes, or the ideas they form to themselves of the mercy of God, the more confidently they persuade themselves that eternal fire will not be their lot. But if, instead of determining the duration of the torments which sinners must undergo, we should rest satisfied with telling them what we find in the second chapter to the Romans, *That there shall be tribulation and anguish upon every soul of man that doth evil?* and that in so just a proportion, *that every one shall bear the punishment of his iniquity, and shall eat the fruit of his works:* It would then be impossible for the conscience of the most profligate not to acquiesce in this judgment, nor could any one flatter himself with impunity under any pretext whatever. This unchangeable truth, *That God shall render to every man according to his works*, so often repeated in scripture, is written in indelible characters on the consciences of all men. They all know that the idea of proportion is inseparable from that of equity; no proportion can be found betwixt a

wicked life, of a few years, and eternal torments: Nor is there less disproportion found between such punishment and boundless mercy.

By this time we see, that the objection against making known this doctrine dwindles almost into nothing; nay, if we compare the effects arising from the two opinions, Which is most likely to be productive of good? Persons in the first case are only actuated by servile fear, which makes them easily satisfied, if they forsake scandalous sins, which put them in fear of hell; therefore, when once they come to lead a good life according to the world, they fancy themselves intirely skreened from eternal damnation, so that they need not give themselves any farther trouble; they are content with the lowest place in Paradise: and, provided they do but escape hell, they aspire at nothing more. But those that are actuated by the strong impression of this truth, *That God will render to every man according to his works*, are set to work after another manner: They know that God cannot be mocked; but that, whatever a man *sows*, that shall he *reap*. Does not St John say (which is the summary of all that I have said) *We know, when the son of God shall appear, we shall be like him, and shall see him as he is: therefore every one that hath this hope, purifieth himself, even as he is pure.* We cannot see God as he is, without being like him; it is impossible to be like him, without being purified not only from acts of injustice, but also from the whole source of wickedness which is as it were incorporated with us; therefore such as in this life have only touched on, or begun this great work, must certainly continue it in the next till they become like Jesus Christ, otherwise they cannot see him as he is. If it be objected that there is no condemnation for those who are in Christ Jesus: My first gives a solution to this difficulty, viz. That God, properly speaking, does not punish men, but leaves them to reap the fruits of what they have sown.

Upon this principle it must be observed, that the souls which after this life suffer torment, proportioned to the evil which is in them, do not pass into that state of suffering by a sentence positively pronounced by God. God has no torment to inflict upon his creatures; whence then can they proceed? I answer, which cannot be too often repeated, from ourselves.

I ask, What is *sowing to the flesh?* It is gratifying our vicious inclinations, and thereby riveting those habits which at last tyrannise over us. What is *reaping corruption?* It is experiencing the torment resulting from that tyranny, being deprived of the objects which we could not part with, without feeling cutting remorse, for having voluntarily attached ourselves to them. When therefore we suppose hell-torments will one day end, we do not depart from the ideas which both scripture and good sense give us of it; such as *an eternal fire, a worm that never dieth:* for it is but too probable, that the sufferers of those dreadful torments will reckon every hour an age, and every age an eternity.

To conclude then: Let us see, whether the doctrines of purification and restoration in another life will not reconcile the disputes, that have so long subsisted between those two grand parties of divines, called Particularists and Universalists. The former restrain God's will to a

small number, called the Elect, whereas the latter maintain, That God will save *all* men. The former reply,

"That the will of God is efficacious, and therefore he cannot fall short of his purpose; that, if he willed all men to be saved, he would save them effectually: that it is annihilating his omnipotence to say, he desires to save all men, but that he cannot."

The Universalists, on the other hand, maintain, "That it is injurious to the goodness of God to say, that he cannot save all men, and will only save a part; that is, is accusing him of cruelty, who desires that *none should perish, but that all may come to repentance;* that, if this will has not its effect, the fault is not on God's part, but on man's, who resists the gracious will of his Creator."

Hence it appears, that the divines of both denominations, after they have assented to the thesis in general, deny it, when they come to particulars. The former injure the idea we have of the goodness of God; the latter, those we entertain of his omnipotence. Let us now see, whether we cannot unfold the riddle. And, first, it is granted to the Particularists, That the will of God is efficacious; that he cannot be frustrated of his purpose; and that all those, whom he has predestinated to salvation, and for whom Christ died, will be infallibly saved. It is likewise granted the Universalists, That God wills all men should be saved; that he destines no one to misery; and that Christ *hath tasted death for every man.*

This seems contradictory; but we shall be able to clear up the matter, if we here join together the different theses of each party.

Particularists. The acts of the divine will are efficacious.
Universalists. God wills all men to be saved.
Therefore all men will one day be saved.

Part. All those, whom God has predestinated to salvation, will infallibly be saved.
Univ. God predestinateth none to wrath, but to salvation.
Therefore all will be infallibly saved.

Part. All those, for whom Christ died, will partake of salvation.
Univ. Jesus Christ tasted death for all, and was lifted up from earth to draw all men to him.
Therefore all will partake of salvation, and at last be drawn after him.

I foresee the argument will be denied, and retorted as follows, viz.

Salvation is promised only to those who are sanctified.
Infinitely more die, who are not sanctified, than who are.
Therefore all men will not be saved.

Now, to shew, that the first conclusion is just, and the second false, we need only join to these two propositions a third, drawn from the principles of the Universalists:

Salvation is promised only to those who are sanctified.

God wills, that all men come to repentance and the knowledge of the truth.

All of them do not attain to it in this life.

Therefore this must be done in the other.

In order to support this conclusion, let us make use of some principles of the same divines:

God offers all men the means of sanctification, but commits no violence on their liberty; all do not make the advantage of the proffer; all do not make use of those means to come to repentance and sanctification.

I ask now, Shall the purposes of God be frustrated by the resistance of man? Will he not find some method for bringing them to repentance and holiness without forcing their liberty? If they do not correspond with those means in this life, which is but of a minute's duration, when compared with eternity, will he confine his concern for the restoration of his work to that short span? Shall not he, who is so well acquainted with all its springs, be able to bring it back to himself at last?

By the knowledge of these truths, we manifestly perceive the unchangeable attributes of the Deity, his goodness, his omnipotence, wisdom, justice, holiness, faithfulness, and mercy.——— First, I say, his goodness, as God wills the happiness of all his creatures, and their return to the primitive perfection they had received at his hands. His omnipotence, as it hence appears, that the will of God is efficacious, that his arm is not shortened, but that he is able, sooner or later, to accomplish all his designs. His faithfulness, as it hereby appears, that his *Gifts and calling are without repentance;* that, having once destinated man to bliss, he doth not desist from his first design. His mercy, as he furnishes the most rebellious with the means of sanctification; as he extends the effects of his mercy, not to some only, but to all without exception, not only in this life, but also in the life to come. His justice, by leaving every one to reap the fruits of what he has sown: by making tribulation and anguish fall upon every soul that doth evil, and making them eat the fruit of their own doings and devices. His holiness, in his not being re-united to his creatures before he has sanctified them, till they become children of light. Divine justice will be the same to them, that fire is to hay and stubble; and this fire will not cease to burn till all unrighteousness is consumed; then only justice will cease to be rigorous, without ceasing to be just.

And when we take a view at large, and see how disproportioned the means of salvation are offered to mankind in general, or even to Christians in particular, some of whom are, in respect of others, like so many beasts of burthen, bowed down from their youth under the weight of toil and labour, which scarce allow them time to enquire, whether they have souls to cultivate, and prepare for a future life; and who, on observing such disproportions between those, who, by nature are of equal dignity, can discern impartiality in God? Surely, nothing can account for this conduct, but the knowledge of a state of purification, where those, who have been unprovided with the means of coming to the knowledge of the truth in this life, will find them in another. This also justifies the equity of God, in all the dreadful judgments inflicted

on whole nations, a great part whereof knew neither good nor evil. In reality, did we not know that in the other life there will be a perfect compensation, both in regard to the means of salvation, and blessings and miseries, should we not be tempted to cry out, *Is there knowledge in the Lord, and does he weigh all men in an equal balance?*

Now let us sum up all briefly, recounting the practical uses of these opinions. Is any thing more proper for overturning the false maxims so much in vogue, in which numbers securely lull themselves asleep, than the knowledge of an unchangeable justice, that constantly judges of things as they really are. And of a mercy, which is so far from being contrary to justice, that it concurs with it in the grand design of purifying mankind?

This being laid down, what will become of the hopes of those, who imagine that mercy will prevail against justice and stop its course, so that they shall feel none of its effects?

If God is incapable of anger, provocation, and revenge, as we have proved, he is incapable of being appeased, of being moved with repeated cries, or feeling compassion like ours, which proceeds only from the weakness of our nature. This being supposed, What will become of those flattering hopes, that we shall appease the Deity with tears; that, on begging grace and mercy, he will be easily prevailed on to relent?

If the greatest favour God can do men is to purify them, and if this is the only way by which they arrive at happiness, How can they desire mercy to exempt them from purification? Could they obtain their request, they would obtain eternal torment, since, without holiness, they will never see God.

Upon the whole, I know not whether any other system contains motives so efficacious for engaging mankind to walk in the ways of real holiness; any system, which can make religion more venerable, in the eyes even of libertines, or more lovely to the lovers of truth; that places, in a clearer light, the wonderful harmony of the divine attributes, and the reasons we have to love sovereign perfection.

A VIEW OF ST. HELENA,

AN ISLAND IN THE ETHIOPIAN OCEAN, IN AMERICA,

Now in possession of the honourable East-India Company,

Where their Ships usually refresh in their Indian Voyages.

With an Account of the admirable Voyage of Domingo Gonsales, the little Spaniard, to the World in the Moon, by the Help of several Gansa's, or large Geese. An ingenious Fancy, written by a late learned Bishop.

Duodecimo, containing forty-three pages.

BEFORE I come to relate the acquisitions of the English in India, &c. I will make a halt, at St. Hellens, or Helena, which is now possessed by the honourable East-India company. It is called the Sea-Inn, because the English, and other nations stop there, as a place for watering and refreshment, in their long voyages to India. It was formerly seized by the Dutch, but retaken May the 6th, 1673, by Captain Munday, with a squadron of English ships, and three rich Dutch East-India ships made prizes in the harbour; since which the company have fortified, and secured it, against any future invasion of Dutch, Portuguese, or Spaniards. It was called St. Helena, by the Portuguese, who discovered it on St. Hellen's Day, being April the second. There is no island in the world so far distant from the continent, or main land, as this. It is about sixteen leagues in compass, in the Ethiopick Sea, in sixteen degrees of south latitude; about fifteen hundred miles from the Cape of Good Hope; three-hundred and sixty from Angola, in Africa; and five-hundred and ten from Brasile, in America. It lies high out of the water, and surrounded on the sea-coasts with steep rocks, having within many cliffs, mountains, and vallies, of which one is named Church-Valley, where behind a small church they climb up to the mountains. To the south is Apple-Dale, so called from the abundance of oranges, lemons, and pomegranates, enough to furnish five or six ships. On the west side of the church, ships have good anchorage close under the shore, to prevent the winds which blow fiercely from the adjacent high mountains.

The air seems temperate, and healthful, so that sick men brought a shore there in a short time recover: yet the heat in the vallies is as intolerable as the cold upon the mountains. It commonly rains there five or six times a day, so that the barrenness of the hills is not occa-

sioned for want of water, of which it hath two or three good springs for furnishing ships with fresh water; the ground of its own accord brings forth wild pease, and beans, also whole woods of orange, lemon, and pomegranate trees, all the year long laden both with blossoms and fruit, good figs, abundance of ebony, and rose trees, parsly, mustard-seed, purslain, sorrel, and the like; the woods and mountains are full of goats, large rams, and wild swine, but difficult to be taken. When the Portuguese discovered it, they found neither four-footed beasts nor fruit trees, but only fresh water; they afterwards planted fruit-trees, which so increased since, that all the vallies stand full of them; partridges, pigeons, moor-hens, and peacocks breed here numerously, whereof a good marksman may soon provide a dinner for his friends. On the cliff islands, on the south, are thousands of grey and black mews, or sea-pies, and white and coloured birds, some with long, others with short necks, who lay their eggs on the rocks, and suffer themselves to be taken with the hand, gazing at the surprisers, till they are knocked on the head with sticks.

From the salt water beating against the cliffs a froth, or scum, remains in some places, which the heat of the sun so purifies, that it becomes white and good salt; some of the mountains yield bole armoniack, and a fat earth like *Terra Lemnia*. The sea will answer the pains of a patient fisherman, who must use an angle, not a net, because of the foul ground, and beating of the waves; the chief are mackarel, roach, carp, but differing in colour from those among us; eels as big as a man's arm, and well tasted crabs, lobsters, oysters, and mussels as good as English.

It is in this island that the scene of that notable fancy, called, The Man in the Moon, or a Discourse of a Voyage thither, by Domingo Gonsales is laid; written by a learned bishop, saith the ingenious Bishop Wilkins, who calls it a pleasant and well contrived fancy, in his own book intitled, 'A Discourse of the new World, tending to prove that it is possible there may be another habitable Word in the Moon:' Wherein, among other curious arguments, he affirms, that this hath been the direct opinion of divers ancient, and some modern mathematicians, and may probably be deduced from the tenents of others, neither does it contradict any principle of reason, nor faith; and that, as their world is our moon, so our world is theirs.

Now this small tract having so worthy a person to vouch for it, and many of our English historians having published, for truth, what is almost as improbable as this, as Sir John Mandevil in his travels and others, and this having what they are utterly destitute of, that is, invention mixed with judgment; and was judged worthy to be licensed fifty years ago, and not since reprinted, whereby it would be utterly lost: I have thought fit to republish the substance thereof, wherein the author says he does not design to discourse his readers into a belief of each particular circumstance, but expects that his new discovery of a new world may find little better entertainment than Columbus had in his first discovery of America, though yet that poor espial betrayed so much knowledge as hath since increased, to vast improvements, and the then unknown is now found to be of as large extent as all the other

known world; that there should be Antipodes was once thought as great a paradox as now that the moon should be habitable. But the knowledge of it may be reserved for this our discovering age, wherein our Virtuosi can by their telescopes gaze the sun into spots, and descry mountains in the moon. But this and much more must be left to the criticks, as well as the following relation of our little eye witness, and great discoverer, which you shall have in his own Spanish stile, and delivered with that grandeur, and thirst of glory, which is generally imputed to that nation.

It is known to all the countries of Andalusia, That I Domingo Gonsales was born of a noble family in the renowned city of Seville. My father's name being Therando Gonsales, near kinsman, on the mother's side, to Don Pedro Sanches, the worthy Count of Almenera; my mother was the daughter of the famous lawyer, Otho Perez de Sallaveda, governor of Barcelona, and corrigidor of Biscay; I, being the youngest of seventeen children, was put to school, and designed to the church; but heaven proposing to use my service, in matters of far another nature, inspired me with spending some time in the wars. It was at that time, that Don Ferando, the renowned Duke d'Alva, was sent into the Low-Countries, in 1568. I then following the current of my desire, leaving the university of Salamanca, whither my parents had sent me, without giving notice to any of my friends, got through France, to Antwerp, where I arrived in a mean condition. For having sold my books, bedding, and other things, which yielded me about thirty ducats, and borrowed twenty more of my father's friends, I bought a little nag, wherewith I travelled more thriftily, than usually young gentlemen do, till arriving within a league of Antwerp, some of the cursed Gueses set upon me, and bereaved me of my horse, money, and all; so I was forced thro' necessity to enter into the service of Marshal Cossey, a French nobleman, whom I served in an honourable employ, though my enemies, to my disgrace, affirm, I was his horse-keeper's boy; but for that matter, I refer myself to Count Mansfield, and other persons of condition, who have often testified to many worthy men the very truth of the business, which indeed was this: Monsieur Cossey being about this time sent to the Duke d'Alva, Governor of the Low Countries, he understanding the nobility of my birth, and my late misfortune, judging it would be no small honour to him, to have a Spaniard of that quality about him, furnished me with a horse, arms, and whatever I wanted, using my service, after I had learned French, in writing his letters, because my hand was very fair. In time of war, if upon necessity, I sometimes dressed my own horse, I ought not to be reproached therewith, since I count it the part of a gentleman, to submit to the vilest office for the service of his prince.

The first expedition I was in was, when the Marshal, my friend, met the Prince of Orange making a road into France, and forced him to fly, even to the walls of Cambray. It was my good fortune to defeat a trooper, by killing his horse with my pistol, who, falling upon his leg, could not stir, but yielded to my mercy. I knowing my own weakness of body, and seeing him a lusty tall fellow, thought it the surest way to dispatch him; which having done, I plundered him of a chain, money, and other

things, to the value of two-hundred ducats. This money was no sooner in my pockets, but I resumed the remembrance of my nobility, and taking my audience of leave from Monsieur Cossey, I instantly repaired to the Duke d'Alva's court, where divers of my kindred, seeing my pocket full of good crowns, were ready enough to acknowledge me. By their means I was received into pay, and in time obtained favour with the Duke, who would sometimes jest a little more severely at my personage, than I could well bear; for though I must acknowledge my stature is so little, as I think no man living is less, yet since it is the work of heaven, and not my own, he ought not to have upbraided a gentleman therewith; and those glorious things that have happened to me may evince, that wonderful matters may be performed by very unlikely bodies, if the mind be good, and fortune second our endeavours.

Though the Duke's jokes a little disgusted me, yet I endeavoured to conceal my resentment; and, accommodating myself to some other of his humours, I was so far interested in his favour, that at his going into Spain, whither I attended him, by his kindness, and other accidents, wherein, by my industry, I was seldom wanting to myself, I was able to carry home three-thousand crowns in my pocket.

At my return, my parents, who were extremely disturbed at my departure, received me with joy; which was increased, because they found I had brought wherewith to maintain myself, without being chargeable to them, or lessening the portions of my brothers and sisters. But doubting I would spend it as lightly as I got it, they sollicited me to marry the daughter of John Figueres, a considerable merchant of Lisbon, to which I complied, and putting my marriage-money, and good part of my own, into the hands of my father, I lived like a gentleman many years very happily. At length a quarrel arising between me, and Pedro Delgades, a gentleman, and kinsman of mine, it grew so high, that when no mediation of friends could prevail, we two went alone with our swords into the field, where it was my chance to kill him, though a stout proper man; but what I wanted in strength I supplied in courage, and my agility countervailed for his stature. This being acted in Carmona, I fled to Lisbon, thinking to conceal myself with some friends of my father-in-law, till the business might be accommodated. At which time, a famous Spanish count, coming from the West Indies, published triumphant declarations, of a great victory he had obtained against the English, near the Isle of Pines, whereas in reality he got nothing at all in that voyage but blows, and a considerable loss. It had been well, if vanity and lying had been his only crimes; his covetousness had like to have been my utter ruin, though since it hath proved the occasion of eternising my name, I verily believe, to all posterity, and to the unspeakable benefit of all mortals, for ever hereafter; at least, if it please heaven that I return home safe to my country, and give perfect instructions how these almost incredible and impossible acquirements may be imparted to the world, you shall then see men flying in the air, from one place to another; you shall then be able to send messages many hundred miles in an instant, and receive answers immediately, without the help of any creature upon earth; you shall then presently impart your mind to your friend, though in the

most remote and obscure place of a populous city, and a multitude of other notable experiments. But what exceeds all, you shall then have the discovery of a new world, and abundance of rare and incredible secrets of nature, which the philosophers of former ages never so much as dreamed of. But I must be cautious in publishing these wonderful mysteries, till our statesmen have considered how they may consist with the policy and good government of our country, and whether the fathers of the church may not judge the divulging them prejudicial to the catholick faith, which, by those wonders I have seen above any mortal man before me, I am instructed to advance, without respect to any temporal advantage whatsoever.

But to proceed: This huffing captain pretended much discontent for the death of Delgades, who was indeed some kin to him; however he was willing to be quiet, if I would give him a thousand ducats. I had now, besides a wife, two sons, whom I was not willing to beggar, only to satisfy the avaricious humour of this boaster, and so was necessitated to take some other course. I imbarqued in a stout carrick bound for the East-Indies, carrying the value of two-thousand ducats to trade with, leaving as much more for the support of my wife and children behind, whatever misfortune might happen to me. In the Indies I thrived exceedingly, laying out my stock in diamonds, emeralds, and pearls, which I bought at such easy rates, that my stock safely arriving in Spain, as I understood it did, must needs yield ten for one. But having doubled Cape Buona Esperanza in my way home, I fell dangerously sick, expecting nothing but death, which had undoubtedly happened, but that we just then discovered the blessed Isle of St. Hellens, the only paradise I believe on earth, for healthfulness of air, and fruitfulness of soil, producing all necessaries for the life of man. It is about sixteen leagues in compass, and has no firm land or continent within three-hundred leagues, nay, not so much as an island within an hundred leagues of it; so that it may seem a miracle of nature, that, out of so vast and tempestuous an ocean, such a small rock or piece of ground should arise and discover itself. On the south is a good harbour, and near it divers small houses built by the Portuguese to accommodate strangers, with a chapel handsomely beautified with a tower, and bell therein. Near it is a stream of excellent fresh water, divers handsome walks planted on both sides with orange, lemon, pomegranate, almond-trees, and the like, which bear fruit all the year, as do also divers others. There is store of garden-herbs, with wheat, pease, barley, and most kinds of pulse; but it chiefly aboundeth with cattle and fowl, as goats, swine, sheep, partridges, wild hens, pheasants, pigeons, and wild fowl beyond credit. But especially about February and March are to be seen large flocks of a kind of wild swans, whereof I shall have occasion to speak more hereafter, who, like our cuckoes and nightingales, go away at a certain season, and are no more seen that year.

On this happy island did they set me a-shore, with a negro to attend me, where I recovered my health, and continued a whole year, solacing myself, for want of human society, with birds and brute beasts. Diego, my blackmoor, was forced to live in a cave at the west end of

the isle, for, had we dwelt together, victuals would not have been so plenty with us; but now, if one succeeded well in hunting or fowling, the other would find means to treat him, and, if both missed, we were fain to look out sharply. But this seldom happened, since no creature there fears a man more than a goat or cow, whereby I easily tamed divers kinds of birds and beasts by only muzzling them, so that till they came either to me, or Diego, they could not feed. At first I much delighted in a kind of partridges, and a tame fox, whereof I made good use; for, if I had occasion to confer with Diego, I would take one of them muzzled and hungry, and, tying a note about his neck, beat him from me, whereupon he would straight away to Diego's cave, and, if he were not there, would beat about till he found him. Yet, this conveyance being not without some inconvenience, I persuaded Diego, who, though a fellow of good parts, was content to be ruled by me, to remove to a cape on the north-west part of the island, being, though a league off, yet within sight of my house and chapel; and so, when the weather was fair, we could, by signals, declare our minds each to other in an instant, either by night or by day, wherein we took much pleasure. If in the night I would signify any thing to him, I set up a light in the bell-tower, which was a pretty large room, with a fair window well glazed, and the walls within plaistered white, so that, though the light were but small, it made a great show. After this light had stood half an hour, I covered it, and then, if I saw any signal of light again from my companion, I knew he waited for my notice; and so, by hiding and shewing my light, according to the agreement betwixt us, I certified him of what I pleased. In the day, I advised him by smoke, dust, and other refined ways.

After a while I grew weary of it as too painful, and again used my winged messengers. Upon the shore, about the mouth of our river, I found store of a kind of wild swans feeding upon prey, both of fish and birds; and, which is more strange, having one claw like an eagle, and the other like a swan. These birds breeding here in infinite numbers, I took thirty or forty of them young, and bred them up by hand for recreation; yet, not without some thoughts of that experiment which I after put in practice. These being strong, and able to continue a great flight, I taught them, first, to come at call afar off, not using any noise, but only shewing them a white cloth; and here I found it true what Plutarch affirms, That creatures which eat flesh are more docible than others. It is wonderful to think what tricks I taught them before they were a quarter old; amongst others, I used them, by degrees, to fly with burdens, wherein I found them able beyond belief, and a white sheet being displayed to them, by Diego, upon the side of a hill, they would carry from me, to him, bread, flesh, or whatever I pleased, and, upon the like call, come to me again. Having proceeded thus far, I consulted how to join a number of them together, so as to carry a heavier weight, which, if I could compass, I might enable a man to be carried safely in the air from one place to another. I puzzled my wits extremely with this thought, and, upon trial, found, that, if many were put to the bearing of one great burden, by reason it was impossible all of them should rise together just at one instant, the first

that rose, finding himself stayed by a weight heavier than he could stir, would soon give over, and so the second, third, and all the rest. I contrived, at last, a way, whereby each might rise with only his own proportion of weight. I fastened about each gansa a little pulley of cork, and, putting a string of a just length through it, I fastened one end to a block of almost eight pounds weight, and tied a two-pound weight to the other end of the string, and then, causing the signal to be erected, they all rose together, being four in number, and carried away my block to the place appointed. This hitting so luckily, I added two or three birds more, and made trial of their carrying a lamb, whose happiness I much envied, that he should be the first living creature to partake of such an excellent device.

At length, after divers of trials, I was surprised with a great longing to cause myself to be carried in the same manner. Diego, my Moor, was likewise possessed with the same desire, and, had I not loved him well, and wanted his service, I should have resented his ambitious thought; for I count it greater honour to have been the first flying man, than to be another Neptune, who first adventured to sail on the sea. Yet, seeming not to understand his intention, I only told him, that all my gansa's were not strong enough to carry him, being a man, though of no great bulk, yet twice heavier than myself. Having prepared all necessaries, I, one time, placed myself, and all my utensils, on the top of a rock at the river's mouth, and, putting myself upon my engine at full sea, I caused Diego to advance the signal: whereupon my birds, twenty-five in number, rose all at once, and carried me lustily over to the rock on the other side, being about a quarter of a league. I chose this time and place, because, if any thing had fallen out contrary to expectation, the worst that could happen was only falling into the water, and being able to swim well, I hoped to receive little hurt in my fall. When I was once safe over, O how did my heart even swell with joy and admiration at my own invention! How often did I wish myself in the midst of Spain, that I might fill the world with the fame of my glory and renown? Every hour I had a longing desire for the coming of the Indian fleet, to take me home with them, which then staid three months beyond their usual time. At length they arrived, being three carricks, much weather-beaten, the men sick and weak, and so were constrained to refresh themselves in our island a whole month. The admiral was called Alphonso de Xima, a valiant wise man, desirous of glory, and worthy better fortune than afterwards befel him. To him I discovered my device of the gansa's, being satisfied that it was impossible, otherwise, to persuade him to take so many birds into his ship, who, for the niceness of their provision, would be more troublesome than so many men. Yet I adjured him, by oaths and imprecations, to be secret in the business, though I did not much doubt it, assuring myself he durst not impart the experiment to any, before our King was acquainted therewith. I had more apprehension, lest ambition, and the desire of gaining to himself the honour of so admirable an invention, should tempt him to dispatch me. However, I was forced to run the risque, unless I would adventure the loss of my

birds, the like whereof, for my purpose, were not to be had in Christendom, nor was I sure ever to bring up others to serve my turn.

It happened all these doubts were causeless; the man I believe was honest, but the misfortune we met with prevented all these thoughts. Thursday, June the 21st, 1599, we set sail for Spain, I having allowed me a convenient cabbin for my birds, and engine, which the captain would have persuaded me to have left behind, and it was a wonder I did not; but my good fortune saved my life, for, after two months sail, we met with an English fleet about ten leagues from the island of Teneriffe, one of the Canaries, famous for a hill therein called Pike, which is discerned at sea above an hundred leagues off. We had a-board five times their number of men, all in health, and were well provided with ammunition; yet, finding them resolved to fight, and knowing what infinite riches we carried, concluded it better, if possible, to escape, than, by encountering a crew of desperate fellows, to hazard not only our own lives, which a man of courage does not value, but the estates of many poor merchants, who, I am afraid, were undone by the miscarriage of this business. Our fleet consisted of five sail, that is, three carricks, a barque, and a caravel, who, coming from St. Thomas's Isle, had, in an ill hour, overtaken us some days before. The English had three ships well provided, who, no sooner espied, but presently ingaged us, and, changing their course, endeavoured to bring us under their lee; which they might easily do as the wind then stood, they being light nimble vessels, as English ships generally are: ours heavy, deep-laden, and foul with the sea. So our captain resolved, wisely enough it may be, but neither valiantly nor fortunately, to fly, commanding us to disperse ourselves. The caravel, by too much haste, fell upon one of the carricks, and bruised her so, that one of the English easily fetched her up and entered her, the caravel sinking before our eyes. The barque escaped unpursued, and another of our carricks, after some chace, was given over by the enemy, who, expecting a sufficient booty of us, and getting us between them, fell upon us with much fury. Our captain, hereupon, gave direction to run a-shore upon Teneriffe, the port whereof we could not recover, saying, That he hoped to save part of the goods, and some of our lives, and he had rather the rest should be lost, than all fall into the mercy of our foes.

When I heard this resolution, observing the sea to work high, and knowing all the coast to be so full of rocks and shoals, that it was impossible our ship should come near the land, unless broken into a thousand pieces, I represented to the captain the desperateness of the attempt, wishing him rather to try the kindness of the enemy, than throw away himself and so many brave men. But he would by no remonstrances be removed from his resolution; therefore, finding it high time to shift for myself, I locked up my little casket of jewels, which putting into my sleeve, I then betook me to my gansa's; and, having harnessed them to my engine, and put myself thereon, supposing, as indeed it happened, that, when the ship should split, my birds, though they wanted their signal, yet, for saving their own lives (which nature hath taught all creatures to preserve) would make toward land; which fell out according to my expectation. The people in the ship wondered

what I was doing, none being acquainted with the use of my birds, but the captain, Diego being in the other ship, which fled away unpursued. We were about half a league from land, when our carrick struck upon a rock, and split to pieces; upon which I let loose the reins to my birds, having first placed myself upon the top of the deck, and with the shock they all arose, carrying me fortunately to the land; of which you need not doubt but I was very joyful, though it was a miserable sight to behold my friends and acquaintance in that woeful distress; of whom yet many escaped better than they expected. For the English, launching out their cock-boats, discovered more generous tempers than we are pleased to allow them, taking compassion of their calamity, and endeavouring with all diligence to save them from the fury of the waves, though with much danger to themselves. Among others they took up our captain, who, as Father Pacio since told me, having put himself with twelve others into the cock-boat, was forced to yield to one Capt. Raymundo, who carried him and our pilot along with them in their voyage to the East-Indies, whither they were bound; but it was their hard fate, by a breach of the sea near Cape Buona Esperanca, to be swallowed by the merciless waves, whose rage they a while before had so hardly escaped. The rest, as I likewise heard, who were about tweniy-six persons, they took into their ship, and set them on land at Cape Verde.

As for myself, being now a-shore in an island inhabited by Spaniards, I reckoned I was safe, but found myself mistaken; for it was my hap to pitch upon that part of the isle where the Pike begins to rise, which is inhabited by a savage people who live upon the sides of that hill, the top whereof is for the most part covered with snow, and formerly accounted, for its steepness, inaccessible, either for man or beast. But these savages, fearing the Spaniards, keep as near the top as they can, never coming down into the fruitful vallies, but to seek for booty. A crew of these out-laws happened to espy me soon after I landed, and, thinking they had got a prize, approached me with all speed. I guessed their design before they came within half a mile, when, perceiving them come down the hill directly towards me, with long staves and other weapons, I thought it necessary to secure myself from these villains, who, out of hatred to us Spaniards, would have cut me to pieces. The country was sandy, but, the Pike beginning to lift up itself, I espied in the side a white cliff, which I hoped my gansa's would take for a mark, and, being put up, would make all that way; whereby I might be carried so far, that those barbarous rascals should not overtake me, before I got to some Spaniard's house, or hide myself, till by the covert of the night I might travel to Laguna, the chief city of the island, three miles off. So I settled myself upon my engine, and let loose the reins to my gansa's, who by good fortune took all one course, though not just the way I aimed at. But what of that? O reader, prick up thy ears, and prepare thyself to hear the strangest chance that ever happened to any mortal, and which I know thou wilt not have the grace to believe, till thou seest the like experiment, which I doubt not in a short time may be performed. My gansa's, like so many horses that had gotten the bit between their teeth, made not their

flight towards the cliff I intended, though I used my wonted means to direct the leader of the flock that way. but with might and main took up toward the top of the Pike, and never stopped till they came there; a place, in vulgar estimation (though since experimentally contradicted) fifteen miles in height. What kind of place this was I would gladly relate, but that I hasten to matters of greater importance. When I was set down there, my poor gansa's fell to panting, blowing, and gaping for breath, as if they would all have died; so I did not trouble them a while, forbearing to draw them in (which they never use to endure without struggling) but little did I expect what followed.

It was now the season that these birds take their flight away, as our cuckows and swallows do in Spain towards autumn: and, as I afterwards found, being mindful of their usual voyage, just when I began to settle myself to take them in, they with one consent rose up, and, having no other higher place to make towards, to my unspeakable fear and amazement, struck bolt upright, and never left towering upward still higher and higher, for the space, as I guessed, of an hour; after which, I thought, they laboured less than before, till at length (ah wonderful!) they remained immoveable, as steadily as if they had sat upon so many perches. The lines slacked; neither I nor the engine moved at all, but continued still, as having no manner of weight. I found then by experience what no philosopher ever dreamed of, namely, That those things, we call heavy, do not fall towards the center of the earth as their natural place, but are drawn by a secret property of the globe of the earth, or rather something within it, as the load-stone draweth iron which is within the compass of its attractive beams. For, though my gansa's could continue unmoved, without being sustained by any thing but the air, as easily and quietly as a fish in the water, yet, if they forced themselves never so little, it is impossible to imagine with what swiftness they were carried, either onward, downward, or sideways. I must ingenuously confess, my horror and amazement in this place was such, that, had I not been armed with a true Spanish resolution, I should certainly have died for fear.

The next thing that disturbed me was the swiftness of the motion, which was so extraordinary, that it almost stopped my breath; if I should liken it to an arrow out of a bow, or a stone thrown from the top of an high tower, it would come vastly short of it. Another thing was exceeding troublesome to me, that is, the illusion of devils and wicked spirits, who, the first day of my arrival, came about me in great numbers, in the likeness of men and women, wondering at me like so many birds about an owl, and speaking several languages which I understood not, till at last I met with some that spoke good Spanish, some Dutch, and others Italian; all which I understood; and here I had only a touch of the sun's absence once for a short time, having him ever after in my sight. Now, tho' my gansa's were entangled in my lines, yet they easily seized upon divers kinds of flies and birds, especially swallows and cuckows, whereof there were multitudes, even like motes in the sun, though I never saw them eat any thing at all. I was much obliged to those, (whether men or devils, I know not) who, among divers discourses, told me, 'If I would follow their directions, I

should not only be carried safe home, but be assured to command at all times all the pleasures of that place.' To which motion not daring to give a flat denial, I desired time to consider, and withal intreated them (though I felt no hunger at all, which may seem strange) to help me to some victuals, lest I should starve in my journey; so they readily brought me very good flesh and fish of several sorts, and well dressed, but that it was extreme fresh, without any relish of salt. Wine likewise I tasted of divers kinds, as good as any in Spain, and beer, no better in all Antwerp. They advised me, that, while I had opportunity, I should make my provisions, telling me, that till the next Thursday they could help me to no more; at which time they would find means to carry me back, and set me safe in Spain, in any place I would desire, provided I would become one of their fraternity, and enter into such covenants as they had made to their captain and master, whom they would not name. I answered civilly, I saw little reason to rejoice in such an offer, desiring them to be mindful of me as occasion served. So for that time I was rid of them, having first furnished my pockets with as much victuals as I could thrust in, among which I would be sure to find a place for a small bottle of good Canary.

I shall now declare the quality of the place wherein I was; the clouds I perceived to be all under between me and the earth. The stars, because it was always day, I saw at all times alike, not shining bright as we see in the night upon earth, but of a whitish colour, like the moon with us, in the day time. Those that were seen, which were not many, shewed far greater than with us, yea as I guessed no less than ten times bigger; as for the moon, being then within two days of the change, she appeared of an huge and dreadful greatness. It is not to be forgot, that no stars appeared, but on that part of the hemisphere next the moon, and the nearer to her, the larger they appeared again; whether I lay quiet, and rested, or were carried in the air, I perceived myself to be always between the moon and the earth, whereby it is plain that my gansa's took their way directly towards the moon, and that when we rested, as we did at first for many hours, either we were insensibly carried round about the globe of the earth, though I perceived no such motion, or else, according to the opinion of Copernicus, the earth is carried about, and turneth round perpetually from west to east, leaving to the planets only that motion, which the astronomers call natural, and is not upon the poles of the equinoctial, commonly called the poles of the world, but upon those of the zodiack. The air in that place I found without any wind, and exceeding temperate, neither hot nor cold, where neither the sun-beams had any subject to reflect upon, nor the earth and water so near to affect the air with their natural quality of coldness. As for the philosophers attributing heat and moisture to the air, I always esteemed it a fancy. Lastly, I remember, that, after my departure from the earth, I never felt either hunger, or thirst, whether the purity of the air, freed from the vapours of the earth and water, might yield nature sufficient nourishment, or what else might be the cause, I cannot determine, but so I found it, though I was perfectly in health, both of body, and mind, even above my usual vigour.

Some hours after the departure of that devilish company, my gansa's began to bestir themselves, still directing their course towards the globe, or body of the moon, making their way with such incredible swiftness, that I conceive they advanced little less than fifty leagues in an hour, in which passage I observed three things very remarkable; one, that the farther we went, the less the globe of the earth appeared to us, and that of the moon still larger. Again the earth, which I had ever in my eye, seemed to mask itself with a kind of brightness like another moon, and as we discern certain spots, or clouds as it were in the moon, so did I then see the like in the earth; but whereas the form of those spots in the moon is always the same, these on the earth seemed by degrees to change every hour; the reason whereof seems to be, that whereas the earth, according to her natural motion (for such a motion I am now satisfied she hath, according to the opinion of Copernicus,) turns round upon her own axis, every four and twenty hours, from west to east, I should at first see in the middle of the body of this new star, the earth, a spot like a pear with a morsel bit out on one side, in some hours I should observe this spot move away towards the east, this no doubt was the main land of Africa; then might I perceive a great shining brightness in that place which continued about the same time, and was questionless the vast Atlantick Ocean. After this succeeded a spot almost oval, just as we see America described in our maps; then another immense clearness representing *Mare del Zur*, or the South Sea; and lastly a number of spots like the countries and islands in the East-Indies, so that it seemed to me no other than an huge mathematical globe turned round leisurely before me, wherein successively all the countries of our earthly world were within twenty-four hours represented to my view; and this was all the means I now had to number the days, and reckon the time.

I could now wish that philosophers and mathematicians would confess their own blindness, who have hitherto made the world believe that the earth hath no motion, and to confirm it are forced to attribute to every one of the celestial bodies two motions directly contrary to each other; one from the east to the west, to be performed in twenty-four hours, with an impetuous rapid motion; the other from west to east in several proportions. O incredible supposition! That those huge bodies of the fixed stars in the highest orb, whereof they confess divers are above an hundred times bigger than the whole earth, should like so many nails in a cart-wheel be whirled about in so short a time; whereas it is many thousand years, no less (say they) than thirty-thousand, before that orb finishes his course from west to east, which they call his natural motion. Now whereas they allow their natural course, from west to east, to every one of them therein, they do well; the moon performs it in twenty-seven days, the Sun, Venus, and Mercury, in a year, or thereabouts; Mars in three years, Jupiter in twelve, and Saturn in thirty. But to attribute to these celestial bodies contrary motions, at once, is an absurd conceit, and much more to imagine that the same orb, wherein the fixed stars are, whose natural course takes up so many thousands of years, should be turned about every twenty-four hours. I will not go so far as Copernicus, who makes the

sun the center of the earth, and immoveable, neither will I be positive in any thing, only this I say, allow the earth its motion, which these eyes of mine can testify to be true, and all those absurdities are removed, every one having only his own single and proper motion.

But where am I? I promised an history, and am unawares turned disputer. One accident more befel me worth mention, that during my stay, I say, I saw a kind of a reddish cloud coming toward me, and continually approaching nearer, which at last I perceived was nothing but a huge swarm of locusts. He that reads the discourses of learned men concerning them (as John Leo, of Africa, and others, who relate that they are seen in the air several days before they fall on the earth) and adds thereto this experience of mine, will easily conclude that they can come from no other place, than the globe of the moon. But now give me leave to go on quietly in my journey for eleven or twelve days, during all which time I was carried directly toward the globe, or body of the moon,with such a violent whirling as is inexpressible, for I cannot imagine a bullet out of a cannon could make way through the vaporous and muddy air near the earth with half that celerity; which is the more strange, since my gansa's moved their wings but now and then, and sometimes for a quarter of an hour, not at all, only holding them stretched out, as we see kites and eagles sometimes do for a short space; during which pauses, I suppose they took their naps, and times of sleeping, for other times I could perceive they never had any; for myself, I was so fastened to my engine that I durst slumber enough to serve my turn, which I took with as great ease as if I had lain on the best down bed in Spain.

After eleven days passage, in this violent flight, I perceived we began to approach to another earth (if I may so call it) being the globe or very body of that star, which we call the moon. The first difference I found, between this and our earth, was, that it appeared in its natural colours, as soon as ever I was free from the attraction of the earth; whereas, with us, a thing, a league or two from us, puts on that deadly colour of blue. I then perceived also, that this world was the greatest part covered with a huge mighty sea, those parts only being dry land, which are to us somewhat darker than the rest of her body, I mean, what the country people call, The Man in the Moon; and that part, which shines so bright, is another ocean, besprinkled with islands, which, for their smallness, we cannot discern so far off; so that the splendor, which appears to us in the night, is nothing but the reflexion of the sun-beams, returned to us out of the water as from a looking-glass. How much this disagrees with what our philosophers teach in the schools is evident; but alas! how many of their errors hath time and experience refuted, in this our age? And among other vain conjectures, Who hath not hitherto believed the upper region of the air to be very hot, as being next, forsooth, to the natural place of the element of fire? Mere vanities, fancies, and dreams. For, after I was once free from the attractive beams of that tyrannous loadstone, the earth, I found the air altogether serene, without winds, rain, mists, or clouds, neither hot nor cold, but constantly pleasant, calm, and comfortable, till my arrival in that new world of the moon. As for that

region of fire, our philosophers talk of, I heard no news of it; my eyes have sufficiently informed me, there is no such thing.

The earth had now, by turning about, shewed me all her parts twelve times, when I finished my course; for when, by my reckoning, it seemed to be (as indeed it was) Tuesday, September the eleventh; at which time, the moon, being two days old, was in the twentieth degree of Libra; my gansa's seemed, by one consent, to stay their course, and rested for certain hours, after which they took their flight, and in less than an hour set me on the top of an high hill in that other world, where many wonderful things were presented to my sight. For I observed first, that though the globe of the earth appeared much greater there than the moon doth to us, even three times bigger, yet all things there were ten, twenty, yea thirty times larger than ours; their trees were thrice as high, and above five times broader and thicker; so were their herbs, birds, and beasts, though I cannot well compare them to ours, because I found not any kind of beast or bird there, which any way resembled ours, except swallows, nightingales, cuckows, woodcocks, batts, and some kind of wild fowl; and likewise, such birds as my gansa's, all which, as I now perceived, spend their time, in their absence from us, in that world; neither do they differ in any thing from ours, but are the very same kind.

No sooner was I upon the ground, but I found myself extremely hungry. Stepping, then, to the next tree, I fastened my engine and gansa's thereto, and in great haste fell to examining my pockets, for the victuals I had reserved there; but, to my great surprise and vexation, instead of partridges and capons, which I thought I had hoarded there, I found nothing but a medley of dry leaves, goats hair, sheep or goats dung, moss, and the like; my canary-wine was turned, and stunk like horse-piss. Oh the villainy and cheats of these cursed spirits, whose assistance if I had depended on, in what a condition had I been! While I stood musing at this strange metamorphosis, on a sudden, I heard my gansa's fluttering behind me, and looking back, I espied them falling greedily upon a shrub, within the reach of their lines, whose leaves they fed earnestly upon, whereas, before, I had never seen them eat any green thing whatsoever; so stepping to the shrub, I put a leaf to my mouth; the taste was so excellent, that I cannot express it, and, if I had not with discretion moderated my appetite, I should have surfeited thereon; yet it happened to be a good bait for both me, and my birds, when we had most need of refreshment.

Scarce had we ended our banquet, when I saw myself surrounded with a strange kind of people, both in feature, manners, and apparel. Their stature was very different, but they were generally twice as high as ours; their shape and countenance pleasant, and their habit hardly to be described; for I never saw either cloth, silk, nor other stuff, like that whereof their cloaths were made; neither can I possibly relate their colour, they being in a manner all cloathed alike. It was neither black, white, yellow, red, nor blue, nor any colour composed of these; if you ask what was it then, I must tell you, it was a colour never seen in our earthly world, and so neither to be described nor conceived by us; for, as it is hard to make a man, born blind, understand the difference between

green and blue, so neither can I decipher this moon colour, as having no affinity with any I ever beheld. I can only say, it was the most glorious and delightful that can be imagined, neither was any thing more pleasant to me, during my stay there.

Being surprised at the appearance of these people, so suddenly, and in such accoutrements, I crossed myself, and cried out, Jesu Maria; no sooner was the word Jesu pronounced, but young and old fell on their knees (whereat I not a little rejoiced) holding up their hands on high, and repeating certain words which I understood not; and, presently rising again, one much taller than the rest came and kindly embraced me, and ordering, as I perceived, some of the rest to attend my birds, he took me by the hand, and led me to his dwelling, down toward the foot of the hill, which was a building so great and beautiful, as nothing in our world is comparable thereto; yet afterwards I saw such as this seemed but a cottage, in respect of them. There was no door about the house less than thirty feet high, and twelve broad; the rooms were forty or fifty feet in height, and answerable in proportion; neither could they be much less, the master thereof being full twenty-eight high, and I suppose his body would weigh twenty-five or thirty of ours. After I had rested with him about one of our days, he led me five leagues off to the palace of the prince of the country, the stateliness whereof I have not now leisure to describe. This prince was much taller than the former, and called (as near as I can, by letters declare it, for their sounds are not perfectly to be expressed by our characters,) Pylonas, which, in their language, is first or chief, if it doth not rather denote his authority and dignity, as being the principal man in all those parts; though yet there is one supreme monarch amongst them, much greater of stature than he, commanding over all that whole world, having under him twenty-nine other princes of great power; and every one of these has twenty-four inferior governors, whereof this Pylonas was one. The first ancestor of this great monarch came out of the earth, as they relate, and by marrying the heiress of that vast monarchy, obtaining the government, left it to his posterity, who have enjoyed it ever since, even forty-thousand moons, which is three-thousand and seventy-seven years. His name was Irdonozur, whose heirs to this day assume the same name; he, they say, having continued thereabout four-hundred moons, and begot divers children, returned (though by what means, they know not) to the earth again. I doubt, they have their fables as well as we, since our historians never mention any earthly man to have been in that world, before myself, and much less to have returned again. I cannot therefore but condemn this tradition, as false and romantick, though I found learning was in great esteem among them, and they seem to detest lying and falshood, which is there severely punished, and which may yield some credit to their historical narrations. Many of them live wonderful long, even beyond belief, affirming to me, that some survived thirty-thousand moons, which is above a thousand years, so that the ages of three or four men might easily reach to the time of the first Irdonozur; and this is generally noted, that, the taller people are of stature, the more excellent are their endowments of mind, and the longer time they live; for their stature is very different, great numbers not much exceeding ours, who seldom live above a thousand moons, which is fourscore

of our years; these they account base, unworthy creatures, but one degree above brute beasts, and employ in mean and servile offices, calling them bastards, counterfeits, or changelings. Those, whom they account true natural lunars, or moon-men, exceed ours generally thirty times, both in quantity of body, and length of life, proportionable to the quality of the day in both worlds, theirs containing almost thirty of our days.

The manner of our travel to the palace of Pylonas was more strange and incredible than any thing we have related; for, at our first setting forth, there were delivered to each of us two feather fans, like those our ladies in Spain cool themselves with in summer. You must understand, that the globe of the moon has likewise an attractive power, yet, so much weaker than the earth, that if a man do but spring upward with all his strength, as dancers do, in shewing their tricks, he will be able to mount fifty or sixty feet high; and, being then above all attraction from the moon's earth, he falls down no more, but. by the help of these fans, as with wings, they convey themselves in the air, in a short space, (though not quite so swift as birds) whither they please. In two hours time, as I could guess, by the help of these fans, we were carried through the air those five leagues, in all about sixty persons. Being arrived at the palace of Pylonas, after our conductor had declared what manner of present he had brought, I was called into him by his attendants. By the stateliness of his palace, and the reverence done him, I soon perceived his greatness, and managed my affairs, in order to procure his favour, accordingly; and having, as you may remember, a certain little box or casket of jewels, the remainder of those I brought from the East Indies, before I was introduced, I secretly took them out of my pocket, and chusing some of each sort, I made them ready to be presented, as I should think convenient.

I found him sitting in a magnificent chair of state, with his wife or queen on one hand, and his eldest son on the other, one attended by a troop of ladies, and the other of young men; and, all along the side of the room, stood a great number of handsome personages, whereof, scarce one was lower of stature than Pylonas, whose age, they report, is now one and twenty thousand moons. At my entrance, I fell on my knees, and taking out my jewels, I presented to the King seven stones of several sorts, a diamond, a ruby, an emerald, a sapphire, a topaz, and an ophal, which he accepted with joy and admiration. Then I offered the queen and prince some others, and designed to have bestowed divers more upon his attendants; but Pylonas forbid them to accept any, supposing, as I heard, they were all I had, which he would have me reserve for Irdonozur, his sovereign. He then embraced me with much indearedness, and inquired divers things by signs, which I answered in the same manner, to the best of my skill; which not contenting him, he delivered me to the guard of a hundred of his giants, as I may well call them, strictly charging them, that I should want nothing fit for me; that they should suffer none of the dwarf-lunars, or little moon-men, to come near me. That I should be instructed in their language; and lastly, that they should, by no means, impart to me the knowledge of several things, by him specified; what they were I could never understand. It may be,

you long to know what Pylonas inquired of me; why, what should it be but, whence I came, how I arrived there, what was my name and business, with the like? To all which I answered, as near the truth as possible.

Being dismissed, I was provided with all necessaries as my heart could wish, so that I seemed to be in a paradise, the pleasures whereof did not yet so transport me, but I was much concerned with the thoughts of my wife and children, and still retaining some hope that I might again return to them. I tended my gansa's daily with much care, which yet had signified little, if other men had not done more than I could; for now the time came, when, of necessity all people of our stature, and myself likewise, must needs sleep thirteen or fourteen whole days together; for, by a secret and irresistible decree of nature, when the day begins to appear, and the moon to be enlightened by the sun-beams, which is in the first quarter of the moon, all the people of our stature, inhabiting those parts, fall into a dead sleep, and are not possibly to be wakened till the sun set, and is withdrawn; for as owls and bats with us cannot endure the light, so, at the first approach of the day, we begin to be amazed therewith, and fall into a slumber, which grows by degrees into a dead sleep, till the light be gone, which is in fourteen or fifteen days, that is, till the last quarter. During the sun's absence, there is a twofold light, one of the sun, which I could not endure to behold, and another of the earth. Now that of the earth was at the height, for, when the moon is at the change, then is the earth a full moon to them; and as the moon increases with us, so the light of the earth decreaseth with them. I found the light, though the sun was absent, equal to that with us in the day when the sun is clouded; but toward the quarter it daily diminisheth, yet leaving still a competent light, which seems very strange; though not so remarkable as what they there report, that in the other hemisphere of the moon, contrary to that I fell upon, where during half the moon they see not the sun, and the earth never appears to them, they have yet a kind of light not unlike our moon-light, which it seems the nearness of the stars and other planets, that are at a far less distance than from us, affords them.

You must understand, that of the true lunars, or moon-men, there are three kinds, some a little taller than we, as perhaps ten or twelve feet high; these can endure the day of the moon, when the earth shines but little, but not the beams of both, and so must then be laid asleep. Others are twenty feet high or above, who can suffer all the light both of the earth and sun. There is in a certain island (the mysteries whereof are carefully concealed) men whose stature is at least twenty-seven feet high. If any other come a-land there in the moon's day-time, they instantly fall asleep. This is called *insula Martini*, and hath a particular governor, who, as they report, is sixty-five-thousand moons old, which makes five-thousand of our years; his name is said to be Hiruch, and he, in a manner, commands Irdonozur himself, especially in that island, out of which he never removes. There is another comes often thither, who, they say, is not above half his age, that is, about thirty-three-thousand moons, or two-thousand six-hundred of our years, and he orders all things through the globe of the moon, in matters of religion, as absolutely as the Pope doth in any part of Italy. I would

fain have seen this man, but was not permitted to come near him; his name is Imozes.

Now let me settle myself to a long night's sleep, to which end my attendants take charge of my birds, prepare my lodging, and signify to me by signs how I must order myself. It was then about the middle of September, when I perceived the air more clear than ordinary, and, with the increase of the light, I began to feel myself first dull, and then heavy to sleep, though I had not been lately disturbed of my rest. At length I delivered myself into the custody of this sister of death, whose prisoner I was for almost a fortnight after, and then awaking, it is not to be believed how brisk and vigorous I found the faculties both of my body and mind. I then applied myself to learning the language, which is the same throughout all the regions of the moon, yet not so wonderful, since I believe all the earth of moon does not amount to the fortieth part of our inhabited earth; partly besides the globe of the moon is far less, and because the sea or ocean covers very nigh three parts of four, whereas the land and sea in our world may be judged of an equal measure. Their language is very difficult, since it hath no affinity with any other I ever heard, and consists not so much of words and letters, as tunes and strange sounds, which no letters can express; for there are few words but signify several things, and are distinguished only by their sounds, which are sung, as it were, in uttering. Yea, many words consist of tunes only without words; by occasion whereof, I find a language may be framed, and easily learned, as copious as any other in the world, only of tunes, which is an experiment worth searching after. Notwithstanding these difficulties, within two months I attained to such knowledge therein, that I understood most questions demanded of me, and, with signs and words, made reasonable shift to utter my mind: which Pylonas having notice of, he oftentimes sent for me, and was pleased to inform me of many things my guardians durst not disclose; though I must needs say, I never found they abused me with an untruth, but, if I asked a question they were unwilling to resolve, they would shake their heads, and with a Spanish shrug, divert to some other discourse.

After seven months time, the great Irdonozur, making his progress to a place about two-hundred leagues from the Palace of Pylonas, sent for me; yet would not admit me into his presence, but discoursed me through a window, where I might hear him, and he hear and see me at pleasure. I presented him with the remainder of my jewels, which he thankfully accepted, saying, he would requite them with gifts of more considerable value. I staid there above a quarter of a moon, when I was again sent back to Pylonas, for if we had staid a day or two longer, the sun would have overtaken us, before we could have recovered our home. The gifts he bestowed on me were such, that a man would part with mountains of gold to purchase; they were all stones, nine only in number, of three sorts, one called Poleastis, another Machrus, and the third Ebelus, of each sort three; the first are about the bigness of an hasle-nut, very like jet, which among many other incredible virtues hath this property, that being once put in the fire, they ever after retain their heat, though without any outward appearance, till quenched with some kind of liquor, which no way damages them, though heated and cooled therein a thousand times; their heat is so vehement, that it will make any metal, within a foot of it, red-hot, and being in a chimney, warms

the room as if a great fire were kindled therein. The Machrus is yet more precious, in colour like a topaz, so clear and resplendent, as though not above the bigness of a bean, yet being placed in the night, in the midst of a large church, it makes all as light, as if an hundred lamps were hanged round. Can any man wish for more useful properties in a stone than these? Yet my Ebelus is so excellent, that it may be much preferred before them, yea, prized above all the diamonds, sapphires, rubies, and emeralds, that our world can afford. The lunar colour is so exceeding beautiful, that a man would travel a thousand leagues to behold it; the shape is somewhat flat, of the breadth of a piece of eight, and twice the thickness; one side is of a more orient colour than the other, which, being clapped to a man's bare skin, takes away all the weight and ponderousness of his body, but turning the other side, it adds force to the attractive beams of the earth, either in this world or that, and makes the body half as heavy again. Do you not wonder now why I should so overprize this stone? Before you see me on earth again, you will find I have reason to value this invaluable jewel. I inquired whether they had not any kind of gem, or other means, to make a man invisible, which I judged a thing of admirable use, and could mention divers of our learned men, who had written to this purpose; they answered, that if it were possible, yet they were sure, heaven would not suffer it to be revealed to us creatures, subject to so many imperfections, and which might be easily abused to ill purposes, and this was all I could get of them.

Now after it was known that Irdonozur the great monarch had done me this honour, it is strange how much all respected me, more than before. My guardians, who had been hitherto cautious in relating any thing of the government of that world, grew now more open, so that from them, and Pylonas together, I understood many notable particulars; as that, in a thousand years, there is found neither thief, nor whoremonger, for first there is no want of any thing necessary for the use of man, food growing every where without labour, of all sorts that can be desired. As for clothes, houses, or whatever else a man may be supposed to want, it is provided by their superiors, though not without some labour, but yet so easy, as if they did it for pleasure. Again their females are all absolute beauties, and by a secret disposition of nature, a man there having once known a woman never desires any other. Murder was never heard of amongst them, neither is it hardly possible to be committed, for there can be no wound made but what is curable; yea, they assured me, and for my part I believe it, that though a man's head be cut off, yet if within three moons it be joined to the carcass again, and the juice of a certain herb there growing applied, it will be so consolidated as the wounded party shall be perfectly cured. But the chief cause of their good government is an excellent disposition in the nature of the people, so that all, both old and young, hate all manner of vice, and live in such love, peace, and amity, as it seems to be another paradise; though it is true likewise, that some are of a better disposition than others, which they discern immediately at their birth. And because it is an inviolable law amongst them, that none shall be put to death, therefore, perceiving by their stature, or some other signs, who are

like to be of a wicked and debauched humour, they send them, I know not by what means, into the earth, and change them for other children, before they have either opportunity or ability to do amiss among them; but first, they say, they are fain to keep them there for some time, till the air of the earth alters their colour like ours. Their ordinary vent for them is a certain high hill, in the north of America, whose people, I am apt to believe, are wholly descended from them, both in regard of their colour, and their continual use of tobacco, which the Lunars, or Moon-men, smoak exceedingly, the place abounding much with moisture, together with the pleasure they take therein, and some other respects, too long to rehearse. Sometimes, though but seldom, they mistake their aim, and fall upon Europe, Asia, or Africa. I remember some years since, I read certain stories tending to confirm what is related by these Lunars, and especially one chapter of Neubrigensis. Inigo Mondejar, in his description of *Nova Granata;* also Joseph Defia de Carana, in his history of Mexico, if my memory fail not, recount what will make my report more credible; but I value not testimonies.

If you inquire how justice is executed, alas! what need is there of exemplary punishment, where no offences are committed? Neither need they any lawyers, for there is no contention, the seeds whereof, when they begin to sprout, are by the wisdom of the next superior plucked up by the roots. And as little want is there of physicians, they never surfeit themselves; the air is likewise pure and temperate, neither is there any cause of sickness; I could never hear of any that were distempered. But, the time assigned them by nature being spent, they die without the least pain, or rather cease to live, as a candle does to give light, when what nourishes it is consumed. I was once at the departure of one of them, and was much surprised that notwithstanding the happy life he lived, and the multitude of friends and children he should forsake, yet as soon as he understood his end to approach, he prepared a great feast, and, inviting all whom he esteemed, exhorts them, 'To be merry, and rejoice with him, since the time was come he should now leave the counterfeit pleasures of that world, and be made partaker of all true joy and perfect happiness.' I did not so much admire his own constancy, as the behaviour of his friends; with us in the like case all seem to mourn, when many of them do often but laugh in their sleeves, or under a vizard. But here all, both young and old, did, on my conscience, not pretendedly but really rejoice thereat, and if any dissembled, it was only grief for their own particular loss. Being dead, their bodies putrefy not, and so are not buried, but kept in certain rooms appointed to that purpose, so that most of them can shew their ancestors bodies uncorrupt for many generations. There is never any rain, wind, or change of weather, never either summer or winter, but as it were a perpetual spring, yielding all pleasure and content, free from the least trouble or annoyance. O my wife and children, what wrong have you done me to bereave me of the happiness of that place! But it is no great matter, for by this voyage, I am sufficiently assured, that, when the race of my mortal life is run, I shall attain a greater happiness elsewhere.

It was on the 9th of September, that I began to ascend the Pike of Teneriffe; twelve days I was upon my voyage, and arrived in that pro-

vince of the moon called Semiri, September the 21st. May the 12th, we came to the court of the great Irdonozur, and returned back the 17th to the palace of Pylonas, where I continued till March, 1601, when I earnestly requested Pylonas, as I had often done before, to give me leave to depart, though with hazard of my life, back into the earth again. He dissuaded me, insisting on the danger of the voyage, the misery of that place from whence I came, and the abundant happiness I now enjoyed, but the remembrance of my wife and children outweighed all these reasons; and, to say the truth, I was so elated with a desire of the glory I should purchase at my return, as, methought, I deserved not the name of a Spaniard, if I would not hazard twenty lives, rather than lose the least particle thereof. I replied, I had so strong a desire to see my children, that I could not possibly live any longer without going to them. He then requested me to stay one year longer; I told him I must needs depart now or never; my birds began to droop for want of their usual voyage, three were already dead, and, if a few more failed, I was destitute of all possibility of return. At length, with much soliciting, I prevailed, having first acquainted the great Irdonozur with my intentions, and perceiving, by the often baying of my birds, a great longing in them to be gone, I trimmed up my engine, and took my leave of Pylonas; and, March the 29th, three days after my waking from the last moon's light, I fastened myself to my engine, not forgetting to take the jewels Irdonozur had given me, with the virtues and use whereof Pylonas had acquainted me at large, with a small quantity of victuals, whereof, afterwards, I had great occasion. A vast multitude of people being present, and, amongst them, Pylonas himself, after I had given them all the last farewel, I let loose the reins to my birds, who, with much greediness, taking wing, quickly carried me out of sight. It happened to me as in my first passage, for I never felt either hunger or thirst, till I fell upon an high mountain in China, about five leagues from the high and mighty city of Pequin. This voyage was performed in less than nine days, neither heard I any news of these airy men I met with in my ascending; nothing staid me in my journey; whether, because of the earnest desire of my birds to return to the earth, having already missed their season, or that the attraction of the earth was much stronger than that of the moon, and so made it easier, yet so it was, though I had three birds less than before. For the first eight days my birds flew before me, and I on the engine was, as it were, drawn after; but the ninth day, when I began to approach the cloud, I perceived myself and engine to sink towards the earth, and go before them. I was then horribly afraid lest my birds, unable to bear our weight, being so few, should be constrained to precipitate both me and themselves headlong to the earth, and thought it very necessary to make use of my stone Ebelus, which I clapped to my bare skin within my clothes, and instantly I perceived my birds made way with greater ease than before, as seeming freed from a great burden, neither do I think they could possibly have let me down safely to the earth without that help.

China is a country so populous, that I think there is scarce a piece of ground thrice a man's length which is not carefully manured. I being yet in the air, some of the country-people, espying me, came running by

troops, and, seizing me, would needs carry me before a magistrate, and, seeing no other remedy, I yielded to them. But, when I tried to go, I found myself so light, that, one foot being on the ground, I had much ado to set down the other, which was, by reason my Ebelus took all weight away from my body; therefore I pretended a desire of performing the necessities of nature; which being made known to them by signs, for they understood not a word of any language I could speak, they permitted me to go aside amongst a few bushes, assuring themselves it was impossible I should escape from them. Being there, I remembered Pylonas's directions about the use of my stones, and knit them up, with a few remaining jewels, into an handkerchief, all, except the least and worst Ebelus, which I found means to apply in such a manner to my body, that but the half of its side touched my skin. This done, I drew towards my guardians, till coming so near, that, they could not cross my way, I shewed them a fair pair of heels, that I might have time to hide my jewels, which I knew they would have robbed me of, if not prevented. Being thus lightened, I led them such a dance, that, had they been all upon the backs of so many race-horses, they could never have overtaken me. I directed my course to a thick wood, wherein I entered about a quarter of a league, and there finding a fine spring, which I took for my mark, I thrust my jewels into a mole hard by.

I then took my victuals out of my pocket, to which, till now, in all my voyage, I had not the least appetite, and refreshed myself therewith, till the people, who pursued, overtook me, into whose hands I quietly surrendered myself. They led me to an inferior officer, who, understanding that I escaped from those who first apprehended me, caused an inclosure of boards to be made, wherein they put me, so that only my head was at liberty, and then carried me upon the shoulders of four slaves, like some notorious malefactor, before a person of great authority, who, in their language, I learned was called a Mandarin, and resided a league off the famous city of Pequin. I could not understand them, but found I was accused for something with much vehemence; the substance of this accusation, it seems, was, that I was a magician, as appeared by my being so strangely carried in the air, and that, being a stranger, as both my language and habit did declare, I, contrary to the laws of China, had entered the kingdom without a warrant, and probably for no good intent. The mandarin heard them with a great deal of gravity, and being a man of quick apprehension, and studious of novelties, he told them he would take such order as the case required, and my bold attempt should not go unpunished. Having dismissed them, he ordered his servants I should be kept in a remote part of his vast palace, be strictly guarded and kindly used. This I conjecture by my treatment, and what followed; for my accommodation was much better than I could expect. I lodged well, eat well, was well attended, and could complain of nothing but my restraint. Thus continued I many months, afflicted more with the thoughts of my gansa's than any thing else, who I knew must be irrecoverably lost, as indeed they were.

In this time by my own industry, and the assistance of those who accompanied me, I learned to speak indifferently the language of that province (for almost every province in China hath its proper tongue)

whereat I perceived they were much pleased. At length I was permitted to take the air, and brought into the spacious garden of that palace, a place of extraordinary pleasure and delight, adorned with herbs and flowers of admirable sweetness and beauty, with almost infinite variety of fruits, European, and others, all composed with that rare curiosity, as even ravished my senses in the contemplation of such delightful objects. I had not long recreated myself here, when the mandarin entered the garden on that side I was walking, of which, having notice by his servants, and that I ought to kneel to him (a usual reverence I found towards great officers) I did so, and humbly intreated his favour towards a poor stranger who arrived in these parts, not designedly, but by the secret disposal of the heavens. He answered in a different language, which I hear all the mandarins use, and like that of the Lunars, consisting chiefly of tunes, which was interpreted by one of his attendants, wishing me to be of good comfort, since he intended no harm to me. Next day I was ordered to come before him, and, being conducted into a noble dining-room exquisitely painted, the mandarin, commanding all to avoid, vouchsafed to confer with me in the vulgar language; inquiring into the state of my country, the power of my prince, and the religion and manners of the people; wherein having satisfied him, he asked about my education, and what brought me into this remote country. I then declared to him the adventures of my life, omitting what I thought convenient, and especially forbearing to mention the stones given me by Irdonozur.

The strangeness of my story did much amaze him; and finding, in all my discourse, nothing tending to magick, wherein he hoped, by my means, to be instructed, he began to admire the excellency of my wit, applauding me for the happiest man that this world ever saw; and, wishing me to repose myself after my long narration, he, for that time, dismissed me. After which, the mandarin took so much delight in me, that no day passed wherein he did not send for me. At length he advised me to clothe myself in the habit of that country, which I willingly did, and gave me not only the liberty of his house, but took me also with him when he went to Pequin, whereby I had opportunity to learn the disposition of the people, and the policy of the country. Neither did I, by my attendance on him, gain only the knowledge of these things, but the possibility likewise of being restored to my native soil, and to those dear pledges which I value above the world, even my wife and children; for, by often frequenting Pequin, I at length heard of some fathers of the society of Jesus, who were become famous for their extraordinary favour with the King, to whom they had presented some European gifts, as clocks, watches, dials, and the like, which, by them, were counted exquisite curiosities. To these, by the mandarin's leave, I repaired, and was welcomed by them, they much wondering to see a lay Spaniard there, whither they had, with so much difficulty, obtained leave to arrive. There did I relate to Father Pantoja, and others of the society, the fore-mentioned adventures, by whose directions I put them in writing, and sent this story of my fortunes to Macao, from thence to be conveyed to Spain as a forerunner of my return. And, the mandarin being indulgent to me, I came often to the fathers, with whom I consulted

about many secrets, and, with them also, laid the foundation of my return, the blessed hour whereof I do, with patience, expect; that, by inriching my country with the knowledge of these hidden mysteries, I may at last reap the glory of my fortunate misfortunes.

A PARADOX:

Proving the Inhabitants of the Island, callad Madagascar, or St. Lawrence (in things temporal) to be the happiest People in the World.

I Confess (worthy Sir) that I have undertaken an argument, which, at the first sight, will seem to most men idle and impertinent; although I might answer for my excuse, that I was therefore idle, because I would not be idle; for it may be objected unto me, 'Will you take upon you to prefer this poor, naked, and simple ignorant people before the rich, gallant, understanding men of Europe?' These are naked, we are cloathed; these are poor and miserable, we are rich and wealthy; these are simple innocents, we have hearing and experience of many things, wherein they are altogether ignorant.

All this I confess to be true; yet let us examine their defects, which are supposed to consist in their nakedness, poverty, and simplicity. As for their nakedness, I hold them therefore happy, as approaching nearest to the greatest perfection of mankind. For Adam in the state of innocency was naked; sin and apparel entered both together, those fig-leaves being sewed together, for a veil or covering to hide his filthiness and deformities, as his vain heart conceived, from the eye of heaven. For as a painter or statuary, having limned a curious piece, or carved a goodly image, doth take a great delight in the sight of it, as of his master-piece; for if it should by some accident become spotted, or blemished, he will delight no more in the beholding of it, but is ashamed of his work every time he looks upon it, and will therefore either cast it aside, or hide and cover it out of his sight.

So, when this admirable piece of work, this perfection of nature, this master-piece, this epitome of the world, this image of the Deity, man, was spotted and blemished by sin, it grieved the Almighty, to see his image so defaced in him; who therefore did cloath him, as it were, to hide and cover him out of his sight.

Apparel is but like unto so many plaisters and rollers, to cover our sores and deformities; or like masking suits wherein we act, not what we are, but what we seem to be; it is the outside that deceives us, and, by a juggling trick makes us take that for a brave man, which is a piece of shreds, a mere thing of a taylor's fashioning.

For example, put the spruce gallant into a contemptible habit, and what is he then? A poor, miserable wretch, in the world's opinion, which judgeth by the outward appearance, and so esteemeth him. But the same man he was? No, he is a ragged rogue, a tattered knave. Again, put such a rogue, or knave, into the accoutrement of a gallant, let him be scarlified and beverised; let his jupoon be carbonadoed, to discover his damask purpoint, or his embroidered camise; arm his side with steel, his heels with iron, and his head with feather; and then, like Nebuchadnezzar's image, every man is ready to adore him; as, Will it please your worship to command me any service? I will wait upon your worship; it is right as your worship says. And all this while, we reverence nothing but a suit of cloaths, which these happy people, happy in this want, judiciously contemn. Apparel to them is a burthen, an impediment, a very disease; they care not for it, they count it as an unnecessary bundle, and know that it will make them dull, heavy, and effeminate. They prefer the good constructure of the limbs, and lineaments of the body, which they have by nature, before all our artificial, bombasted patches. We wonder at them, how they can go naked; but they wonder more at us, how we can endure to go packed up in a fardle of clouts sewed together. We are bound up in prison, whilst they are free, and at liberty: we are stifled up in our sweat and stink, whilst the exhalations of their vapours offend them not. Nor doth the coldness of the air hurt their naked bodies, more than it doth our naked faces; it was our evil custom that cloathed us, and their innocency and freedom of nature that keeps them naked.

For an instance of the premises, I will only call to your remembrance the behaviour of the Rassee, or Governor Andrapela, at that time, when he, with his followers, were invited by Captain Weddel, a-board the ship.* The captain seeing him naked, did judge it to be rather by a forced necessity, than a free election, and caused a suit of his own apparel to be given him, which he knew not what to do with when he had it. Being told, that they would defend him, and keep him warm, he said that he had no need of them, and that they would be but a trouble to him. For, said he, I can pierce them through with my lance. At last, with much ado, they were put on; but their putting on put him into such a fear and agony, as if they had been so many fetters and manicles laid upon him. He looked as if he had been ashamed of himself, earnestly intreating the captain that he might be set a-shore, expressing, in his countenance, a great deal of grief and discontent, to be, as he thought, so discourteously dealt withal. The barge being manned, I went a-shore with him, to observe his behaviour; and can testify, that he no sooner set foot on land, but he threw away his suit, flinging his doublet into one place, his hose into another, and at last he tore his shirt from his back, as it it had been poisoned with the blood of Nessus, the centaur; and then, fetching two or three frisks, he expressed a great deal of joy, that he was freed from that bondage and imprisonment.

* Aboard the Charles, then riding in Augustine Bay.

As for ourselves, we are compelled (so miserable and poor we are) to be beholding to the unreasonable creatures for our raiment, robbing one of his skin, another of his wool, another of his hair; nay, not so much as the poor worms do escape us, whose very excrements we take to cover us withal, while they, in the mean time, are nothing beholding unto us? Was nature a mother to them, and a stepdame to us? No, but, as a kind and loving mother, she hath sufficiently provided for us. It is our own luxurious effeminacy, that has stripped us out of our natural simplicity, and cloathed us with the rags of dissimulation. Let us consider the natural beauties of all the plants, fruits, and flowers; they have no artificial coverings, yet they so far exceed man in beauty and magnificence (the lilly in particular, truth, itself, hath spoken it) that Solomon, in all his royalty, was not cloathed like one of them.

The greatest and sole monarch of the world, Adam, was cloathed but with the skins of dead beasts, which divines hold, was to put him in mind of his mortality; but now the height of apparel is grown to that excess, that not the skins of the cattle, or the other commodities accruing, but the soil of a whole lordship is scarce sufficient to cloath us. Now the taylor is become the best surveyor; Euclid might have spared his pains in geometry, he can measure all our lands by his yard-wand. And what are the effects of this monstrous pride in apparel, but the ruin of many noble families, the decay of hospitality, the ushering in of oppression, bribery, and extortion, theft, murder, cousening, and deceit, and, in the end, beggary; or, which is worse, a death with ignominy.

Now, for pride, such is the happiness of these people, that they know not what it means. Here is no man that respecteth another the better for his outside, but for his inward virtue, and natural endowments. If he have but a clout to cover his privities, he thinks himself sufficiently appareled.

Concerning their poverty, I do confess, indeed, that to be poor is to be miserable, contemptible, and wretched; a very abject of men, a reproach to his kindred, and a shame to his friends. But, if you admit this definition of poverty, which I dare aver to be a true one, poverty is a want of all necessaries useful for this present life; and, if I canprove that they want no necessary thing for the use of this present life, I hope there is no man that will judge them poor, but will pronounce us poor, who are always complaining of want, and them rich, which, in their imagined poverty, express no token of discontent.

True it is, that they have not so many superfluous things as we have, and therein are they happy. When Diogenes came by chance into a fair, and saw so many toys and baubles to be sold, he brake out into these words:

'Oh, how happy am I, that have no want of any of these things!' And, upon a time, to shew how despicable unnecessary things are, he threw away his dish, because he saw another lap water out of the hollow of his hand.

These people know, that nature is contented with a little; and that it is not these outward things, which make the possessor any thing the

better. They know that the inordinate desire of riches is the root of all mischief; a raging famished beast, that will not be satisfied; a bottomless gulf that cannot be filled; a very dropsy, wherein, by desire of drink, a man may sooner break his bowels, than quench his thirst.

They know that they are gotten with labour, anxiety, and care; kept with continual fear, suspicion, and watchfulness; and lost with extreme grief and despair.

As for gold, the soul of the world (as I may call it, for it giveth life, motion, and action to all), these people know it not; or do they know it, they regard it not; at least, I am sure, they value it not. Happy people, unto whom the desire of gold hath not yet arrived. But it may be objected here, that although they respect not gold, yet they are covetous of red beads. It is true, they affect ornaments, not as incumbrances; for them as, whilst we lie, as it were, chained and manicled in golden fetters, they adorn themselves with them, as with jewels; only here is the difference, they covet red stones, and we desire a refined earth, almost of the same colour. We think them fools, because they give us an ox for a few beads; but they account us greater fools to part with such jewels for so small a value; for opinion of men, not their virtue, that makes them to be dear, or of small price.

Those red beads, which peradventure we value, but at six-pence, they may rate at six pounds. But suppose, that they should see us give the price of twenty oxen, bought at the dearest market in Europe, for one white stone, of the same bigness; would not they laugh at our extreme folly? And yet, when it is bought, they will not give you a calabash * of milk for it, though there is no more virtue in the one, than there is in the other †; yet the offensive condition of the diamond is notoriously exceeding the cornelian, for the powder of the diamond, taken inwardly, is almost mortal poison, and corrodes the stomach, as learned physicians have observed, who never could accuse the undervalued cornelian of such a venomous quality.

The golden age, so much celebrated by ancient writers, was not so called, from the estimation, or predomination, that gold had in the hearts of men; for in that sense, as one said wittily,

Aurea Saturni redierunt sæcula, nam nunc
Auro venit honos, conciliatur amor.

This may be truly call'd the age of gold,
For it, both honour, love, and friends are sold.

But, from the contempt thereof, then love and concord flourished; then rapine, theft, extortion and oppression were not known; which happy age these people do at this present enjoy. But when men begin to dive into the bowels of the earth, to make descents, as it were, down into hell, to fetch this glittering ore, from the habitations of devils, and terrestrial goblins, with it came up contention, deceit, lying, swearing,

* A gourd. † This I have tried by offering them a diamond and a red bead, and they have taken the bead, and refused the diamond.

theft, murder, and all the seven capital sins; as pride, covetousness, wrath, gluttony, and the rest: so that we must needs confess, that it had been happy for us, if gold had never been known.

For the attaining whereof, what labours, what sorrow, and what dangers do we endure? We are contented daily to expose ourselves to a thousand perils, to suffer a thousand injuries, in hope to enjoy it; and yet scarce one, in a thousand, attaineth to the end of his labour.

For this do we suffer a voluntary exile from our native country; for this are we contented to be imprisoned in a nasty ship, to expose our lives to the tempestuous fury of the merciless elements, and to expose our bodies to the rage of the enemy's thundering ordnance, where, through heats, cold, hunger, thirst, watching, ill lodging, bad diet, infected air, and a thousand other inconveniences, we not only endanger our lives every minute, but sometimes lose them.

But grant that we do escape all these perils, and obtain in some measure what we have so dearly purchased, it will be so confessed, there is more care and danger in the keeping of them, than in the attaining of them.

For this do thieves lie in wait to rob us, friends to entrap us, and our enemies to betray us. Nay, suppose we do escape all these outward casualties, our inward vices, our disordered affections, and our evil concupiscences, do all threaten to ruin us.

The consideration hereof caused the Lady Catharine* (who out of her own experience, had tried both fortunes) that if it were put to her choice, to suffer the extremity of fortune in prosperity or adversity; she would chuse adversity, because the former was never without danger, nor the latter without comfort.

From their poverty, I come in the last place to speak of their simplicity, which (as the simple uncompounded and unmixed elements are purest) is an argument, if not of their freedom from corruption, yet that it doth not tyrannise over them; and that they enjoy the happiest condition, which mankind can live in. Out of doubt, had our first parents been contented with that simplicity of estate, they were at the first created in, and not have been so curious in the knowledge of forbidden mysteries, they had not purchased the wrath of God upon themselves and their posterity.

But let us see wherein their ignorance and simplicity doth consist. It may be objected, that they are ignorant of the use of the creatures, which we have attained to, and of many arts that we profess, and that they are simple in all their actions.

For, first, their houses are but simple sheds made with a few boughs heaped together (in comparison of which) and are stately palaces.

That their diet is gross, and ill cooked; that they eat their meat half raw, and badly dressed; whereas our tables are furnished plentifully, with sundry delicacies, curiously dressed by the art of cookery, and that with great variety.

That their drink is water simply, which is common to them and

* Dowager to King Henry the Eighth.

their beasts alike, whilst we are served with all kinds of pleasant wines, and other artificial aromatick drinks.

That their simplicity appeareth in their ignorance of many sciences, wherein the well-being of a commonwealth doth consist; as the art of navigation, by means whereof, we are able to visit the remotest parts of the world, to transport our own commodities to them, and to import theirs to the inriching of ourselves; as also, that they know not military art, nor the use of powder and shot; all which are evidences of their stupid ignorance, both in these and all other sciences.

What an heat do these small coals cast? What a terrible shew do these poor anticks make? They are just like the pageants or the galley-foists, upon the Lord Mayor's day; deface their paintings, rip off the canvas, thou wilt find nothing in them, but a few rotten sticks, in the one, and a trimmed dung-boat of the other.

Let us compare them together by the square of reason, and we shall find their defects, in these things. to be a main testimony of their happiness, and on the contrary, our excess herein the cause of our misery and wretchedness.

And first for their buildings, they are such as best suit with their free estate and condition, using them but as tabernacles for the present, and changing them according to the quality of the season, and goodness of the soil. We may commend the wisdom of the stork, and swallow, for this cause.

These men fear not the oppression of a covetous landlord, nor the danger of a cracked title. His quarter's rack'd-rent rends not his sleep, nor takes he care for the renewing of his old lease. The breaking in of thieves he fears not, for he hath nothing to lose; and the surprise of enemies he regards not, for if they be not strong enough for encounter, they can suddenly remove themselves to a place of more security.

I have seen a town, consisting of above one hundred families, and all of them busied about their several employments: some about their cattle, some making of lances, and darts, and some weaving of cotton, to make their aprons, when upon a sudden, suspecting us as enemies, in the space of half an hour, they have planted and removed their dwellings.

The women carrying their implements for dressing their food, and their young infants; their children driving away the cattle, and the rest of their people as a guard unto them, with their darts, and lances, some in front, some in flank, and the rest in the rear;* when again, we having understood the cause of their departure, with a little persuasion, they returned and suddenly replanted themselves, and every man quietly settled himself to his business as before, without any noise, tumult, or uproar, all which was done in the space of an hour.

Whereas we, like so many wild beasts, can hardly be forced out of our dens, except famine, sword, or fire do compel us. And then, oh, what lamentation, what exclamation, and grievous complaints do we make!

Yet what are our houses, but so many strong prisons, wherein the

* The cause of their removal was the coming ashore of one with a fowling-piece, to kill fowl for the captain.

owner lies bound in several actions of debt, which I forbear to particularise; and although he walk abroad sometimes, he doth but trail his fetters after him, and is bound to keep within the rule.

He must endure discommodity of evil neighbours, the unhealthfulness of the situation, which these happy people can avoid at their pleasure, without much pudder or turmoil.

And lastly, suppose that one of our houses should take fire, by accident, or otherwise, then what passion? What rage? What ungoverned fury do we fall into? Oh, I am undone for ever, Oh, I have lost that chest, that box of writings, that casket of jewels, out alas! I am undone; what shall I do? Nay, we are so far out of ourselves, and transported with fury, that, as if the black chambers of death were not to be found otherwise, we sometimes lay violent hands upon ourselves, and increase the danger of an eternal death, to prevent a temporal dereliction.

Whereas, on the contrary, if any of their houses happen to be on fire, he is not moved at all with it, but can patiently stand by, and warm himself at the flame, and say, Here is a good fire, I find much comfort by it. This is the last benefit my house can do me, and in this point, they are happier than we are.

Their Diet.

As for their food, it may be objected, that it is but coarse and simple; for defence whereof, I might answer, that it is therefore the more healthful, and agreeable to nature, who is best pleased with meats of simple qualities. But it is further objected, that it is sluttishly dressed, transeous, and loathsome. How know we that? Because we love it not, is it therefore unwholesome? One man loveth no fish, another no cheese, another no flesh; which are not only hurtful, but poison to their constitutions. Should we therefore infer, that fish, cheese, or flesh, are poison; such judges are we of their food, which best agreeth with their constitutions, and preserveth them in health, strength, and vigour; for they eat not, but for necessity, know no other sauce, than the Lacedemonian sauce, hunger; eating rather for preservation of life, than delight, or luxury; whilst we in our diet are so voluptuous, 'that we even dig our graves with our teeth' (as the French proverb hath it), the whole world being scarce sufficient to make a Bacchanalian sacrifice for that deity, the belly. France, Spain, Italy, the Indies, yea, and the Molucca's, must be ransacked, to make sauce for our meat; whilst we impoverish the land, air, and water, to inrich a private table. Thus we live, as if we were born to no other end, but by gluttony and surfeiting to oppose nature, dull the spirits, subvert the animal faculties, and heap upon ourselves an innumerable company of diseases, it being a maxim amongst our European physicians, that gluttony hath killed more than the sword. Whereas, to the contrary, such is the temperance of these people, that I can scarce see one sick or diseased among them.

Now for wine, the cherisher of the heart, the expeller of cares and sorrows, the reviver of the spirits, and the infuser of valour and cou-

rage, these people know it not; and herein I esteem them (whatever our epicures think) most happy. For when I consider the dangerous effects thereof, as namely, how it confoundeth our reason, disturbeth our senses, dulleth our understanding, consumeth our memory, depraveth our judgment, and finally transformeth us from men to beasts: I know not whether I should bewail our own miserable condition, or applaud their happy estate.

Heretofore, in our country of England, all foreign wines were sold in apothecaries shops, for the relief of the sick, weak, and aged. Then physicians walked on foot, for the service of God's people. But when it once came to be sold publickly in taverns, then they rode on horseback like princes; the excess of wine being a main upholder of theirs; thence proceed fevers, convulsions, epilepsies, vertigo's, lethargies, gouts, and all exotick diseases, unknown to our ancestors.

Besides, what horrible and execrable actions hath it not perpetrated? What sacrileges, what rapes, what murders, have not been committed by the excess of wine? The examples of this kind are infinite, and the consideration thereof moved some Kings and princes * to prohibit, and lay great mulcts and penalties upon them which used it, though with moderation; knowing that it transporteth men into all unjust actions, and transformeth them into beasts.

Where, to the contrary, water produceth no evil effects; for it asswageth thirst, refresheth the spirits, abateth choler, quickeneth the senses, and temperately doth humect and moisten the inward parts of the body. And, had not the distemperature of our parents, our evil education, and our natural corruptions prevailed against us, we might have enjoyed the like happiness which these people possess.

And may not their ignorance, in the art of navigation, be deservedly accounted a happiness? Certainly, by this means they are not contaminated with the vices and evil customs of strangers, when we have derived to ourselves, with our commerce with foreign nations, with their wares and commodities, their vices and evil conditions; as our drunkenness and rudeness from the Germans; our fashions and factions from the French; our insolence from the Spaniards; our Machiavillianism from the Italians; our levity and inconstancy from the Greeks; our usury and extortion from the Jews; our atheism and impiety from the Turks and Moors; and our voluptuous luxury from the Persians and Indians †; which, perhaps, might have passed without censure by natural men, had not we been infected, by this means, with some diseases of the body, as well as corruption of the soul. Besides, to balance the account, what are our ships fraught withal, but with toys and vanities, which we might well be without, and serve but as *fomenta luxuriosa*, stirrers up of pride, luxury, and wantonness; for which cause only, some nations ‡ are forbidden to have any commerce or traffick with strangers, lest they should be infected with their vices and evil customs.

* As the Turkish emperor, and all the Eastern princes.
† As the pox, brought into England, by the first discovery of America.
‡ As the Chinese, who will suffer no stranger to come into their country. N. B. The Chinese have altered this law since this author's time.

Besides, those happy people have no need of any foreign commodity, nature having sufficiently supplied their necessities, wherewith they remain contented. But it is we that are in want, and are compelled, like famished wolves to range the world about for our living, to the hazard both of our souls and bodies; the one by the corruption of the air, the other by the corruption of religion.

Their Arms.

As for their ignorance in the military profession, though they be not trained up in the practice of those arms our moderns have lately invented, they retain the use of those weapons, which have been in use from all antiquity, I mean, the lance and dart; wherein they have attained to such perfection, that therein, I believe, no nation in the world doth equal, I am sure cannot exceed them. But you will say, they want defensive armour, and places of strength and retirement. It is true, they have no other armour than their own valour; nor forts, but fortitude and courage; who, like the Parthians, fight flying, making their retreat as dangerous to the enemy as their first encounter.

And lastly, for the use of powder and shot, and the managing of great ordnance, whereof they are altogether ignorant. Herein they are happy also, above all other nations; it being one of the most damnable inventions that ever was forged in the devil's conclave: against the fury whereof neither the courage of the valiant, nor the strength of the mighty can prevail; so that if Hercules himself, whom the poets falsly, or Sampson, whom the Scriptures truly deliver for the strongest of men, were living in these times, a child might kill them with a pistol. Let us examine the invention, state, and progress, of this pernicious and cruel engine.

All writers do agree, * that a German monk was the first inventor of the materials thereof; and, as it is thought, not without the devil, to shew his hatred to mankind. The first invention was but rude and simple, but time and the wickedness of men have added to the first project, even to the mounting them upon wheels, that they might be the easier transported, and run, as it were, to the ruin of mankind. From hence hath proceeded these monsters of cannons, and double cannons, and culverins, these furious basilisks and murtherers, those fiery falcons and sakers; wherein it seems the inventors knew well what they did, when they imposed on them the names of snakes, serpents, and ravenous birds; the very names of them being terrible, and apt to beget in us a horror and detestation of them. I forbear to speak of lesser engines, but of greater danger; as the dagger and pistol, which may be concealed in a man's pocket, wherewith many have been treacherously slain without any prevention. Out of this miserable and cruel magazine have issued these mines, counter-mines, fire-pots, fire-pikes, oranges, granado's, hedge-hogs, petards, and the like; a most cursed invention, wherein the malice of man to man is grown to that height, whom we ought to love as our brother; that such, as can invent the most wicked, cruel, and

* Pareus, lib. xi. in Prof.

execrable project to destroy men withal, are held the most worthy to receive the greatest honour, respect, and reward; and now, if ever, it may truly be said, *Homo homini Dæmon;* that is, *One Man is a Devil to another.*

All inventions, as they are but the imitations of nature, do ever fall short of the pattern; but in this they have exceeded nature. Take it thus briefly: The thunder and lightning, which these Salmonians would imitate, transcend the other in fury and violence; for the thunderbolt, as natural and accidental, falleth sometimes on a tree, mountain, a tower, seldom on a man; but this infernal engine, gnided by the malice of man, aims only at man, to whose destruction it is wholly directed. There are some countries, that by reason of the coldness of the climate, as Russia, Tartary, Greenland, at certain seasons of the year, are exempt from thunder. But no country or season can privilege the inhabitants from the fury of this pernicious engine. The thunderbolt, by the means of the lightning, and noise in the air, giveth some warning to men, to avoid the ensuing danger; but this thundereth in striking, and striketh in thunder, sending the mortal bullet, as soon into our bowels, as the sound into our ears. Therefore, we have good reason to detest the author of this so pernicious and damnable an invention.

And here I cease not, presuming to advise Kings and princes (this being but a paradox) in the use of the instrument (for I know it to be as well defensive as offensive); but magnifying the mercies of God towards this people, whose simplicity hath herein made them more happy, than our too dear bought knowledge hath advantaged us.

A MOST LEARNED, CONSCIENTIOUS,

AND

DEVOUT EXERCISE, OR SERMON,

Held forth, the last Lord's-day of April,

In the Year 1649,

At Sir P. T.'s House in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, by Lieutenant-General Oliver Cromwell; as it was faithfully taken in Characters by Aaron Guerdon.

London, printed in the Year 1680. Quarto, containing seventeen Pages.

Rom. xiii. 1.

Let every Soul be subject unto the higher Powers; for there is no Power, but of God; the Powers, that be, are ordained of God.

DEARLY beloved brethren and sisters, it is true, this text is a malignant one; the wicked and ungodly have abused it very frequently but (thanks be to God) it was to their own ruin; yet their abuse shall not hinder us from making a right use of it. Every thing is subject to be abused, be it never so holy or good. The men of God, the creatures of God, all are subject to injuries and abuse. The council of state, the Parliament, the army, the general have been, and daily are abused; nay, even myself have not escaped the violence of these seducers, whose tongues are sharper than a two-edged sword. My very face and nose are weekly maligned and scandalised by those scribbling Mercuries, Elencticus and Pragmaticus; insomuch that, were it possible, they would raise a faction in my forehead, and make mutinies amongst my very teeth. It is true, I have a hot liver, and that is the cause my face and nose are red; for my valour lies in my liver, not in my heart, as other men's; never any man could say my heart was stout. Indeed the general's lies there, and that is the reason his face is pale. You all know, I never was a drunkard, although, when I was at the lowest, I had beer enough; for you know I had near relation to a beer-brewer; and I had always money to buy wine with, if I pleased, so that I might have been a drunkard, if I would; yet, you know, I am a temperate sober man, else I had never been so good a soldier. But, what is it the malignants will not abuse, who let not to abuse themselves? I will warrant you, they would abuse our very wives too, if they durst; and I fear some of them do —— you know what I mean; ——but no more of that, at present.

My text, you see, is scripture, and scripture must be believed, next to our diviner revelations, be it what it will; but the malignants, they would interpret it one way, and we, the saints, interpret it another. Now let any body judge, whether they, or we, are to be believed; whether, I say, those ungodly cavaliers, that fought to uphold tyranny and Antichrist, or we, that, in the uprightness of our hearts, fought for liberty and freedom, and for establishing the kingdom of King Jesus. Surely, beloved, it is we that are in the right of it; I think none of you will deny it.

But now, that I spoke of Kings, the main question is, Whether, by *higher powers*, are meant Kings, or the commoners? Truly, beloved, it is a very great question amongst those that say they are learned; but, I think verily, they make more stir about it, than needs; for, may not every body, that can read, observe, that Paul speaks in the plural number, the higher powers? Now, had he meant subjection to a King, he would have said, *Let every soul be subject to the higher power:* that is, if he had meant one man; but, by this, you see, he intended more than one; for he bids us *be subject to the higher powers*, that is, the council of state, the house of commons, and the army. I hope I have cleared this point; so now then I will come closer to the words themselves, and shew you truly and plainly, without any gaudy rhetorick, what they signify unto us, that you be not deceived; and I tell you, this is not to be done by every spirit, but only by such, who are more than ordinarily endowed with the spirit of discerning. I confess, there are many good men and women amongst you, that intend well, and speak well, and understand well, but yet cannot apprehend well all things that lurk in scripture-language, for lack of a sufficient measure of the spirit: They must be inwardly called thereunto, or else they are subject to errors and misconstructions.

Well then, you see who are fittest to interpret; and, I presume, you believe God hath abundantly supplied me. I do not boast of it, but I speak it to his glory, that hath vouchsafed to take up his lodging in so vile, contemptible, unswept, unwashed, ungarnished a room, as is this unworthy cottage of mine. But it was his will, and I am thankful for it.

Now the words offer themselves very naturally; they are plain, not difficult, but prostrate their sense in a most perspicuous manner.

For, first, beloved, by these words, *Let every soul*, &c. we may understand, that every one of us have souls; whence I raise this doctrine, That it is an ungodly, irreligious, profane, and idle tenent amongst the wicked, to think, or say, That women have no souls. Mark, my beloved, to think, or say, &c. for there are many now-a-days, that think, and will not speak what they think; and others, that speak, and will not think what they speak. But we are none such —— Dear sisters, it is a great abuse to your honourable sex. —— And now, truly, I will turn to you only; for you have been our daily and nightly comforters; indeed, la, ye have! You have raised our drooping spirits, though never so much dejected; you have got us stomachs, when we had none, and furnished us with flesh, on all occasions; we never found you unwilling, or unready to help us, when we were the

farthest from home. Believe it: When I lay before Pembroke-Castle, my landlady, where I quartered, who had once been a malignant, and then but newly crept into the state of grace; she, I say, had a good soul within her; she was brim-full of the spirit, and yet she was very handsome; which is strange; for seldom we find a perfection without an imperfection. Commonly, women, that are fair without, are either false, or foul, within: but to me she was neither. And yet I do not speak this to condemn beauty, for it is of a singular comfort and good use, and those, that be fair, may be true and good. But this is *secundum majus et minus*, as the Logicians cant; some are better than other some; that is the English of the Latin; and, indeed I have found great difference in women. Then again, when I came into Yorkshire, I met with Mrs. Lambert, the espoused of that honourable and valiant saint, Mr. G. Lambert: She, I say, is a woman, not very fair, I confess, but of as large a soul, and as full of the spirit, as any I ever yet met with. I profess, I never knew a woman more endowed with those heavenly blessings of love, meekness, gentleness, patience, and long-suffering; nay, even with all things that may speak her every way deserving the name of a saint; and yet, I say, she was not very beauteous, or comely, for she is something foggy and sun-burnt, which is strange in that cold country. But, what nature had denied her of ornament without, I found she had within her a soul, a devout, sweet soul; and, God knows, I loved her for it.

Thus we find then both by scripture and experience, that all of us have souls, men and women. But then again, beloved, some have good souls, and some have bad; Mrs. Lambert hath a good soul, and no doubt, nay, I know, many of you, that be here, are, and have, good souls within you. The cavaliers and their queans are the bad souls; they serve, and are subject to bad and ungodly men, men did I call them, nay devils that would devour us, and drink themselves drunk with the blood of the saints.

By this then it is evident who have, and who are the good souls. Whence I raise this doctrine, or rather point of faith, That we are not to believe, or account any to have, or to be souls, but those that are of the family of saints. (I would have said love, but that it is a particular sect, something differing from ours.)

Come on then: *Let every soul be subject*, &c. Whereby we see all souls, good and bad, are bound to be subject. All-Souls College in Oxford must be subject to the visitors; All Souls Day, tho' a superstitious Holyday, and strictly kept by the papists; must be subject to labour and toil. Your souls, brethren and sisters, must be subject to persuasion, to love, familiarity, and friendship, to all things that may increase or elevate the spirit; to kindle and take fire, like tinder, upon every spark and glance of our affections. O my dear brethren and sisters, love, it is the fulfilling of the law; what need we more then? It covers a multitude of sins; lo you there! It hides all our infirmities. Had one of us loved another, these differences and blood-shed had never happened. But some will object, and say, There is a lust, as well as love; and sometimes lust is falsly termed love. I tell you, beloved, these nice and critical distinctions are things, that once had like to have

undone us. Lust is nothing but a desire of any thing; and if, my beloved, we desire to enjoy one another, God forbid but we should help and comfort each other, and lay out ourselves, as far and freely as may be, to assist each other, in the embraces of the spirit. The laws of reason and nature require it of us.

But let us look yet a little further: *Let every soul be subject to the higher powers*, &c. What those higher powers are, I have told you before, they are the council of state, the house of commons, and the army; and God forbid but all men should obey them; that is, that the people be subject to the council of state, the council of state to the house of commons, they to the army, the army to the general, and the general to me. To me, I say, who have plotted, advised, counselled, and fought for both you and them these seven years; and now at last purchased your freedom and liberty. Dear brethren and sisters, I speak it not in ostentation, but with thankfulness, and glory to him who made me so useful an instrument in this blessed work of reformation. For, beloved, it was I that juggled the late King into the Isle of Wight. It was I dissolved the treaty. It was I that seized upon, and hurried him to Hurst Castle. It was I that set petitions a-foot throughout the kingdom, against the personal treaty, and for bringing the King and other capital offenders to justice. It was I that contrived, with the help of my son Ireton, the large remonstrance of the army. It was I that prescribed the erecting of the high court of justice, and which brought the King to his trial. In a word, it was I that cut off his head, and with it all the shackles and fetters of the Norman slavery and bondage. It was I that cut off the heads of Hamilton, Capel, and Holland. It was I that surprised the levellers at Burford, and in Northamptonshire. It was I that broke their design, destroyed Thompson, &c. dispersed and appeased the rest, and which have healed the late distempers of the army, whereby the land is now restored to this blessed peace, tranquillity, and plenty. And therefore, I say, I may justly, and without ambition, stile myself the author of all the kingdom's present and future happiness.

It is true, beloved, the general is a stout and valiant man, and he hath great appearance of God in him; but fitter far to be passive than active in the affairs of state. He is fitter for a charge than a council; and the truth is, as I may tell you under the rose, he wants brains to do any thing of moment. But indeed, this I may say for him, he is a man doth not seek himself; I never found him wilful, but willing always to submit to better judgments than his own. For when Sedgwick, that fast and loose priest, of Covent-garden, upon the King's trial had writ to his lady to advise him to remit the execution of that sentence, and to wash his hands of his death; he, honest man, presently acquainted me with the business, and shewed me the arguments, given to persuade him against it; and freely referred all to my judgment. And the twenty-eighth of January, being the Lord's-day, at night I went to him in Queen-street, attended with two troops of my own regiment, to remove the scruples he made upon that rascally priest's letter, or to secure him by force, in case he had contracted more, and would not be satisfied. But he, good man, gave me thanks for my pains, and told me I had

fully resolved him. All this, beloved, I speak in honour of the man; but truly he is too great, to be so good as we must have a general, for you know he is a Lord, and unless he be a Lord, and no gentleman, as I fear he will not acknowledge himself, he is not for our turns; the rather, for that he is easily seduced, I have experience of him, and led away by every wind of doctrine, by mere appearances and shadows of reason. Truly, beloved, I think myself and my son Ireton may prove of greater use to the republick, than any other; and if we be but once the acknowledged governors thereof by the people, we believe we shall answer their expectations to a hair's-breadth; which if ever we be, then beloved, it is I and my son who are the higher powers meant in my text, to whom subjection is commanded. For, as I told you before, it cannot be to one single man, must be to two or more; and truly, if the people shall think us, as we think ourselves, worthy of that trust, we shall discharge it faithfully, and study to merit it at their hands. But mistake me not, I do not mean to merit as the papists do, that is, to deserve it at their hands, for the good works we have done; no, no, we will acknowledge it to be merely out of the free grace and mercy of the people; for when we have done all we can for them, we confess we are but unprofitable servants.

I thank them, they have made me general for Ireland; and you know I am upon the point of going thither, in hopes of reducing those rebellious traytors to our obedience. But then, beloved, so many of you, as go along with me, must be mindful of my text; that is, you must be subject to me, and my lieutenant general. Whensoever we bid you go, you must run; when we bid you storm, you must do it, though it be against nothing but stone walls. You owe us your lives and your limbs, and all that you have; whensoever we demand them, you ought to surrender, and that freely, not grumbling; for you must submit to the higher powers, &c.

The verity is, this expedition against Ireland is like to prove a very hard task, unless I can in policy engage Owen Roe, if not to join with Jones, Monk, and Coot, yet to keep off at a distance with Ormond. I am, beloved, about it; and I shall do my endeavour too, to set Inchiquin and him at variance; and yet at that very instant will I lose no opportunity to re-oblige him to the parliament; for you all know what Inchiquin is—— I have him —— I will not say how ——But it is very probable an act of indemnity, tied in the strings of a five-thousand pounds bag, may work a miracle. For he, good man, is but misguided; he stands not upon such punctilioes of honour as Ormond doth—— In truth, beloved, this Ormond is a shrewd fellow, and, were he not one of the wicked, a man highly deserving; not so much for his knowledge and experience in military affairs, which yet may challenge some proportion of honour, as for his diligence and faithfulness in the trust committed to him. Valour I will not allow him any; it is only desperateness, and that he wants not; but, remember we not how politickly he carried himself in the business of Dublin, after he had subdued the common enemy here the first time? How dexterously he avoided the messages and commands of the late King, which we extorted from him, for the surrender of that city? How shamefully he baffled our

commissioners which were sent to treat with him about it, at what distance he kept them, still urging the captivity of the King to excuse his disobedience; and how often, and on what sleeveless errands, he sent them back to re-inforce their instructions; whilst all the while he was underhand endeavouring to know the King's pleasure, by the hands of his own messenger? And when he was satisfied with the reality of the King's desires and condition, how notably he trucked with us, for his own security and satisfaction? Nay more, when he stood upon the receipt of some thousands, before he would surrender, you shall hear how he there served us: —— For notwithstanding that I caused the parliament, by their letters, voluntarily to assure him the full double of the sum he demanded, upon condition he would quit the King's, and declare for our interest; and that hereunto he had returned a fine silver-tongued response in answer to the parliament, and had thereupon returned him the authority of the parliament, to indemnify him and his followers, for all things said or done in relation to the English or Irish wars, and four-thousand pounds in recompence for his losses; with this additional assurance, that he should, soon after the surrender, be re-invested with full power and government of Dublin, by commission from the parliament. Yet no sooner was Dublin delivered to us, upon the King's letters, and his passport sent him, but in contempt of all our fair and civil proffers, he transports himself for France, abruptly waving both our proffers and protection.—— This, beloved, I instance not to justify him in his rebellious courses against the nation, those I will use my utmost to destroy him for, but, to let you see how gloriously even a wicked and ungodly man, as this Ormond is, appears in the eyes of the world, who but approves himself true to his trust, that scorns to be corrupted with gold, and continues so to the last; whereunto, beloved, you are all of you enjoined by the words of my text: —— *Be subject to the powers, &c.*

Nor will I let to acknowledge him less formidable than faithful; for doubtless he hath gone very near to pacify all interests, and picked out of them a numerous army; over whom, he hath placed good officers: Good, said I? I do not mean, beloved, godly officers, for they are all of them prelatical or popishly affected, but tried soldiers; such as will not easily turn their backs on an enemy. I must ingenuously confess too, they have a great strength by sea, and a number of wilful fellows for mariners; who are in great heart, by reason of the many and great prizes they have taken from us, and so forth. But, what of all this? Shall we therefore be discouraged? God forbid! The more numerous the enemy is, the greater shall be the victory over them; the more difficult the work is, the more our honour; the fuller their pockets are, the worse they will fight. You know by experience, the plunder of Leicester gave us the victory at Naseby; there you saw the cavaliers chuse rather to leave their King to his shifts, than shift from behind them their cloke-bags. Believe it, brethren, we shall meet with many advantages against them —— R. himself, I know, will do us some good, though it be but in crossing of proverbs: And hear I but once that Culpepper or Hyde is there, —— doubt it not, all is our own. —— I cannot recount a tithe of them. But this I am sure, the honest citizens

have feasted us to good purpose: for, upon that occasion, we had their promise to advance monies a-fresh for Ireland.——*San Noubre ou Mensure:* That is French, beloved; the English whereof is, *Without weight or measure* ——Verily they are, of a stiff-necked generation, become very tractable and obedient servants; of a turbulent and mutinous, an exceeding meek and humble people.

And indeed, my beloved, it was no small work we had, to subdue those malignant spirits of the city, considering, how audaciously they once withstood our authority, and despised our government; how peremptorily they petitioned for a personal treaty with the King, and sent their servants into Colchester, Surry, and Kent, to force us thereunto; how bitterly the inveighed and railed against the honourable proceedings of the parliament and army; how largely they contributed to bring in a foreign nation to invade us, whilst, yet, they denied us the payment of our arrears, or to continue the necessary taxes, or excise, for our future maintenance, who had preserved them and their families, from the rapine and cruelty of a barbarous enemy. But, beloved brethren, I mean not to rip up all old matters: Let it suffice, that, being thus warned by their mishap, you fall not into the like sin of disobedience to higher powers; there being no powers but of God, the powers that be being ordained of God.

Object. But it may be, some here may object, and say, How shall we be secured, in your absence, from the malicious plots and contrivances of the presbyterians, malignants, and levellers; since we cannot but expect, they will be complotting our ruin, especially Lilburn, and the rest with him in durance, whose spirits can never be quelled, but by a Cromwell, they being so implacable and desperate?

Answ. Truly, beloved, you that do, do very well to make these doubts; I like these doubting Christians above all Christians, provided they be not jealous. And yet, my beloved, a man or woman may be jealous without cause as that holy man of God, Major-General Lambert, is of his wife; which truly proceeds, not so much out of any corruption of judgment, as manners; yet the man was well bred, though not educated so well, as we are in the south. But, as to this point, you shall hear how careful I have been to provide for your safety, and the peace of the nation, in my absence. For supposing that Lilburn and his faction, and the rest of our enemies, as God knows we have too many, will strive to alienate the hearts of the people from me, and to usurp the rule and dominion to themselves, if a convenient strength, and some one or other were not left, fitted with policy and courage to restrain them; I have taken care, that my son Ireton shall stay amongst you, and that, my Corrival, noble Lambert, shall go in his stead, as my lieutenant-general, into Ireland. And my son, you all know, wants no spirit; if he did, he should never have married my daughter, that you may well think. As for his policy, I suppose you have as little reason to doubt of it, as I have of his fidelity. The large remonstrance renders him, as I take it, very clean-handed and subtle; and, with him, I will see a sufficient strength both of horse and foot be left; which, together with the city forces which we have engaged, and are ascertained, will stick to us. The general, so popular and valiant a man, staying here also to

oversee them, shall, I warrant you, suppress all insurrections and tumults whatsoever. However, I have given such order to my son Ireton, concerning Lilburn and the rest, if ever hereafter he observe him, or them, to stir up the people to sedition, or scribble any thing, as formerly, against our lawful proceedings, that, forthwith, he shall execute justice upon them. And I think, dear brethren, you will judge it but necessary, since neither our mercy, nor the sense they have of the uprightness of our cause, will invite them to forbear bespattering the innocent robes of this infant state.

And now, beloved, as we must not conceal any thing from one another, I shall make bold to requite your ingenuity by the instancing one other doubt, with a danger, at the end of it; which although it may startle you at first sight, yet be of good courage, be faithful and strong; it admits of an easy solution. And that is the accord of the Scots with their new King.——Truly, I must confess my designs were never, till now, so diverted and confounded; for I must tell you, I have reverenced that short, but pithy precept of my father Machiavel (*Divide et impera.*) So long as I could keep them at odds amongst themselves, I feared not but to order them, as I pleased. But now it is too true, that both the parliament and priests of that kingdom have attainted Argyle of high-treason; that is, for holding the hands of the Scots, until we executed that examplary piece of justice on the King. And that therefore they intend to cut his head off; which, if they do, then, beloved, they destroy our only friend in that kingdom, and the differences, on foot there, must needs expire with his breath. Which being once done, they will have nothing left to do, but vie authority with us, and threaten a second invasion. For you must understand, the Scots are a warlike people, and that there is nothing will make them sooner rebel, than idleness and peace; so that, if this be so, we shall be sure to have them amongst us. Now, beloved, to preserve ourselves against them, in this great garison of our English commonwealth, it is for our safety, that we quit those out-houses of Ireland; and, if they were burnt, it matters not, so we preserve but what we have already in possession. To which end I have resolved, if they cut off the head of Argyle, or otherwise disable him to prosecute our interest there, that then I will wave the war of Ireland, and, keeping the fore-door of this nation close shut, bend all powers to defend the back-door against that perfidious nation. And this I conceive to be the surest way, provided I can but make choice of able and trusty men to secure the ports, towns, and inland garisons, without revolts or treachery.———And this will be easily done, considering the men and monies we have at our pleasure. I tell you, brethren, our thousand shall slay their ten thousands, and, in a short space, make them a miserable little people; and, at length, root them out from off the face of the earth, and possess us of their lands, for an inheritance to us and our generations, for ever.

But I have strayed too far from my text; I will now come to the remaining words thereof, and so conclude: —— *For there are no powers but of God*, &c. The council of state, the house of commons, the council of war, and the high court of justice, when it was, were all powers of God: and the following words of my text give you the

reason: *For the powers, that be, are ordained of God.* Be they just or unjust, they are all of God, God ordained them; and so he did that tyrannical power of the late King, and those belly-gods the bishops, to punish us for our infirmities. But, now that he hath graciously removed those powers, he hath ordained ours, to preserve, cherish, elevate, comfort, and delight the saints, and to rule and govern the land in sincerity and in truth; to distribute justice, equally and impartially according to his will.——But the time is spent, and I must be marching.——I desire therefore, my dear brethren and sisters, that you daily pour out your prayers and supplications, for us, and for our success against the wicked and ungodly that are risen up against us; and, that you cease not to comfort one another, with mutual embraces and spiritual kisses, to delight and sweeten your passage through this vale of misery. And that you take especial care to strengthen and corroborate yourselves, with capon and cock-broth, that I may find oil in your lamps, at my return.

NEWS FROM THE CHANNEL:

OR,

The Discovery and perfect Description of the Isle of Serke,*

Appertaining to the English Crown,

And never before publickly discoursed of:

Truly setting forth the notable Stratagem whereby it was first taken, the Nature of the Place and People; their Government, Customs, Manufactures, and other Particulars, no less necessary then pleasant to be known. In a Letter from a Gentleman, now inhabiting there, to his Friend and Kinsman in London.

London, printed by John Lock, for John Clarke, at the Bible and Harp in West-Smithfield, 1673. Quarto, containing six Pages.

Dear Cousin,

THE Anne of Bristol, touching here homewards-bound, brought safe those commodities I gave you the trouble to send me, and inriched me with the treasure of your more welcome letter; to which,

* This is the Sixtieth in the Catalogue of the Harleian Pamphlets.

though I cannot answer in the same handsome expressions and embroidery of language, a failure easily excusable in a place where my native tongue is almost a stranger, and French generally spoken more barbarous than that of Littleton, yet be confident I shall never, when opportunity offers itself, come short in the real offices of good-will and affection. I am glad some of our old acquaintance are still so kind as to preserve me in their memories; and could not but call Ned and Jenny to help laugh at the pleasant narration you make, of the surprise many of them are in, when you tell them, I have left Southampton to go to dwell in the Isle of Serke; some inquiring in which of the Indies that strange island lies; others offering wagers there is no such place in the world, but that it is younger sister to the Isle of Pines. Nor, indeed, can I condemn their wonder, since, although this place hath, for about four-score years, paid obedience to the English scepter; yet, scarce one Englishman of a thousand hath heard, or can give any good account of it. Our geographers have herein proved land-lopers; and the very maps, wherein oftentimes painters gratify their wives with jointures of imaginary islands, have been content to omit the real one. However, to satisfy the curiosity of my friends, but more especially to comply with your desires, which I must ever interpret commands, I shall venture on a brief description of this little part of the world, where Providence hath allotted me at present, and, I thank heaven, no uncomfortable habitation.

Serke, the place whence this letter comes to kiss your hands, is an island situate in the channel betwixt England and France, lying at once in view of the banks of Normandy, and of our two other more eminent islands of Jersey and Guernsey, and about four leagues to the south-west of the latter. Though its circuit or extent can yield no great temptation to any prince's ambition to make himself master of it, its dimensions being not above five miles in length, and about two miles in breadth, where it is largest over, in other places not so much; yet nature, as if she had here stored up some extraordinary treasure, seems to have been very sollicitous to render it impregnable, being on every side surrounded with vast rocks and mighty clifts, whose craggy tops, braving the clouds with their stupendious height, bid defiance to all that shall dream of forcing an entrance. Two only ascents or passages there are into it. The first where all goods and commodities are received, called La Soguien, where, for a large space through a solid rock, there is a cart-way cut by art down to the sea, with two strong gates for its defence, wherein most of the storage for navigation, as masts, sails, anchors, &c. belonging to the island, are kept, and two pieces of ordnance above, always ready to prevent any surprise. The other is La Frickeree, where only passengers can land, climbing up a rock by certain steps, or stairs cut therein to a vast height, and somewhat dangerously, nor is it possible there for above person to come up at once.

This description of its situation I persuade myself, cousin, will put you into a little fit of longing, to know by what means our countrymen came, at first, to make themselves masters of a place so naturally fortified; and truly, in discovering that, we shall acquaint you with

a stratagem, excelling most you shall meet with in the Greek and Roman histories, and equalled by few of those in the Low-Country wars, or any more modern expeditions.

In the reign of our matchless maiden Queen, this island being wholly possessed by France (as most of the inhabitants, not only thereof, but of Jersey and Guernsey too, are to this day of that nation) a sea-captain (whose name, I at present remember not, though it is pity it ever should be swallowed by oblivion) apprehending its neighbourhood, if it continued in the French hands, might, one time or other, portend no good to the isles of Jersey and Guernsey, the only remaining trophies of our French conquests, sollicited the Queen to commission him to reduce it to her obedience; who, having received former information of it, told him the place was so small, and the attempt so hazardous, it would scarce be worth while, and that she feared the loss of men about it would be more damage than its taking of importance or advantage. For you must note at that time the passage down at La Soguien was not made, nor did it appear half so accessible as now it appears. But our subtle captain replied, If her Majesty would but give him command and necessaries, he durst assure her, to settle the English colours there without the loss of a man. The Queen, seeing his confidence, yields to his importunity; who, accompanied with about one hundred resolved men, puts to sea, and, after some time cruising up and down, comes and lies before this island of Serke, in quality of a merchant-man homewards-bound; and, making out his boat with several taking commodities, the people suffered three or four of their crew to land, and traded with them, with much amity, for a day or two. At last, having insinuated into the good opinion of the credulous islanders, they told them, having been a long trading voyage in the Streights, their master was some time since dead, but had engaged them not to expose his corpse into the ocean to be devoured of the fish, but to inter it with christian burial, in the next place where they should touch ground; and therefore they desired that christian favour of them, that they might lay him in their church-yard, coming only some few of them a shore, without any arms, to perform the ceremony. The unwary people consent, and our captain, with about twenty of his stoutest men, with a coffin, and much seeming solemnity, got a shore, the natives assisting them to get their Trojan horse up the precipice. But no sooner were they arrived at the church, but clapping too the door, as if they had some private devotions to celebrate, at which the inhabitants might not be present, they break open their coffin filled, in stead of a dead body, with instruments of death, and, instantly arming themselves, slay that small French guard that there offered resistance, and retiring, to the landing place, secure that, get in more of their company, and, in five hours time, without the loss of one man, made themselves masters of the whole island, which, ever since that time, has had the honour to boast itself part of the dominions of the English crown.

But since nothing is more necessary to the life of man, than those four elements, whereof he, together with the rest of the universe, is

originally composed; I shall, in the next place, observe how we are therewith accommodated.

Our air, considering the narrowness of the place, and how it is encompassed with the ocean, is much better than can be expected; our haven serene, and our sky generally free from that nasty dish-clout of fogs and clouds, which, in your marshes and city too, are wont to muffle up the sun's glorious face. In brief, it is so agreeable to nature, that, although I know not one physician in the island, and, perhaps, we live the longer for their absence, yet to meet here with a hearty old man of fourscore is nothing rare or unfrequent.

Our water, I confess, is sometimes not very ready, and yet we have in the island no less than six very fine springs generally running, whose water purified in its under-ground passage, and by being drawn so high through nature's lembick, bubbles up so free from any smack of brackishness, that it may compare with your Lambs-conduit, and, for aught I know, is no less miraculous for curing sore eyes than Crowder's well.

Our earth or soil is, for the most part, hot and sandy, yet fruitful enough to afford all necessaries to its inhabitants, excellent for bearing all kind of roots, as parsnips, carrots, turnips, &c. and very well stored with fruit-trees, for the most part planted of late, by the good husbandry of the people, furnishing us with cyder, not at all inferior to your Herefordshire redstreak; and, to render it the more wholesome, it is generally boiled with a little spice, which preserves it and gives it an incomparable relish. Corn we have of most sorts, but not in any extraordinary quantity. Our pasture is but short, yet exceeding sweet, and therefore we have rare mutton, but no great plenty of beef, and cows only enow to supply us with milk and butter, for our cheese we have generally from England.

Our firing, to speak of the most aspiring element last, is for the most part furzes and sometimes turf; for we have but little wood, and no timber at all growing throughout the whole island; so that we are forced either to make shift with old apple-tree for our houses, or furnish ourselves as well as we can with deal.

For belly-timber our three staple commodities are fish, fowl, and rabbits. Of the first a little industry will purchase us a hundred sorts; particularly, a large fish we call a vrack-fish, which we split, and, nailing it to our walls, dry it in the sun for part of our winter provision; as also a large shelfish taken plentifully at low tides, called an ormond, that sticks to the rocks, whence we beat them off with a fossil or iron-hook; it is much bigger than an oyster, and like that good, either fresh or pickled, but infinitely more pleasant to the gusto; so that an epicure would think his palate in paradise, if he might but always gormondise on such delicious ambrosia, to borrow Aretine's phrase, upon his eating a lamprey.

For fowl, your city cannot be better furnished with woodcocks or widgeons, besides the abundance of duck, mallard, teal, and other wild-fowl, with clift-pigeons, with which, at some seasons, almost the whole island is covered.

Of conies we have every where exceeding plenty, and yet, lest we

should want, nature has provided us a particular warren, placing at a small distance in the sea an island of about half a mile every way over, which is inhabited by nothing else, whither we commonly go a ferreting, and have thence such abundance that it has been confidently told me some families here have made fifteen or twenty pounds a year only of their skins. If all this rich fare will not content you, we have a most excellent pottage made of milk, bacon, coleworts, mackarel, and gooseberries, boiled together all to pieces; which our mode is to eat, not with the ceremony of a spoon, but the more courtly way of a great piece of bread furiously plying between your mouth and the kettle.

But, lest you should think we mind too much our bellies, take next a survey of our political government. First, for our defence, we have a captain with about forty soldiers, who continually keep guard, and are maintained by contribution of the inhabitants; then we have a court of judicature held every Tuesday, where an honest fisherman we call the judge; another, at present his son, that is intitled, Monsieur le Provost, a person that has the gift of writing, and learning enough to read the obligation of a bond, serving as clerk or recorder, with five other sage burghers that are justices, or some of them meet, and, without any tedious formalities, intricate demurrers, special verdicts, wire-drawn arguments, chargeable injunctions, multiplied motions, or endless writs of error, briskly determine all causes *secundum Æquum et Bonum*, according to their mother-wit and grave discretions, except in criminals where life is concerned, in which case the offenders are immediately sent away for trial and punishment to Guernsey.

Since the taking the place by the English, Huguenot ministers officiating, the people have subscribed to the discipline which, beyond the seas, they call reformed; but wanting much of that beauty and decent order wherewith the church of England entertains her children. The present minister, whom I must acknowledge a person of more industry and parts, than could be hoped for among such people, hath lately begun to teach grammar to the children, with writing and arithmetick, erecting a school for that purpose; so that who knows to what prodigious learning we may here one day arrive? Sure I am, the genius of the people cannot but be docible, since they are naturally of a courteous affable temper, and the least tainted with pride that ever I saw any of their nation. That apish variety of fantastick fashions, wherewith Paris is justly accused to infect all Europe, has here no footing, where every one retains the same garb their ancestors wore in the days of Hugh Capet and King Pippin; so that I can give small encouragement to any of the knights of the thimble, to transport themselves hither, where cucumbers are like to be more plenty than in the backside of St. Clement's; each man religiously preserving his vast blue trunk breeches, with a cod-piece larger than King Harry's, and a coat almost like a Dutch fro's vest, or one of your watermen's liveries. Nor are the women behind-hand with them in their hospital gowns of the same colour, wooden sandals, white stockings, and red petticoats, so mean, they are scarce worth taking up. Both sexes

on festivals wear large ruffs; and the women, instead of hats or hoods, truss up their hair; the more genteel sort in a kind of cabbage-net; those of meaner fortunes in a piece of linnen, perhaps an old dish-clout turned out of service, or the fag end of a table cloth, that has escaped the persecution of washing ever since the reformation; this they, tying on the top, make it shew like a Turkish turbant, but that part of it hangs down their backs like a veil, which might be of use to our wanton youngsters, when the spirit moves them to a kissing exercise, but that we are never, in such case, put to use violence; for though our females, for proportion and complexion, are perfect French, and may, for the most part, without any usurpation, assume Don Quixot's title of damsels of the ill-favoured face; yet, to compensate that, and it is much this sex should know their own defects, they are the most kind and obliging in the world; so sprightly, frolick, and gay-humoured, that I am confident Mahomet can, no where, pick up more buxome girls to stock his paradise with.

But it is more than time to release your patience, save that I persuade myself you have not had enough to read half thus far. Let me conclude with a word or two of our trade, which, I confess, is not very great to the Levant or either of the Indies, Bristol, and some other of your western ports, being the furthest places of our traffick: for the grand, and almost only manufacture of our island being knitting, which our people perform with a wonderful dexterity, both for stockings, gloves, caps, and waistcoats, men women and children being brought up to it; so that you may commonly see thirty or forty of them assembled in a barn, which you would take for a conventicle of your sweet singers of Israel; for, though all ply their knitting devoutly, yet at the same time they tune their pipes, and torture some old song with more distracted notes, than a country quire does one of Hopkins's psalms. These commodities, when finished, we vend into England at the places aforesaid, having several small vessels for that purpose, and thence in return furnish ourselves with necessaries.

I doubt not, but by this time you repent your curiosity, and confess that I have sufficiently tormented you with the isle of Serke; nor know I any way to receive your good opinion, which, I am more confident, my tediousness has forfeited, but by begging your pardon and drinking your health in a black-jack of French wine, which, paying no custom, we have here as plentifully cheap as in France itself. I hope you will pledge me at the Bear, where, if the old Bacchus be still living, commend me to him. Assure all my friends, that I shall return their loves with usury. Speak my respects particularly to Esquire D. and Captain S. and, to yourself, take me as I am,

Wholly and intirely,
Your most affectionate kinsman
And humble servant,
F. W.

All this, though you read it not till Michaelmas, was told you at Serke, this First of April, O. S 1673.

END OF VOL. ELEVEN.

THE PUBLISHER of the HARLEIAN MISCELLANY most respectfully informs the Subscribers, that he is under the unavoidable necessity of extending it to another volume. When they consider the extent of the work, and the difficulty of ascertaining with precision in the commencement of printing the exact quantity it would make, in a size in which it has never before appeared, he trusts they will excuse its thus exceeding the limits originally proposed.

Gracechurch-street,
Oct. 8, 1810.

AN

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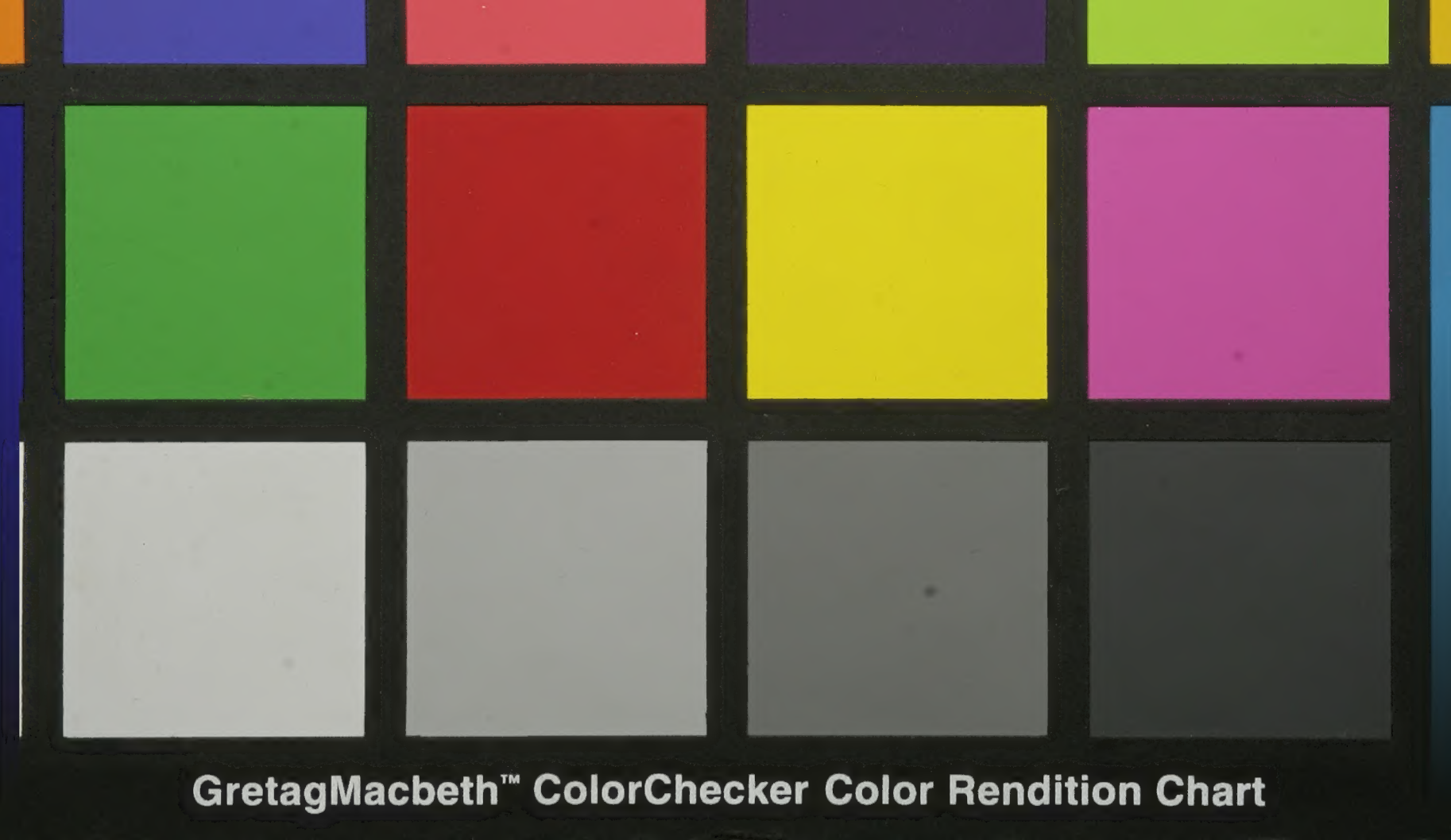
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